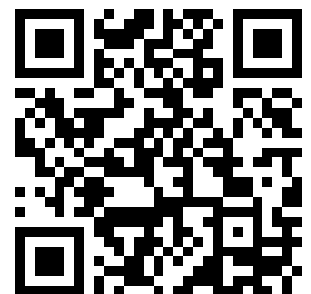

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

<https://books.google.com>



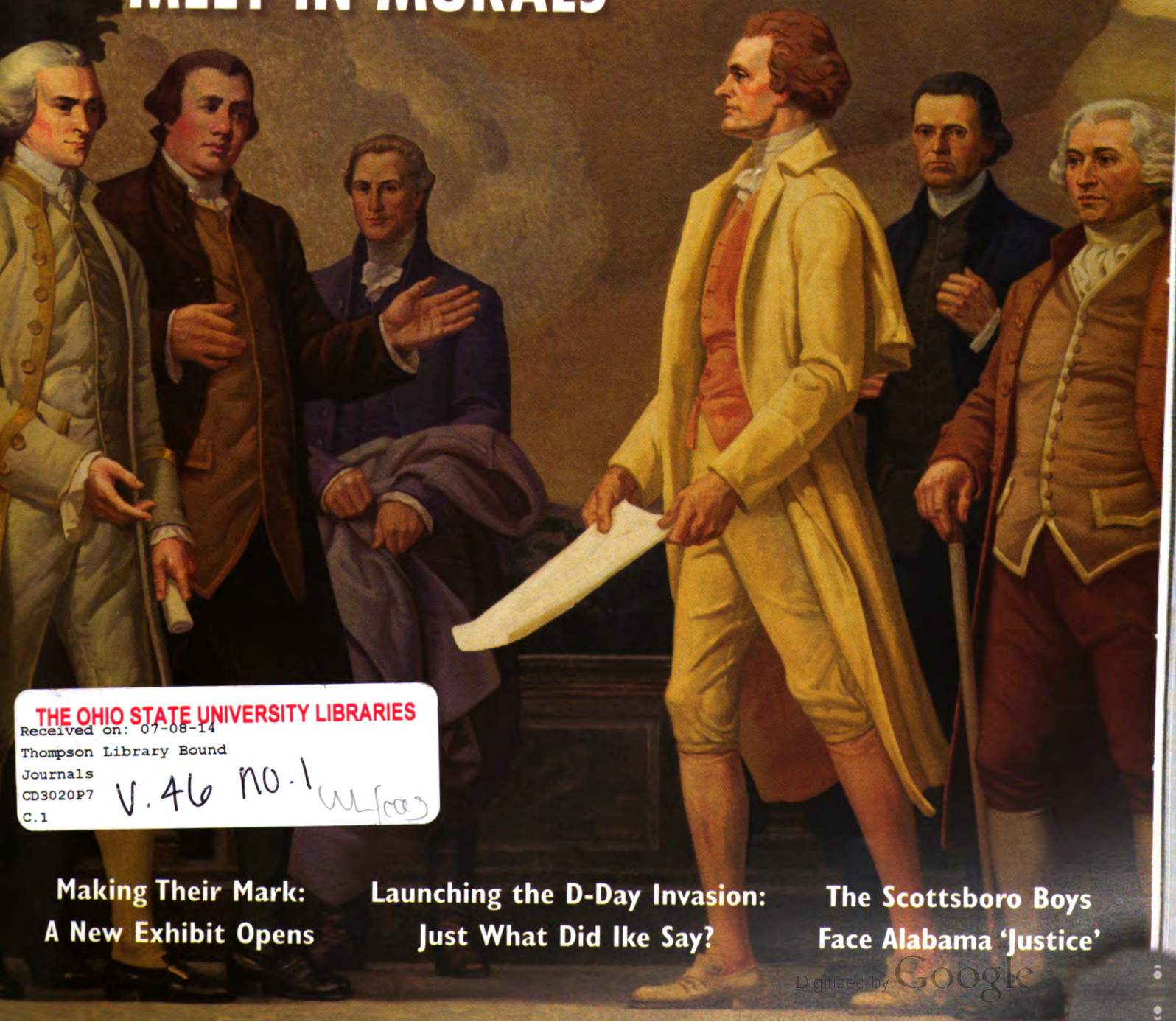
THO
CD3020
P7
V.46



Prologue

Quarterly of the National Archives
and Records Administration
Spring 2014 Vol. 46 No. 1

HISTORY, POLITICS MEET IN MURALS



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Received on: 07-08-14

Thompson Library Bound

Journals

CD3020P7

C.1

V. 46 NO. 1

W. F. C.

**Making Their Mark:
A New Exhibit Opens**

**Launching the D-Day Invasion:
Just What Did Ike Say?**

**The Scottsboro Boys
Face Alabama 'Justice'**

Digitized by Google

DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE



- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Robert Morris | Pennsylvania | 10. John Witherspoon | New Jersey | 20. Thomas Nelson, Jr. | Virginia |
| 2. Samuel Chase | Maryland | 11. John Hancock | Massachusetts | 21. Joseph Hewes | North Carolina |
| 3. Charles Carroll of Carrollton | Maryland | 12. Benjamin Harrison | Virginia | 22. Edward Rutledge | South Carolina |
| 4. Stephen Hopkins | Rhode Island | 13. Samuel Huntington | Connecticut | 23. Lyman Hall | Georgia |
| 5. Samuel Adams | Massachusetts | 14. Thomas Jefferson | Virginia | 24. Josiah Bartlett | New Hampshire |
| 6. Thomas McKean | Delaware | 15. Roger Sherman | Connecticut | 25. Thomas Stone | Maryland |
| 7. John Dickinson | Pennsylvania | 16. John Adams | Massachusetts | 26. Francis Hopkinson | New Jersey |
| 8. Abraham Clark | New Jersey | 17. Robert R. Livingston | New York | 27. George Wythe | Virginia |
| 9. William Ellery | Rhode Island | 18. Benjamin Franklin | Pennsylvania | 28. William Floyd | New York |
| | | 19. Richard Henry Lee | Virginia | | |

CONSTITUTION



- | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Edmund Randolph | Virginia | 10. William Samuel Johnson | Connecticut | 17. Gouverneur Morris | Pennsylvania |
| 2. Nathaniel Gorham | Massachusetts | 11. George Mason | Virginia | 18. Alexander Hamilton | New York |
| 3. John Dickinson | Delaware | 12. George Washington | Virginia | 19. George Read | Delaware |
| 4. John Rutledge | South Carolina | 13. Benjamin Franklin | Pennsylvania | 20. William R. Davie | North Carolina |
| 5. James Wilson | Pennsylvania | 14. Rufus King | Massachusetts | 21. John Langdon | New Hampshire |
| 6. Oliver Ellsworth | Connecticut | 15. William Paterson | New Jersey | 22. Luther Martin | Maryland |
| 7. Charles Pinckney | South Carolina | 16. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney | South Carolina | 23. Roger Sherman | Connecticut |
| 8. James Madison | Virginia | | | 24. Gunning Bedford, Jr. | Delaware |
| 9. Elbridge Gerry | Massachusetts | | | 25. Abraham Baldwin | Georgia |

To learn more about the Faulkner murals, go to www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/charters_murals.html.

Prologue

Spring 2014 Vol. 46 No. 1

QUARTERLY of the NATIONAL ARCHIVES and RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



NATIONAL
ARCHIVES

ARCHIVIST of the
UNITED STATES
David S. Ferriero

CHIEF STRATEGY and
COMMUNICATIONS
OFFICER
Donna Garland

DIRECTOR of
COMMUNICATIONS
Chris Isleib

EDITOR of
PUBLICATIONS
James Worsham

MANAGING
EDITOR
Mary C. Ryan

SENIOR
EDITOR
Benjamin Guterman

CONTRIBUTING
EDITORS
John Deeben
Keith Donohue
Meg Hacker
Hilary Parkinson

ART DIRECTORS
Rania Hassan
Brian Barth

PHOTO
RESEARCHER
Theresa Roy

SUBSCRIBER
SERVICES
Sandra Tucker

Editorial Policy. *Prologue* is published quarterly by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Its primary purpose is to bring to public attention the resources and programs of NARA, the regional archives, and the presidential libraries. Accordingly, *Prologue* in the main publishes material based, in whole or in part, on the holdings and programs of these institutions. In keeping with the nonpartisan character of NARA, *Prologue* will not accept articles that are politically partisan or that deal with contemporary political issues.

Articles are selected for publication by the editor in consultation with experts. The editor reserves the right to make changes in articles accepted for publication and will consult the author should substantive questions arise. Published articles do not necessarily represent the views of NARA or of any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Prospective authors are encouraged to discuss their work with the editor prior to submission. Articles may be submitted as either an e-mail attachment or as hard copy. The *Prologue* office uses MS Word but can accept any common word-processing format. Correspondence regarding contributions and all other editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001; prologue@nara.gov.

Subscriptions and Reprints. U.S. subscription rates are \$24 for one year; rates for subscribers outside the United States are \$30. Single issues of the current volume are available for \$6 each (add \$3 shipping for orders up to \$50). Send a check or money order to National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (NAT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent within six months of its publication date. Microfilm copies of *Prologue* are available from ProQuest Information and Learning, P.O. Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346. *Prologue's* web site is at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration (ISSN 0033-1031) is published quarterly by the National Archives Trust Fund Board, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Periodicals postage paid at College Park, MD, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, NPAC/Room 400, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001. INDEXED in Acad. Abstr., Amer. Hist. & Life. Bibl. Cart., Hist. Abst. (Pts. A & B), Hum. Ind., Mag. Art. Sum., U.S. Govt. Per. Ind., Writ. Am. Hist., & Winter *Prologue*.

Printed in the United States of America.

EDITOR'S NOTE

IF YOU'VE EVER COME TO WASHINGTON, D.C., to see the originals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—the parchment copies that our Founding Fathers actually signed—you surely noticed the murals above them.

They were painted by noted muralist Barry Faulkner while the building was still under construction in the 1930s.



In "Depicting the Creation of a Nation," Lester Gorelic shares with us what we today call the "backstory" of the Faulkner murals—how the muralist changed directions several times and how some individuals were added to or deleted from one (or both) of the murals.

Speaking of documents and signatures, you have until January 5, 2015, to come to our building in downtown Washington to see an imaginative and important exhibit called "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures."

This exhibit, just a few steps from those Faulkner murals, features documents with both famous and ordinary signatures—all of which changed the world in one way or another. You'll find a preview of it in this issue.

As of this issue, Meg Hacker and John Deeben join us as contributing editors. They have taken over the Genealogy Notes duties once performed by Connie Potter, who has retired. Meg is director of our Fort Worth archives, and John is a genealogy archives specialist and author of the *Genealogy Tool Kit*. Both have been valued contributors to *Prologue* over the years.

Jay Bellamy, another frequent contributor, offers the story of the Scottsboro Boys, who were wrongly accused and convicted of raping two white women in Alabama in the 1930s. Jay takes us into the courtrooms and provides a look at the type of justice meted out in Alabama in those days.

Many people believe the trials of the Scottsboro Boys, Bellamy writes, were "the catalyst for the civil rights movement." That movement scored many victories, not the least of which was the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is observing its 50th anniversary this year.

As part of that anniversary, a three-day Civil Rights Summit was held at the LBJ Presidential Library in Austin, Texas, this spring. See our report on the summit inside or at www.civilrightssummit.org.

Join us on our blog at <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue> and on our web site at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

JAMES WORSHAM

"STRETCH" GOALS *in Our New Strategic Plan*

BY DAVID S. FERRIERO



A few months ago, it was my pleasure to sign off on a document that will guide the National Archives into a bold new future—our Strategic Plan for 2014 to 2018.

This is not a top-secret document for a few eyes only or a mandated report to be dropped into a manila folder in a gray file cabinet. You can read it at www.archives.gov/about/.

The Strategic Plan is the National Archives and Records Administration's roadmap to the future, a 24-page document that spells out the four—yes, just four—simple yet dynamic goals that we will pursue over the next five years.

To develop this plan, we talked with our customers, staff, donors, stakeholders, and many others. I want to thank those of you who took the time to read our draft plan and provide informed comments.

The result is an ambitious plan—one that builds on the six outcomes of the transformation we have undergone in the past few years:

We will work as *one NARA*, not as component parts. We will be *out in front* in embracing the primacy of electronic information in all our work. We will foster a culture that results in *an agency of leaders*. We will turn NARA into *a great place to work* by empowering our staff, our most vital resource. We will *focus on our customers* and find ways to serve their needs more effectively. And we will be an *open NARA*—open to learn from others outside the government.

Some of the goals and initiatives in the new plan will not be fully achieved during this five-year planning cycle. What is important, however, is that the plan challenges and encourages our staff to stretch their vision. I want them to be bold, ambitious, and versatile, ready to try new ways and new initiatives to reach these goals:

- **Make access happen.** This is the essence of what we do as the nation's recordkeeper. We plan to make accessible all of the born-digital records and as many of our 12

billion pages of traditional (paper) records as we can as *quickly* as we can digitize them—the most requested ones first. This is a lofty goal—a “stretch” goal indeed—but we need to have these kinds of goals to challenge us.

- **Connect with customers.** We want to engage our customers in what we do and be an example of open government. That way, we can respond to their needs sooner and more effectively, whether it's a request for records, attending a workshop or exhibit at one of our facilities, or commenting on a proposed federal regulation.
- **Maximize NARA's value to the nation.** As the steward of the nation's records, we lead the way for federal agencies to find more effective and less burdensome ways of managing, preserving, and making accessible the nation's records. I believe this work will, in turn, elevate the status of NARA—and the archival profession—in the public's eye.
- **Build our future through our people.** We will support our staff first by improving our internal communications so that everyone is fully informed by one or more of the channels. And we will provide opportunities for training and education, mentoring, and cross-training so that everyone can find a career path at NARA that will ensure we have the skills we will need in the future.

This last goal is especially important. Key to the success of this Strategic Plan is our dedicated staff of more than 3,000, located in more than 40 facilities around the country.

The Archives staff is a diverse group of incredibly talented individuals who love what they do and do it well, which is one of the reasons I have such respect for them. People I meet in my travels often say that the Archives has some wonderful treasures in its vaults. Our greatest treasures, however, are the ones who go home at night—our staff. They will ensure the success of this plan.

We've established our goals, some of them “stretch” goals. Whether we reach these goals or not, what's most important now is that we begin the journey to reach them. Let us know how we're doing.

Join the Archivist at his own blog at
<http://blogs.archives.gov/aotus>
and visit NARA's website at www.archives.gov.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Ferriero".

Archivist of the United States

Spring 2014

Volume 46 Issue No. 1

Features

6 Making Their Mark

A new exhibit at the National Archives describes how signatures—famous and ordinary—set the course of the nation and revealed their owners.

18 Kamikazes!

Nathaniel Patch investigates why and how a Japanese suicide pilot attacked a U.S. submarine during World War II.

26 The Scottsboro Boys

Jay Bellamy tells the story of how a group of black youths were wrongly convicted of assaulting two white women in the 1930s and what eventually happened to them.

36 “OK, We’ll Go”

Tim Rives writes that, to this day, no one remembers *exactly* what General Dwight D. Eisenhower really said when he gave the go-ahead for the D-day landing 70 years ago.

44 Depicting the Creation of a Nation

Lester S. Gorelic recounts the back story of the murals in the National Archives Building that depict the presentation of the drafts of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

p.6



In every issue

2 From the Archivist

A look at the National Archives' new Strategic Plan for 2014 to 2018.

56 Genealogy Notes

Meg Hacker writes about the period in U.S. history when a woman lost her citizenship by marrying a foreigner.

62 Authors on the Record

Denise Kiernan recalls the work of the women on the "gadget" at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, during World War II.

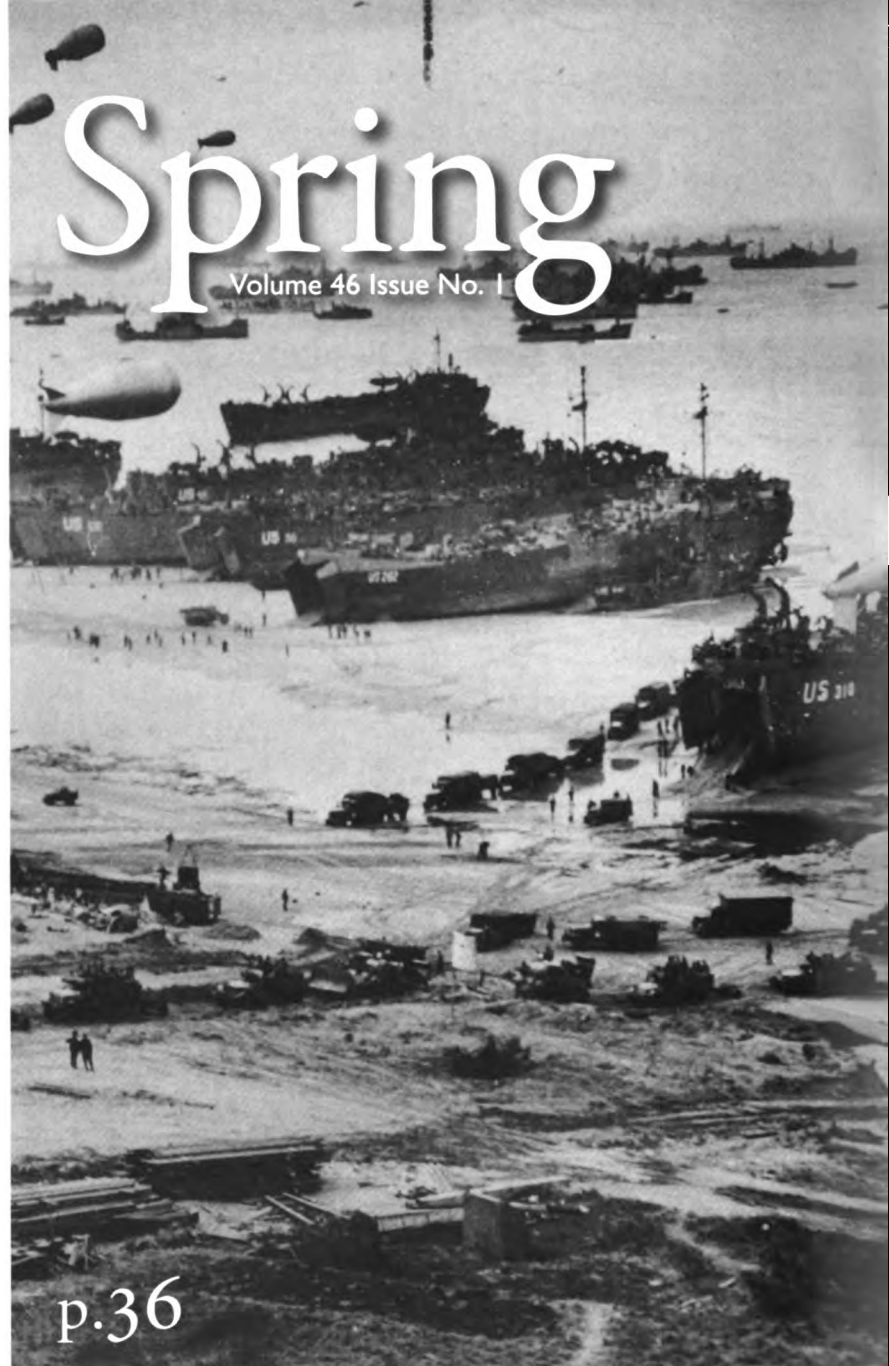
64 Events / News & Notices

70 Foundation for the National Archives

A look ahead at some of the plans of the Foundation for 2014.

72 Pieces of History

Elaborate letterhead graces the tops of correspondence in National Archives files.



**To subscribe or view online
articles, go to**

www.archives.gov/publications/prologue

Front cover: Detail of the mural *Declaration of Independence* in the Rotunda of the National Archives. The story of how Barry Faulkner created this painting and its companion, *The Constitution of the United States*, starts on page 44.

Back cover: Fanciful letterhead abounded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Pieces of History on page 72 looks at a few noteworthy examples.

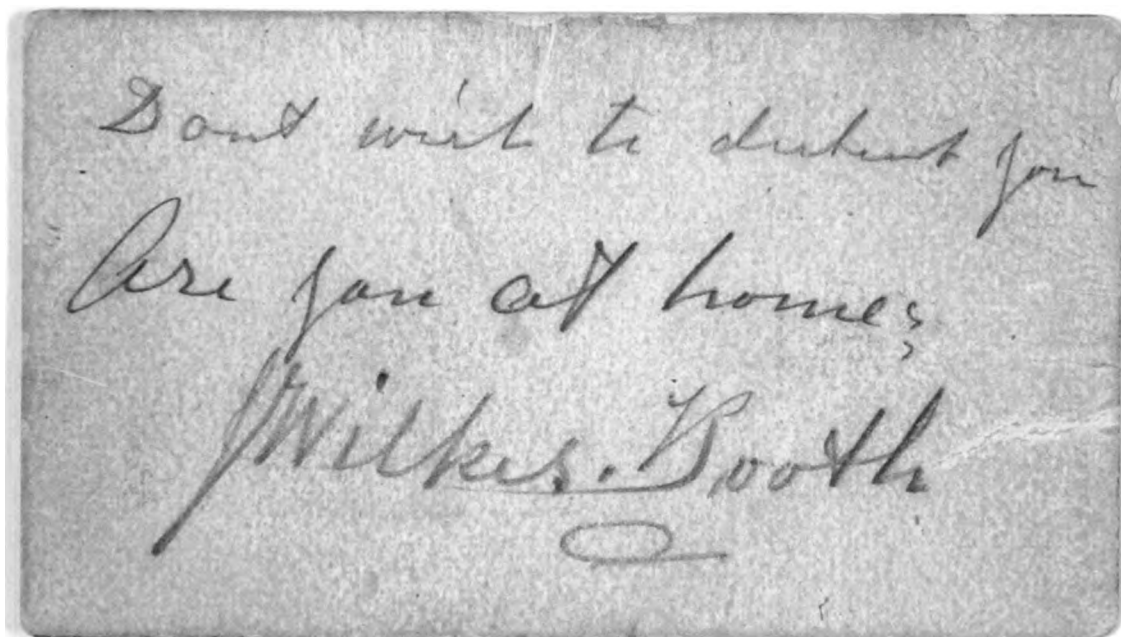


Making Their Mark

SIGNATURES, FAMOUS AND ORDINARY,
SET AMERICA'S COURSE AND REVEALED THEIR OWNERS

Mr. Pickens
President of Congress

John Pickens
Most Obedient & Humble
Servant,
John Pickens



The act of signing your name can be routinely simple, or it can be the stroke of a pen that changes many lives—and the course of history.

We sign for credit card purchases many times each week. We write our names and a message on cards to colleagues retiring, getting married, or ailing. We provide our signatures to acknowledge the receipt of a package. We affix our signatures to petitions with thousands of other citizens.

Our actions probably don't change the world much.

But some figures in American history have, with a simple stroke of a pen, changed the world for thousands or millions of people, for better or worse.

Opposite: President Johnson with his mentor as a senator, Senator Richard Russell, at the White House, December 7, 1963. Johnson used his imposing stature as one tool in his own brand of political persuasion, known as the "Johnson treatment." *Above:* On the afternoon of April 14, 1865, just hours before he assassinated President Lincoln, John Wilkes Booth left this calling card for Vice President Andrew Johnson at his Washington, D.C., hotel. George Atzerodt was to kill Johnson that night, but he lost his nerve. It is still unknown why Booth left his card with Johnson. *Left:* George Washington's signature on his letter to Congress asking how he should resign as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army.

John Hancock

John Hancock signed his name so large, and with such flair, on the Declaration of Independence that "John Hancock" has become a synonym for signature.

President Harry S. Truman signed two executive orders in 1948 that desegregated the nation's armed forces and the federal workforce. Within a year, 18 agencies had desegregated, and some agency heads who had not cooperated were removed from their positions.

President Thomas Jefferson, who held deeply contradictory beliefs about the morality and legality of slavery, signed legislation abolishing the international slave trade and hoped to finally settle one aspect of the contentious issue of slavery.

These signatures, as well as many others and a wide range of artifacts, are part of a new exhibit at the National Archives Museum in Washington, D.C., "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures," which runs through January 5, 2015, in the Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery.

"Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" is made possible in part by the Foundation for the National Archives with the generous support of Lead Sponsor AT&T. Major additional support is provided by the Lawrence F. O'Brien family and members of the board of the Foundation.

The exhibit draws on the billions of government records and artifacts from 19 National Archives facilities nationwide to showcase a unique collection of signatures—and signature artifacts—and tell the stories behind them.

PROGRAMME OF MUSIC
by
The String Orchestra of the Royal Air Force
Conductor - Wing-Commander R. P. O'Donnell, M.V.O.

I	
"Ay-ay-ay" (Mexican Serenade)	Friese
"Carry me back to Green Pastures"	Pepper
"On Wings of Song"	Mendelssohn
"Sons of the Soviet"	Carson
II	
"Serenade"	Momart
III	
"Holberg Suite"	Grieg
IV	
"Serenade Espagnole"	Chaminade
"Deep River"	arr. Coleridge-Taylor
"Irish Reels"	arr. Hartley
"Skye Boat Song"	arr. Moffat

Truman
Dinner
Harry Truman

Winston Churchill
10, Downing Street,
Potsdam.
Monday, 23rd July 1945.

Gen. L. Zonbary

General of the Army H. H. Arnold *Sir Edward Bridges*
Army General A. I. Antonov
Field Marshal the Honble. Sir Harold Alexander
Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov
Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham
Major A. Berse
His Excellency Generalissimo J. V. Stalin
Prime Minister
The President of the United States of America
Charles E. Bohlen
The Rt. Honble. C. R. Attlee
Field Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson
Commander C. B. Thompson
Marshal of Aviation P. Ya. Palatnik
Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery
General of the Army G. C. Marshall
Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal
Mr. V. N. Puzlov
His Excellency Mr. T. H. Molotov
The Rt. Honble. Anthony Eden
The Honble. James F. Byrnes
Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke
Admiral of the Fleet N. G. Housheer
Lord Moran
Fleet Admiral E. J. King
General Sir Hastings Ismay

Mary Churchill

Top left: John Hancock's famous and distinctive signature appears on the Senate "credentials" for Tristram Dalton, of Massachusetts, February 10, 1799. Above: At a dinner during the Potsdam Conference on July 23, 1945, President Harry Truman asked attendees to sign the program. Truman, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin signed the cover, and others signed the inside pages.

RECEIVED

September 1, 1950

UNITED STATES BOARD OF PAROLE

Dr. G. G. Killinger, Chairman
U. S. Board of Parole
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Killinger:

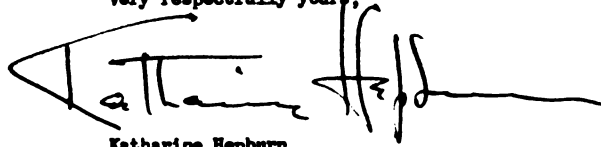
Ring Lardner, Jr. is serving a Federal sentence in Danbury, Connecticut, for contempt of Congress because he refused to answer questions regarding his political affiliations. I understand he will soon be eligible for parole.

I have known Ring Lardner, Jr. since 1941. To the best of my knowledge he is a respectable, law-abiding citizen and I think his present conflict with the law is entirely conscientious and, however mistaken, should be viewed with charity.

In view of the fact that his wife and five minor children depend on him for support, I trust that the Parole Board will give sympathetic consideration to his case, for I do not believe that he will use his release from custody in any way harmful to his country now that the courts have decided he was wrong.

This letter is written in behalf of an old friend of whose political views I know nothing, but whatever they are I believe they are sincere, although they may differ radically from my own.

Very respectfully yours,



Katharine Hepburn
179 Allyn Street
Hartford, Connecticut



Actress Katharine Hepburn wrote to the U.S. Board of Parole on behalf of screenwriter Ringgold Wilmer "Ring" Lardner, Jr., on September 1, 1950. Lardner and nine others had been found guilty of contempt of Congress and were blacklisted from Hollywood by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

"This sweeping exhibit is an opportunity to showcase not only notable signatures, but the signatures and stories of people unknown to history, and how they have made their mark on the American narrative," said Jennifer Johnson, the curator of the exhibit.

"Making Their Mark" uses items from all over the country," Johnson added, "and these records allow visitors to see the scope and breadth of the records the National Archives preserves."

Many of the treasured documents in the immense holdings of the National Archives are inscribed with signatures.

Many of the signatures are notable, such as those of the 56 men, including John Hancock, who signed the Declaration of Independence, becoming traitors in the eyes of George III. Others are famous individuals, such as legendary actress Katharine Hepburn and baseball great Jackie Robinson.

Hepburn, noted for her portrayals of fearless women, wrote a letter to the U.S. Board of Parole in 1950 asking that screenwriter Ring Lardner, Jr., be granted parole. Lardner had been jailed for refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee investigating communism in Hollywood.

By doing so, Hepburn was putting herself and her career at risk. Nonetheless, she went on to enjoy a long and acclaimed film career despite the letter.

529

The
Annapolis 20 Decemb: 1783

Sir,

I take the earliest opportunity
to inform Congress of my arrival in this
City, with the intention of asking leave
to resign the Commission I have the
honor of holding in their Service.

It is essential for me to know
their pleasure, and in what manner
it will be most proper to offer my resign-
-ation, whether in writing or at an
audience; I shall therefore request to be
honored with the necessary information,
that being apprized of sentiments of
Congress I may regulate my conduct
accordingly.

I have the honor to be
with great respect

Sir, Your Obedient

Most Obedient & humble
Servant,

G. Washington

President of Congress



Then there are signatures of those whose marks on history may have been fleeting but reveal the world around them. In World War II, a Japanese American inside an internment camp signed a loyalty questionnaire. In 1938 a Jewish tailor amid the increasing Nazi presence in Europe wrote to President Franklin D. Roosevelt pleading for help in leaving Hungary because of "political happenings."

In the 19th century, Texas landowner Polly Lemon petitioned Congress but, unable to sign her name, only signed with her mark, an "X." So did Harriet Tubman, who served as nurse, cook, spy, and scout for the Union during the Civil War. Decades after the war, a determined Tubman, signing with an "X," sought a pension for her services during the war.

Frederick Douglass wrote to President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 asking that his son, the first African American to enlist in the Union Army from New York, be discharged because of illness.

Above: The cigarette holder was one of President Franklin Roosevelt's signature accessories. Left: In his letter to the Continental Congress on December 20, 1783, at the end of the Revolutionary War, Gen. George Washington asked how he should offer his resignation, "whether in writing or at an audience." His deference to Congress set an important precedent for civilian rule. Right: General Eisenhower wearing an "Ike jacket," 1943. After the general had the standard army jacket shortened and tailored, it became standard issue after November 1944.



CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

6. Timing of such a proposal is very important. If such a proposal is made, it should be done very soon, before either Russia or the U.S. has accomplished a man-in-space mission.

7. If we wait until we make the first orbital flight, and then propose an exchange, it would appear that we are "rabbing it in" a little and are willing to throw a little information to our poor cousins who could not do it themselves. This would probably do us more harm than good in the attitude with the rest of the world.

8. If, on the other hand, we wait until the Russians have made the first orbital flight before we propose such an exchange, it would appear that we are trying to get information on how they did it because we have not been able to do the same thing. This would also do us harm in the eyes of other countries.

9. To summarize, we stand to gain information in an exchange of visits, while giving little information that is not already known. Propaganda value of such a proposal and visit should be very favorable for us, if the proposal is made from the U.S. and before either country has made an orbital flight.

10. One way to assess the value of such a proposal is to think of our reaction and the reaction of other countries if the Russians make such a proposal first. It appears that we stand to gain by making the proposal first.

11. It is realized that there are many considerations involved in such a proposal. NASA, State Department, Intelligence, and many other government sources concerned must have vital inputs that will determine whether the proposal is not only feasible, but advisable.

12. The proposal is herewith submitted for consideration.

M. Scott Carpenter

M. Scott Carpenter
Lieutenant, USN

Leroy G. Cooper Jr.

Leroy G. Cooper
Captain, USAF

John H. Glenn, Jr.

John H. Glenn
Lt. Col., USMC

Virgil I. Grissom

Virgil I. Grissom
Captain, USAF

Walter M. Schirre

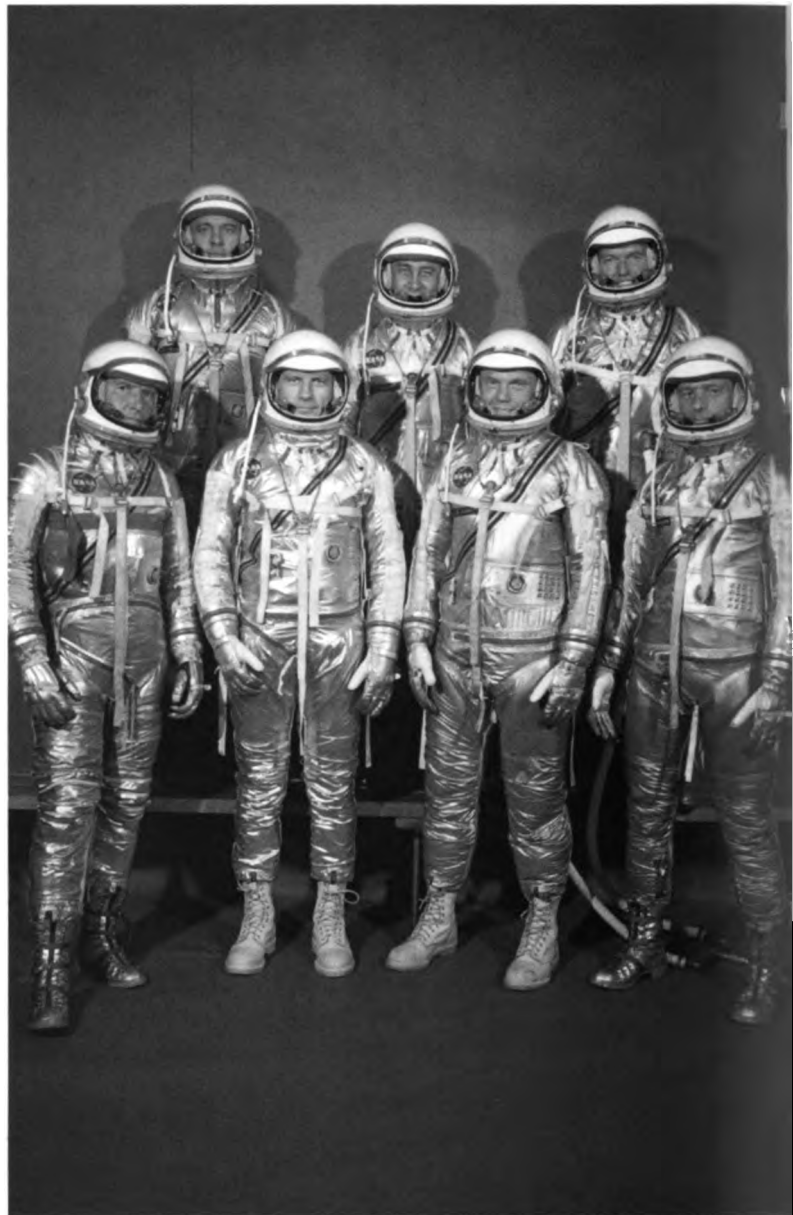
Walter M. Schirre
Lt. Cmdr., USN

Alan B. Shepard

Alan B. Shepard
Lt. Cmdr., USN

Donald K. Slayton

Donald K. Slayton
Captain, USAF



Left: When NASA proposed in a memo that the United States and Russia cooperate through an exchange of visits, five of the seven astronauts signed the memo.

Right: The original Mercury Seven, 1960, were to be the first American men in space.

Below: Eisenhower's "short noters," a collection of 19 bank notes, representing over 10 countries and signed by over 90 men and women. Servicemen adopted the tradition of signing and exchanging currency and then sharing a drink with those they met along the way. Opposite: Harriet Tubman's general affidavit relating to her claim for a pension, ca. 1898. She signed with her "X," claiming \$1,800 for her wartime service as a nurse, cook, and scout.



case as follows:

(NOTE.—Affiants should state how they gain a knowledge of the facts to which they testify.)

My claim against the U.S. is for three years services as nurse and cook in hospitals, and as commander of several men (Eight or nine) as scouts during the late war of the Rebellion, under directions and orders of Edwin M. Stanton Secretary of War, and of several Generals.

I claim for my services above named the sum of Eighteen hundred dollars. The annexed copies have recently been read over to me and are true to the best of my knowledge information and belief.

I further declare that I have ~~no~~ interest in said case and ~~am~~ ^{am} not concerned in its prosecution. and allowance.

Orin M. Garty
W. Elsie M. Garty.

(If Affiants sign by mark, two witnesses who write sign here.)

her
Harriet Davis
Sate Harriet Tubman
mark

(Signatures of Affiants.)



Private

196
Fredk Douglass
Aug 29. 64

For discharge of his son, Chas R
Sgt Co I 5th Mass Regt. Cav
See this boy be discharged
A. Lincoln

Aug 27. 1864.

West. 1864. Sept 2.

10 P.M. 1/4/15

Referred to the Adjutant General for the execution of the President's order.

By order of the
Secretary of War.
L. A. Seward.
Asst. Secretary of War.

War Dept.
Sept. 2. 1864.

1864

Your, Mr President - I hope I shall not presume
to much upon your kindness - but I have a very
great favor to ask. It is not that you will
appoint ^{an} General Agent to carry out the Plan
now proposed - though I would not shrink from that
duty - but it is, that you will cause my son
Charles Douglass. 1st Sergeant of Company D. 5th
Massachusetts Colored Cavalry - now stationed
at "Point Look out" to be discharged - He is now
sick - He was the first Colored Volunteer from the
State of New York - having enlisted with his Older Brother
in the Mass. 54th partly to encourage enlistments -
He was but 16. When he ~~is~~ enlisted - and has been
in the service 18. Months. If your Excellency can
Confer this favor - you will lay me under many obligations
Again your Obedient Servant

Fredk Douglass

Above: Frederick Douglass wrote to President Lincoln in late August 1864, asking that his youngest son, Charles, be discharged from the Army. He noted that Charles was sick and had served for 18 months. Right: Lincoln wrote on the back: "Let this boy be discharged." Opposite: Richard Nixon's application to be an FBI special agent, April 29, 1937. Nixon never received a reply, and in later years, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover informed Nixon that he had been accepted as a special agent but was not hired due to budget cuts

"Let this boy be discharged," Lincoln wrote on the back over his signature.

Some documents are important not for the individual names but for the strength of many names brought together for a common cause. Among the petitions asking for change is a letter to President Gerald R. Ford with 75 senators signing in unity to "reaffirm the commitment . . . that has been the bipartisan basis of American policy for over 26 years and five administrations."

Then there are those that offer a window into a very young America, such as the 1799

petition signed by all employees at the U.S. Mint, promising to return to work once the yellow fever epidemic passed. George Washington wrote to the Continental Congress humbly asking how he should resign as commander-in-chief so he could return to his home in Virginia.

As the Allied leaders met at Potsdam, Germany, in the spring of 1945 to decide the shape of the post-World War II world, President Harry S. Truman passed around his dinner program for all to sign. Two of the signers were British Prime Minister Winston

Churchill and Soviet Communist Party Boss Josef Stalin.

Some signatures didn't seem significant at the time. In 1960, a 14-year-old from Beverly, Massachusetts, wrote to President Eisenhower asking for an autographed photograph. His name was Dave Ferriero, and he was doing what millions of children have done over the years.

Today, Dave Ferriero is Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero, the person in charge of the National Archives.

"This exhibit brings a new meaning to

24. List the names of any relatives now in the Government service, with the degree of relationship, and where employed:

None

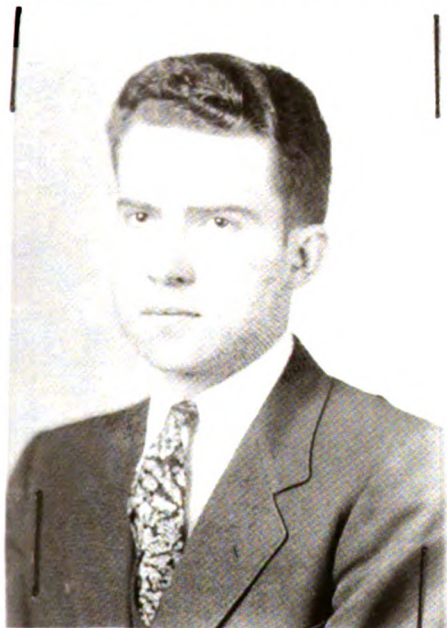
25. What is the lowest entrance salary you will accept? Standard for special agents

26. Are you in a position to accept probationary employment at any time, without previous notice, and, if notice is required, how much? Yes - no notice necessary

27. In the event of appointment will you be willing to proceed to Washington, D.C., upon 10 days' notice and at your own expense? Yes

28. If appointed are you willing and prepared to accept assignment or transfer to any part of the United States where services are required, for either temporary or permanent duration? Yes

a photograph not larger than 3 by 4 1/4 inches. Write your name plainly on the photograph to be taken *not more than 30 days prior to date of application.*



Respectfully,

Richard M. Nixon
(Signature of applicant as usually written)

NOTE.—If the applicant desires to make any further remarks or statements concerning his qualifications or in answer to any question contained in the application, the same should be made on a separate sheet of paper, numbering the remarks in accordance with the original questions.

must be subscribed to by all applicants for positions in the Federal Bureau of Investi-

to before me by the above-named applicant, this 29 day
of April, 1937, at city (or town) of Durham, county
of Durham, and State (or Territory or District) of North Carolina

Lina E. Wilson
(Signature of official)

Notary Public
(Official title)

[OFFICIAL IMPRESSION SEAL]

my comm. expires
Jan. 15, 1939.

Dear Mr. President,
 Please don't leave my
 brother and I without a
 Mommy and Daddy.
 They have always been
 good to us. We love them
 very much.

Michael and Robert
 Rosenberg

36 Laurel Hill Terrace
 New York, N.Y.

our goal of increasing access to records at the National Archives," Ferriero said. "We see signatures that, once affixed to a document, often produced a historic moment that changed the course of world history or the lot in life of a single individual."

"Signatures can also tell us a lot about their owners and the circumstances under which they were made. Hancock was defiant, Lincoln was decisive, Tubman was determined, Hepburn was fearless, and Truman was confident—all evident in their signatures or 'marks,'" Ferriero added.

Not everything in "Making Their Mark" is a signature on paper or parchment.

Left: Robert Rosenberg, age 10, and Michael Rosenberg, age 6, pleaded for the lives of their parents, convicted spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, in a letter to President Eisenhower. The Rosenberg parents were sentenced to death for passing secret information on the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. Below left: Osama Nakata, a Japanese American internee, signed a statement, ca. 1942, that he "will not serve in the armed forces of the U.S." until the constitutional rights of his family were restored. Below right: Japanese Americans were uprooted from their communities on the west coast and relocated to camps such as this one at Poston, Arizona, for the duration of the war.

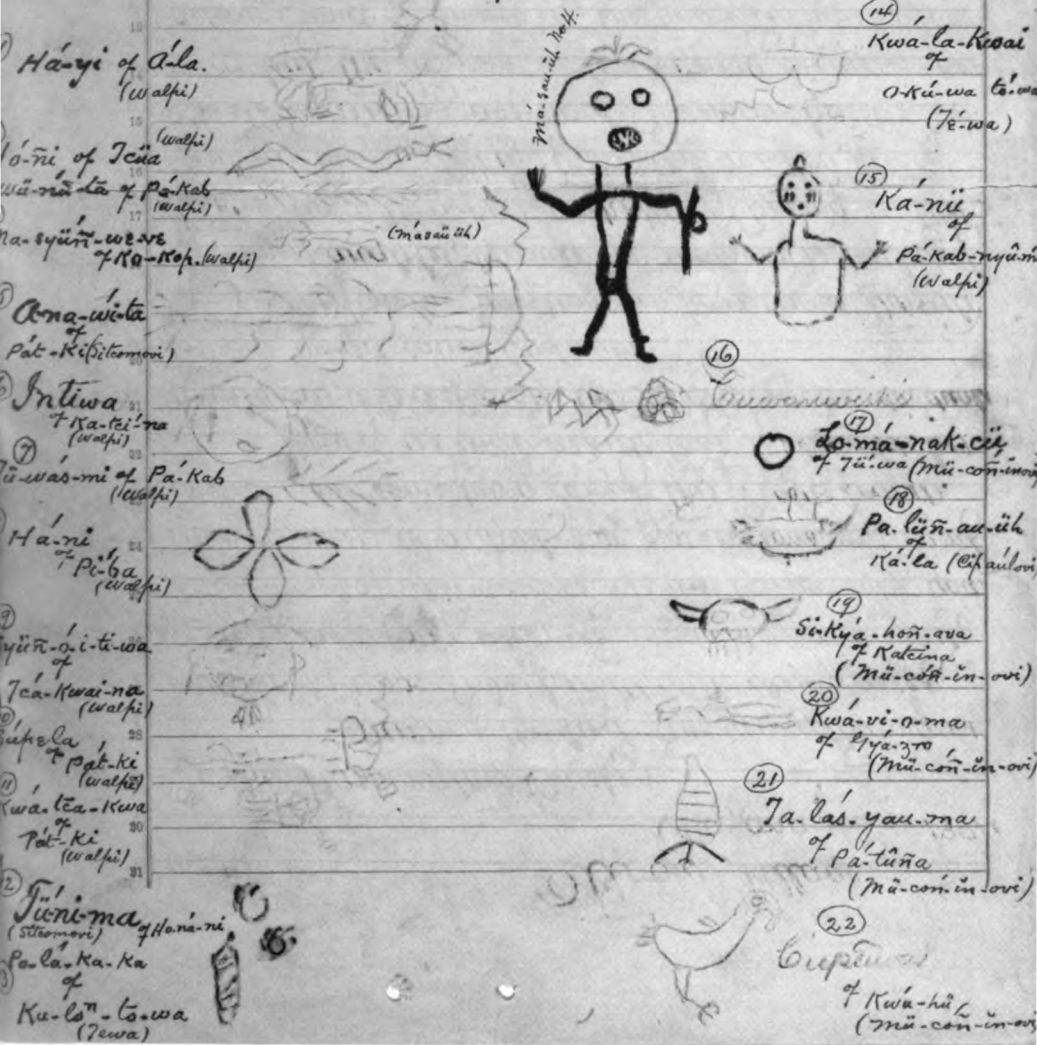
If my family are not returned this
 "CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS" of the U.S.
 I will not serve in the armed forces of
 the U.S., this does not mean that I
 will not completely serve the armed
 force of the U.S. but will serve half
 way, but I am willing to preserve the
 principles of a democracy and freedom
 by working in a defence plant or by
 operating a farm or in any other form
 to help the U.S. to win this war
 providing that the U.S. government will
 provide the fund.

Very truly yours,

Osama Nakata
 Osama Nakata



a certain area around our lands, was proclaimed to be for our use, but the extent of this area is unknown to us, nor has any Agent, ever been able to point it out, for its boundaries have never been measured. We most earnestly desire to have one continuous boundary ring enclosing all the Piwa and all the Hopi lands, and that it shall be large enough to afford sustenance for our increasing flocks and herds. If such a scope can be confirmed to us by a paper from your hands, securing us forever against intrusion, all our people will be satisfied:



President Franklin D. Roosevelt left many famous words, but he also sought to convey confidence for a nation pulling itself out of the Great Depression and into World War II. His famous ivory cigarette holder with a quill mouth piece was his favorite and the one he used most.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe during World War II, had a signature style, in his case a jacket. He asked that the standard issue field jacket be tailored for him, and the result was the "Ike jacket," which comes just to the waist. Countless photographs show General Eisenhower in his jacket with other generals and with his troops. It became standard issue to U.S. troops after November 1944.

President Lyndon B. Johnson was known for his ability to persuade others to agree with his point of view after giving them the signature "Johnson treatment." His large and commanding 6-foot 4-inch frame helped him convince many people to support his position or legislation.

A famous photograph shows Johnson leaning over Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, his friend and mentor in the Senate. In 1964, Johnson made clear to Russell that he was going to get the landmark civil rights legislation through the Senate despite his mentor's opposition.

A signature tells a story. It may be at the bottom of a letter, or it may be at the bottom of legislation that will change the course of history.

"Making Their Mark" invites visitors to look at a signature, imagine the moment the document was signed, and realize how the signers have made their mark on history. ■

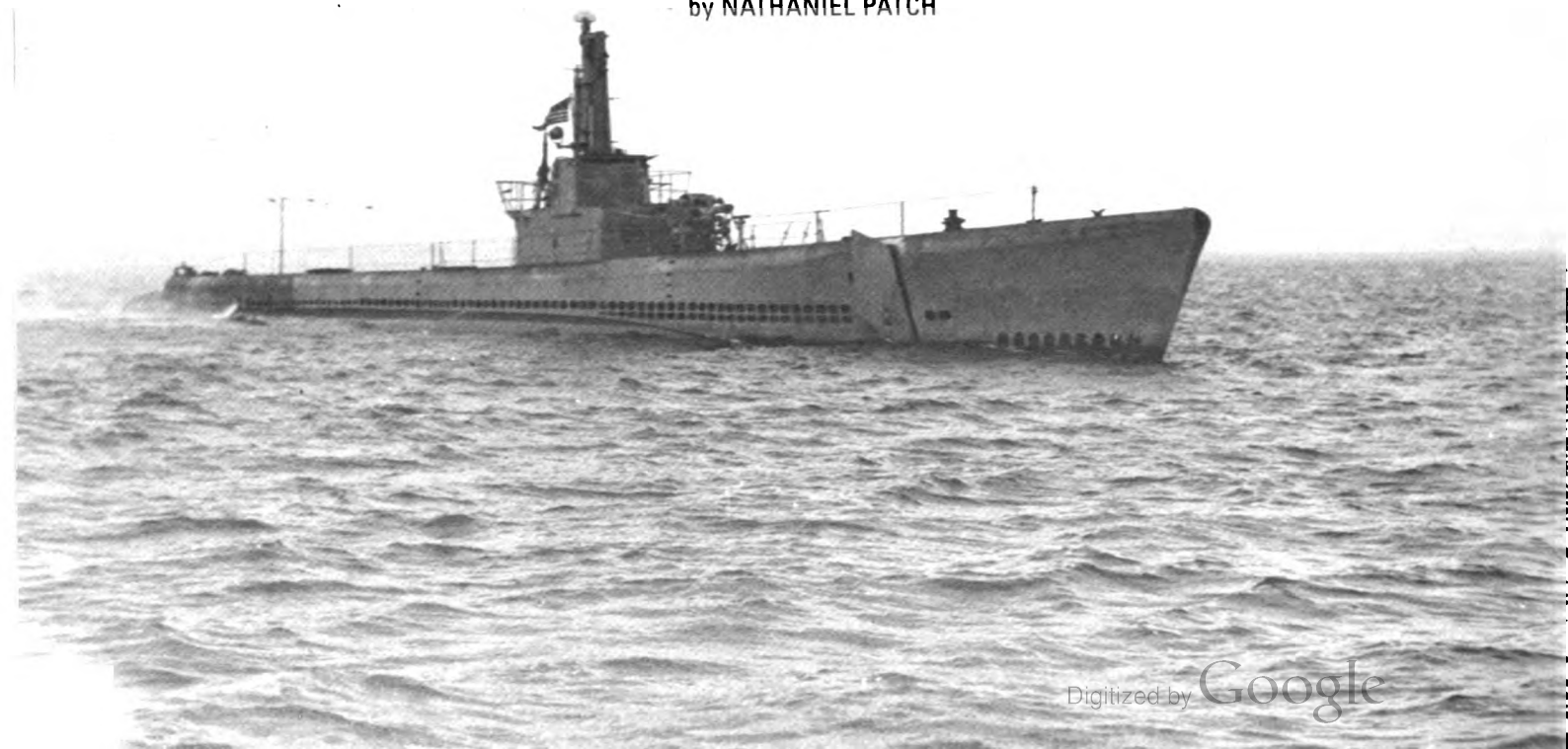
A page from a Hopi (Moqui) petition signed by all the chiefs and headmen of the tribe, asking that the federal government give the tribe collective title to their lands rather than make allotments to individuals as determined by the Dawes Act.



KAMIKAZES!

When Japanese Planes Attacked
the U.S. Submarine *Devilfish*

by NATHANIEL PATCH



The image of desperate Japanese pilots purposely flying their planes into American warships in the closing months of World War II figures prominently in American popular culture.

When most people hear the term *kamikaze*, they think of swarms of planes flying through a torrent of antiaircraft fire and plowing into the decks of aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, and destroyers, taking the lives of sailors and damaging or sinking the ships in this desperate act.

Out of the hundreds of these attacks, one was quite unusual: the only kamikaze attack on an American submarine, the USS *Devilfish* (SS 292).

Why was this submarine attacked, and why was there only one attacker? The story of the attack on the *Devilfish* seems to be a fragment of a larger story, separated by time and distance, occurring on March 20, 1945. If kamikazes attacked in numbers, where were the other planes? If the priority for kamikazes were aircraft carriers and other surface ships, then why attack a submarine? This article explores a possible answer to these questions by analyzing the attack on the *Devilfish* within the context of other actions on that day.

The story begins in the afternoon of March 20, 1945, when the *Devilfish*, under the command of Lt. Comdr. Stephen S. Mann, was starting her second war patrol. The submarine was cruising on the surface west of Iwo Jima, heading toward the rotating patrol area called the "Hit Parade" between Tokyo Bay and the Northern Nanpo Islands. At 4:45 p.m. local time, lookouts spotted a Japanese plane five miles behind them. The submarine rigged for a crash dive to avoid attack from bombs or depth charges. After passing a depth of 50 feet, the submarine shuddered from an explosion from what the vessel's war report called a "light bomb." A few moments later, water began to rush into the conning tower from under the SJ RADAR mast and the APR lead in.

Crew Worked Quickly To Minimize Damage

Submarines are strange vessels. They are built to endure hundreds of tons of water pressure closing in around them when submerged, but they are not armored like surface vessels. Bombs and gunfire can easily damage them. An explosion, either on or near a submerged submarine is a terrifying ordeal. A simple break in the tension of the vessel's structural integrity can trigger a cascading failure and cause the submarine to implode.

Fortunately, the *Devilfish* was close to the surface when the explosion occurred, and the submarine took only minor damage that the crew could control.

The officers and crew in the control room took quick action to prevent the submarine from sinking and to mitigate the damage done by the incoming saltwater. They leveled off the submarine at 80 feet, and the drain pumps were barely keeping up with the incoming water. The bilges of the conning tower filled rapidly, and water began pouring into the control room. A constant spray of saltwater from the conning tower splashed onto the electrical panels and consoles in the control room. The crew covered the panels with canvas, rain gear, and anything else they could find to prevent fires and short circuits. They also fabricated a trough to channel the incoming water into the periscope well.

After getting the flooding under control, the officers began to assess the larger situation. Much to their surprise, they could raise the No. 1 periscope, but they could not see through it. They then tried the No. 2 periscope. It could not even be raised. The crew of the *Devilfish* endured several hours of terror and uncertainty, waiting until darkness to surface in order to evaluate the damage. Then, under the cover of night, the crew discovered extensive damage. What surprised them was the aircraft debris strewn across the deck—they had been hit not by a bomb but by a "suicide plane." The *Devilfish*'s war patrol report described the damage:

Draped across the shears were several pieces of aluminum which appeared to be parts of a planes wing section. On the cigarette deck was found a piece of aluminum fairing, mounting a piece of tubing which looked like a section of a planes landing gear. Closer examination revealed Japanese symbols on some of the pieces. A name plate in Japanese was also found. It never occurred to us that we had been the victims of a suicide attack until after we had surfaced.

The kamikaze plane had sheared off the SD and SJ RADAR masts, punched an eight-inch hole in the periscope shears, destroyed the APR and VHF antennas and the underwater radio loop, and distorted the upper

Opposite, bottom: The USS *Devilfish* was the only submarine that suffered a kamikaze attack in World War II. *Opposite, top:* Some of the crew of the *Devilfish*.

periscope bearings. Because of the extensive damage, Commander Mann decided to abort the war patrol and head back to Saipan for repairs. The next morning, the *Devilfish* crossed paths with the USS *Tinosa* (SS 283) on her way out to patrol.

Kamikaze Attacks Not New to Warfare

A look at the organization and methods of the kamikaze units shows why the *Devilfish* incident was considered so unusual in the history of kamikaze attacks during World War II.

Kamikaze methods were developed in the last year of the war as Allied forces began to encroach on the home islands of Japan. At the end of 1944, the loss of the Mariana and Caroline Islands during the summer and the invasion of the Philippines in the fall pushed back the boundaries of the Japanese Empire. The defense of the empire was becoming desperate.

Conventional tactics and methods were no longer effective because the Japanese had lost most of their experienced pilots. The new, inexperienced pilots were no match in dogfighting with veteran American naval aviators.

With the shortage of veteran combat pilots and the need to pursue the defense of Japan at all costs, the Japanese Naval Air Command modernized an old Japanese tactic.

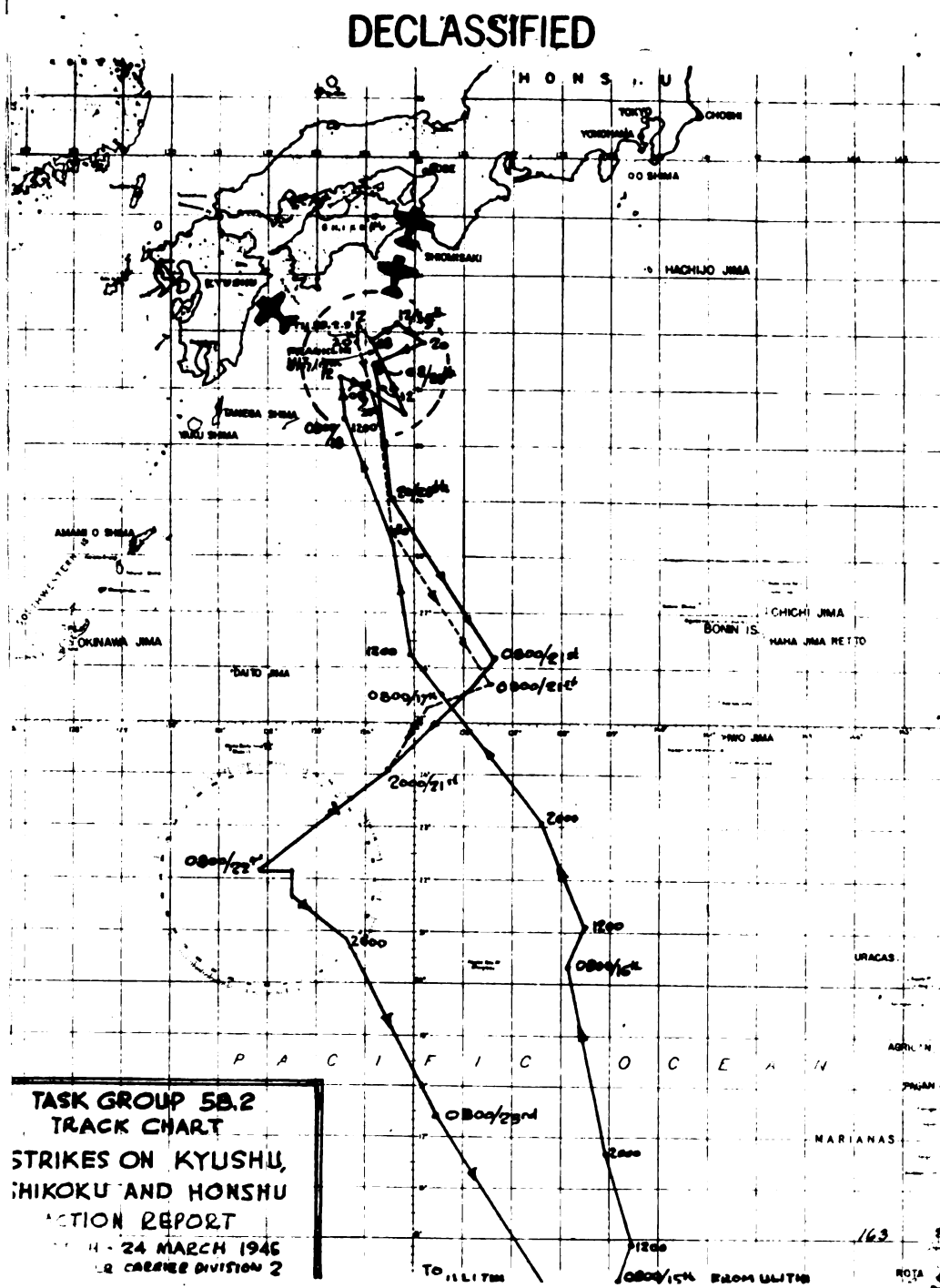
The concept of fighting to the last man was not uncharacteristic for the Japanese. Making such a stand was a common theme in stories of samurai faced with insurmountable odds, and the Japanese had already begun to use last-resort *Banzai* charges in their defense of their island territories in the Marshalls and Gilberts by pushing the American invaders into the sea. A Japanese soldier, sailor, or pilot understood that sacrificing his life was a way to pay his debt to the emperor. He did not consider such a death as throwing away a life, but fulfilling a duty.

The first organized kamikaze attack took place on October 25, 1944, when Lt. Yukio Seki of the 201st Air Group commanded the first group of five *tokko*, or Special Attack Corps units, against the American fleet at Leyte Gulf. Four groups in all were launched from bases in the Philippines to attack the numerically superior American aircraft carriers. Catching the Americans by surprise, the *tokko* planes were able to damage and sink a few ships, but most of the damage was psychological: the United States had never fought an enemy willing to commit young lives in a momentary action of destruction.

U.S. Forces Prepare For Kamikaze Attacks

The technique of *tai-atari*, or "body-crashing," was not unheard of. Both sides used this as a last resort when a plane was damaged beyond its ability to return safely to base. A pilot could choose to either ditch the plane into the water with a hope of being recovered or make a final gesture by ramming the plane into an enemy ship or facility.

A map from the Task Force 58 action report shows the general patrol area of the USS *Devilfish* west of Iwo Jima, along the rotating patrol area called the "Hit Parade" between Tokyo Bay and the Northern Nanpo Islands.



SS292/AL

CONFIDENTIAL

U.S.S. DEVILFISH(SS292) - Report of SECOND WAR PATROL.

Designated Task Unit 17.1.1 and assigned Hit Parade area to conduct offensive patrol in waters between Tokyo Bay and Northern Nanpo Shoto Islands and to provide life guard services as directed, instructions in accordance with Opord. 64-45.

16 March 1945

1645 K Departed Saipan escorted by PC 536 enroute to patrol area.
2250 K Dismissed escort.

17 March 1945

0600 K Made routine trim dive.
1200 K Noon position - 15° 24'N 141° 42'E. Conducting daily training exercises.

18 March 1945

0230 K Exchanged recognition signals and calls with U.S.S. SEA FOACHER(SS406) on opposite course.
0948 K Made routine trim dive.
1200 K Noon position - 18° 22'N 137° 38'E.

19 March 1945

1200 Noon position - 22° 45'N 137° 39'E.

20 March 1945

0623 K Made routine trim dive.
0842 K Sighted unidentified plane. Plane closed to about five miles. Dove and evaded.
1645 K OOD sighted Zeke or Hap diving from cloud astern at about five miles. Dove. While passing 50 feet heard light explosion which sounded like a light bomb, not close. In about 10 seconds water commenced pouring through bottom of SJ mast and through APR lead in. We were able to close off latter leak but could do nothing about the SJ. Water came in at such a rate that drain pump could just keep up with it. We leveled off at 80 feet. Conning Tower bilges filled rapidly and a regular waterfall came down the hatch into Control Room. In order to prevent a fire, circuits were pulled to Conning Tower equipment which was being showered.

Tai-atari, as a purposeful act, became popular during the B-29 raids over Japan when defending fighters, unable to shoot down the heavy bombers, attacked them with their planes. Again, body-crashing the plane was up to the pilot, and there was still the possibility of surviving. During a B-29 raid on August 20, 1944, two pilots made the ultimate sacrifice, Sgt. 1st Class Shigeo Nobe and Corp. Denzo Takagi. When they failed to shoot down the lead B-29 in the conventional way, they crashed their plane into the Superfortress. Both planes were engulfed in a huge fireball, and all crew members perished. The Japanese papers praised the impulsive act of the pilots and began to cultivate the mystique of the kamikaze by connecting *tai-atari* with the deification of the suicide pilots' souls

in the Yasukuni Shrine, the temple where the emperor worshipped.

The initial name for the *Tokko* Corps was the *Shimpu* Special Attack Corps, but American code-breakers translated the kanji for "*Shimpu*" as "*kamikaze*," meaning "divine wind," the timely typhoons that disrupted the Mongol invasions. The name *kamikaze* stuck and became imbedded in American culture as a fearful opponent.

Organizing kamikaze planes into units became a numbers game: the greater number of planes the Japanese could commit to *tai-atari*, the more chances they had for successful strikes.

During the Philippine campaign, the Japanese got away with small kamikaze raids largely because the Americans were unprepared

Damage to the *Devilfish* is detailed in the vessel's Second War Patrol report. It describes the dangerous leak into the control room and the efforts to control the flooding.

for them. As the campaign continued, the Americans adapted their defenses, shooting down more kamikazes than could strike their targets. The Americans had increased their fighter protection, developed new anti-aircraft ordnance with proximity fuses, and employed longer range radar, which gave them earlier warning of incoming sorties. As American defenses adapted to suicide planes and as their forces advanced toward the home islands, the number of kamikaze sorties increased.

Training for Japanese Pilots Was Shortened Gradually

How did kamikaze pilots differ from the pilots who flew at the start of the war?

At the beginning of World War II, the Japanese military estimated that pilots needed 500 hours of flight experience to be prepared for combat missions. In 1941, Japanese naval combat pilots had an average of 700 hours of flight experience, and army combat pilots had an average of 500 hours. By 1944, the average hours of flight training had dipped down to 300 hours for the Japanese navy and 200 hours for the Japanese army. By comparison, the *tokko tai* pilots received 40 to 50 hours of flight training. Kamikaze pilots were trained for approximately seven days. In the first few days they learned to take off. In the following days, they learned to fly in formation; the last days were devoted to study and practice in how to attack a target.

Pilots who flew missions early in the Special Attack Corps history had more experience than their successors. As the war progressed, the number of hours for flight training was reduced, and the time to teach rudimentary piloting skills like navigation was curtailed.

One of the key elements in flying combat missions is to reach the target, but with only a tenth of the amount of training, how



The destroyer USS Halsey Powell off Saipan, undated.

accurate would new pilots be in navigating and locating targets on the open ocean? Getting lost after being separated from the group was highly likely.

Because kamikaze units were only to fly their planes into ships, and not engage in aerial combat, the Special Attack Corps planners devised a creative solution for getting the planes to the target and defending them at the same time. A group of Zeros (Mitsubishi A6M, also sometimes referred to as Zekes) was assigned to escort them. The pilots of these escorts were more experienced

combat veterans and could navigate to and from the target areas. The kamikazes would play follow the leader to the target and then engage the American ships once they were in sight. The escorts brought back word of the kamikazes' success.

Where Did It Come From?

Why Was It Alone?

If the rationale behind kamikaze sorties was to increase the number of planes attacking American aircraft carrier task forces, why would a single Japanese plane in 1945 attack

an American submarine? Where were the other planes? Was there anything else happening on March 20, 1945, that would explain where this plane came from?

The time and place of the attack on the *Devilfish* can provide some clues. The *Devilfish* was close to Iwo Jima, but would the kamikaze attack a month after the landings? But by March 20, 1945, Japanese forces on Iwo Jima were all but defeated. There was still a small pocket of resistance in the northeast part of the island, but it seems unlikely that the Japanese would commit

CONFIDENTIAL

THIRD ENDORSEMENT to
DEVILFISH Report of
Second War Patrol.

COMSUBSPAC PATROL NO. 719
U.S.S. DEVILFISH - SECOND WAR PATROL.

From: The Commander Submarine Force, Pacific Fleet.
To: The Commander-in-Chief, United States Fleet.
Via: The Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet.
Subject: U.S.S. DEVILFISH (SS292) - Report of Second War Patrol
(16 March to 6 April 1945).

Care of Fleet Post Office,
San Francisco, California,
12 April, 1945. **4 03**

NOTE: THIS REPORT WILL BE
DESTROYED PRIOR TO
ENTERING PATROL AREA.

1. The second war patrol of the DEVILFISH, under the command of Lieutenant Commander S. S. Mann, Jr., U.S. Navy, was to be conducted in the Empire areas.

2. While the DEVILFISH was proceeding to area an enemy plane, estimated to be a Rep or Zeké type, dove out of a cloud at her. In fact, the plane dove into the mast-structures of the DEVILFISH as the latter was diving resulting in one plane splashed in return for the loss of SD and ST masts, LPR and VHF antennae and damage to periscope shears of the DEVILFISH.

3. Award of Submarine Combat Insignia for this patrol is authorized.

4. While the Force Commander does not recommend this method of destroying enemy planes, he does congratulate the DEVILFISH for the destruction of an enemy plane and the courageous actions of all hands in handling the battle damage.

D E S T R O Y E D

1 - Plane (Fighter Type) (EU)

DISTRIBUTION:
(Complete Reports)

MERRILL COMSTOCK.

CINCPAC	(7)	
CNO	(5)	
CinCPac	(6)	ComsubspacAdComd (40)
JICPOA	(1)	SUBAD, HI (2)
ADICPOA	(1)	ComsubspacSubdecom (3)
Comsolvpac	(1)	All Squadron and Div.
Cinlant	(1)	Commanders, Pacific (2)
Comsublant	(8)	Substreinpac (2)
S/1 School, NL	(2)	All Submarines, Pacific (1)
CO, S/1 Base, PH	(1)	
Comsopac	(2)	<i>E. L. Hynes, 2nd,</i>
Comsowspac	(1)	<i>Flag Secretary.</i>
Comsubowspac	(2)	
CTG 71.9	(2)	
Comorpac	(1)	
Comsubpac	(3)	

EXTRA - ORIGINAL
SORG. MICRO
PHOTO-LAB OP 16
RETURN TO F-4253

kamikazes to the remaining defenders. On February 21, 1945, during the American landings on Iwo Jima, the Japanese had used 32 kamikazes, but there were no other such attacks related to Iwo Jima after that date.

The next major American action was Operation Iceberg, the invasion of Okinawa, planned for April 1, 1945. It had become standard practice for the U.S. Navy to conduct preliminary strikes into areas they were

planning to invade. Because Operation Iceberg was hitting so close to the Japanese home islands, the Navy expected that air bases in southern Japan would lend support to repel any invasion of Okinawa. Were there any carrier strikes against southern Japan on March 20, 1945, that might have attracted kamikazes?

The answer is "yes." Beginning March 18, 1945, Task Force 58, an aircraft carrier

The Third Endorsement of the submarine's patrol, dated April 12, 1945, commends the crew of the *Devilfish*, but half-jokingly notes that "the Force Commander does not recommend this method of destroying enemy planes."

group, struck against southern Japan, attacking airfields on Shikoku, Kyushu, and southern Honshu in preparation for the invasion of Okinawa. Task Force 58 was attacking air bases to prevent the Japanese from providing air cover for the defense of the island forces or sending kamikazes to the amphibious force landing on Okinawa. In turn, it suffered many kamikaze attacks.

The American destroyer USS *Halsey Powell* (DD 686), part of the screening force for Task Force Group 58.2, was struck at 2:55 p.m. on March 20. The kamikaze sortie included 20 Yokosuka *Suisei* D4Y3/D4Y4 bombers (also called Judys) from Kokubu and Oita in southern Kyushu. The kamikaze escorts claimed that the attack was successful, damaging an *Essex*-class carrier and setting a *Saratoga*-class carrier afire. In truth, only the *Halsey Powell* and the *Devilfish* were struck that day.

U.S. Carrier and Destroyer Attacked by Enemy Planes

On the day the carrier and the submarine were hit, the Task Force Group Combat Air Patrol (CAP) encountered several enemy aircraft approaching the formation. Between 10:30 a.m. and 2:50 p.m., the planes from the different aircraft carriers successfully kept enemy aircraft at bay until a single plane broke through. The destroyer *Halsey Powell* was moored to the aircraft carrier USS *Hancock* (CV 13) and receiving fuel. When the approach of the enemy plane was reported, the destroyer disconnected from the aircraft carrier. Within moments of breaking the connection, the aircraft carrier and other ships lit into the kamikaze and set it ablaze. The damaged plane went into a roll and flew across the deck of the *Hancock*, missing the carrier. The hapless plane, after



To learn more about

- Japan's plan for a decisive naval battle, go to "The 'Z' Plan Story" at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2005/fall/z-plan-1.html.
- The Allied drive, island by island, toward the Japanese mainland, go to "Operation Blissful" at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/fall/blissful.html.
- NARA's holdings of records from World War II, go to www.archives.gov/research/military/ww2/.



A Japanese plane crashes between the USS *Halsey Powell* and the USS *Hancock* on March 20, 1945, causing a fire on the fantail of the *Halsey Powell*.

clearing the *Hancock*, careened into the fantail of the *Halsey Powell* just aft of the #5 gun. A gasoline fire broke out in the living compartments and the steerage control compartment. With the steerage control compartment damaged, the destroyer lost the ability to maneuver properly. The casualties of the *Halsey Powell* included 7 killed in action, 4 missing in action, and 27 wounded in action. As best they could, the crew managed to steer the destroyer away from the other ships to avoid a collision.

About an hour later, a second wave of enemy planes was sighted in the northwest. Several planes attempted suicide runs or tricked Allied vessels into firing at each other by flying so low that antiaircraft fire became friendly fire. No other ships were badly damaged after the *Halsey Powell*, although the USS *Enterprise* had a few fires on the flight deck caused by friendly fire.

The distance between the destroyer and the submarine at the time of the attack on the *Devilfish* was approximately 382.5 standard miles (332.4 nautical miles). Estimates range between about 322 and 382 standard miles, based on the noon positions of the two vessels (the *Devilfish* was at 28° 13.5'

N and 137° 34.2' E and the *Halsey Powell* was at 30° 55' N and 133° 11' E) and taking into consideration that the vessels had changed position between the times of the attacks on them. Because the *Devilfish* was heading east toward Japan and the *Halsey Powell* was conducting operations near Japan, the distance between the two ships would be getting shorter throughout the day. Was the lone kamikaze part of the group that attacked the *Halsey Powell* and the carrier group? If it was, then it seems it had a long way to travel.

Was there enough time for a kamikaze from the *tokko* raid to fly from Task Force 58 to the *Devilfish*? According to the *Halsey Powell's* deck log and war diary, the ship was attacked at 2:55 p.m. According to the *Devilfish's* deck log and war patrol report, the submarine was attacked at 4:45 p.m., nearly two hours later.

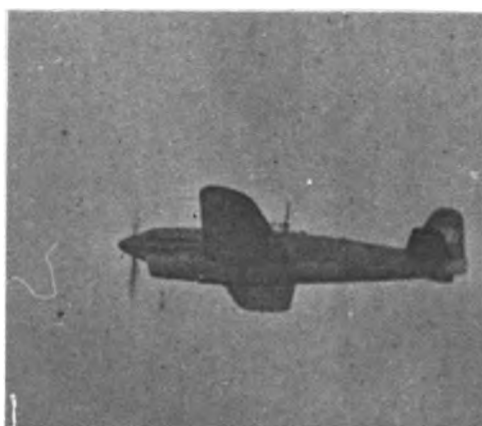
Was a Judy capable of attacking the *Devilfish*—if that Judy had gotten lost or separated from group attacking Task Force 58? Yokosuka *Suisei* (Judys) were single-engine, two-seater dive bombers that were originally designed for aircraft carrier operations. Later models D4Y3 and D4Y4 of

the Judy were improved with radial engines for greater speed and range, and their bomb capacity was increased, making them ideal for later kamikaze missions. Judys had been used in kamikaze attacks since October 15, 1944, when Rear Adm. Masafumi Arima flew a Judy into the USS *Franklin* (CV 13) near the Philippines.

Judys had an operational range of about 910 to 920 standard miles for a maximum range of 1,796 standard miles. Their maximum speed was 342 to 357 miles an hour, but their cruising speed was around 207 to 265 miles an hour. It is unlikely that a lost pilot would be tearing around the Pacific at maximum speed.

Using a cruising speed of 207 miles an hour, the Judy could have flown 372.6 miles in nearly two hours. This distance is well within the estimated distance of the two American vessels' noon positions and within operational range even for the late afternoon estimate of 382 miles. One of the planes from the Japanese attack group could have flown from the vicinity of the *Halsey Powell* to the *Devilfish*.

But why would a kamikaze attack a submarine?



Several views of the Japanese Yokosuka Suisei bomber (also called a "Judy") on the attack. It is possible that a Judy, separated from the earlier attack on a U.S. carrier group, struck the *Devilfish*.

Unfortunately, we cannot know the answer or even be sure that it was a kamikaze plane at all. It is, however, believable that a lone kamikaze could become separated from his group. Kamikaze pilots had far less training than even a beginning combat pilot.

Because kamikaze units had armed escorts with experienced pilots to guide and protect them, there was no real need to teach the pilots navigation. The kamikaze pilots depended on their escorts for navigation until they had the enemy fleet in sight. Their lack of combat training and aerial navigation lends support to a scenario in which a kamikaze pilot from the *tokko* group attacking Task Force 58 on March 20, 1945, could have gotten lost and attacked the *Devilfish*. In this case, it is unlikely that the pilot could have navigated back to the group or to the target area. The pilot may have been lost and disoriented, with little time left as fuel was running out. It is possible he happened to see a wake of ship in the distance and decided that any

target was better than none. This might have been the situation with the attack on the *Devilfish*. It might have been sheer chance. The submarine became a target of opportunity, in the wrong place at the wrong time.

The story of the *Devilfish* ends with her sailing to Pearl Harbor for a more thorough repair. Strangely, this incident does not even count as a full war patrol because the *Devilfish* was damaged before getting to her patrol area. But it did earn the *Devilfish* and her crew the coveted Submarine Combat Insignia pin, which can only be awarded for successful encounters with the enemy.

Force Commander Adm. Merrill Comstock, in his endorsement of the second war patrol report, wrote in a half-joking tone, "While the Force Commander does not recommend this method of destroying enemy planes, he does congratulate the DEVILFISH for the destruction of an enemy plane and the courageous actions of all hands in handling the battle damage." **P**

NOTE ON SOURCES

I discovered the story about the attack on the *Devilfish* when I was working on my master's thesis on the American submarine patrols around the Japanese Home Islands and their effects on the war. The two chief sources are from Submarine Operational History, World War II, by the Commander, Submarine Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet, found in the National War College Library (Entry NM-16 315) in Record Group 334, Records of Inter-service Agencies, and Theodore Roscoe's *United States Submarine Operations in World War II*. In both of these histories, the story of the *Devilfish* is mentioned as an anecdote without further detail.

The story was confirmed when I read the report of the second war patrol of the USS *Devilfish* in Record Groups 38 (Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations) and 313 (Records of Naval Operating Forces), in which the skipper described the encounter with the kamikaze with terror and confusion, not understanding what had just happened to them. The endorsement by Merrill Comstock of COMSUBPAC and his cheeky comment that this was not a recommended method for submarines to deal with Japanese aircraft made the story even more compelling, and I wanted to try to flesh it out.

Divine Wind: Japan's Kamikaze Force in World War II, by Capt. Rikihei Inoguchi and Comdr. Tadashi Nakajima with Roger Pineau, shows the connection between the attacks on the *Devilfish* and the *Halsey Powell* on March 20, 1945, in Appendix C, "Kamikaze Attack Operations in the Okinawa Area."

The deck logs of the two ships in Record Group 24, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, provided locations and descriptions of the events on March 20, 1945. The action reports and war diaries of the *Halsey Powell* and Task Force Group 58.2 in Record Group 38 described the conditions of the air strikes against southern Japan in mid-March 1945 and the kamikaze counteroffensive to those strikes, which led to a single kamikaze encountering the *Devilfish*.



Nathaniel Patch is an archives specialist in the Reference Branch at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, where he is on the Navy and Marine Corps Reference Team. He has a B.A. in history and an M.A. degree in naval history with an emphasis on submarine warfare.



The Scottsboro Boys INJUSTICE IN ALABAMA

By Jay Bellamy

With scant media coverage and little fanfare, on November 22, 2013, a three-judge panel of the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles posthumously pardoned Haywood Patterson, Charlie Weems, and Andy Wright, three black men wrongly convicted of raping and assaulting two white women more than 82 years earlier.



Although long deceased, the three were the last of a larger group to have their convictions cleared from the official record. Many believe the Scottsboro Boys, as they would become known, were the catalyst for the civil rights movement in the United States. This is their story.

The Scottsboro Boys case began on March 25, 1931, when nine young black men and boys hopped aboard a Southern Railway train in search of work in Memphis, Tennessee. The youngest were 13-year-olds Eugene Williams and Roy Wright. The other seven were Charlie Weems, 19; Andy Wright (Roy's brother), 19; Clarence Norris, 19; Haywood Patterson, 18; Olen Montgomery, 17; Willie Roberson, 17; and Ozie Powell, 16. Patterson, Williams, and the Wright brothers traveled together; the others were Georgia natives unknown to each other.

As the train passed through northern Alabama, a fight broke out between the young black men and a group of white youths. One of the white men, walking atop a tank car, stepped on the hand of Patterson, who was hanging from the side. After an exchange of angry words, the whites jumped off when the train slowed and began pummeling Patterson and the others with gravel before jumping back on.

The fight began anew near Stevenson, Alabama, with the black youths prevailing and throwing all but one of the white antagonists off the train. Meanwhile, several of those forced to jump off had run back to the Stevenson depot and accused the black youths of assaulting them. A posse of armed men met the train when it pulled into the Paint Rock, Alabama, station. They quickly boarded the train, rounded up the nine black youths, and took them off to the Scottsboro jail.

Opposite: The Scottsboro Boys were visited by Juanita E. Jackson of the NAACP (fourth from left) in January 1937. Jackson campaigned for their release and helped them write letters. *Above:* Haywood Patterson, age 18, during his second trial in early April 1933 with New York attorney Samuel Leibowitz at left. The Supreme Court found in late 1932 that all the defendants deserved new trials.

Also on board were 21-year-old Victoria Price and 17-year-old Ruby Bates. Bates was a minor with a history of prostitution, and Price had a questionable reputation, being described by one former neighbor in a defense affidavit as a "common street prostitute of the lowest type." Both worked at a local cotton mill, where they could depend on just a few days of work a month. It was for this reason, Price claimed, that she and Bates had gone to Chattanooga seeking new employment.

Fearful of being charged with vagrancy due to their failure to purchase a train ticket, the two accused the prisoners of rape. Facing charges of assaulting two white women, the nine young black men would now have to fight for their lives. Many whites of that place and time harbored extremely negative feelings about black men consorting in any way with white women and would have been happy to see the youths lynched, saving the state the expense of a trial. Several hundred men gathered at the police station but were turned back when the National Guard arrived to protect the prisoners.

When Price identified only six of the young men as her attackers, the jail guard replied: "It stands to reason that the others had Miss Bates." On March 30, an all-white jury handed down indictments charging the defendants with rape. Not only were the prisoners denied the opportunity to contact family, but they were given just one hour to consult with an attorney. Trouble for the "Scottsboro Boys" was only just beginning.

Prosecution's Case Relies On Questionable Testimony

After the defense agreed to divide the cases, the trial of Clarence Norris and Charlie Weems began on April 6. Representing the state was Circuit Solicitor H. G. Bailey, and defending the prisoners were Milo C. Moody, a local attorney who hadn't tried a case in years, and Stephen R. Roddy, a real-estate attorney with no experience in

criminal law. Where the 69-year-old Moody was frequently prone to forgetfulness, Roddy often appeared incapacitated due to heavy drinking.

The judge was Alfred E. Hawkins, who, according to defendant Clarence Norris, was "a low down bastard. He let it be known that we were guilty and a trial was a waste of time and money 'for niggers.'"

The prosecution's case against Norris and Weems relied heavily on the testimony of Victoria Price, who was often evasive in her answers, pretended not to understand

upset. When asked if either girl had been raped, the best he could offer was that it was "possible." Dr. Marvin Lynch, who also examined Price and Bates, then testified that he could find no evidence of any internal violence coming from a rape.

Ruby Bates then took the witness stand, but she was not as brash and confident as Price. Price even made wisecracks at times during her testimony—mostly directed at defense attorney Roddy—that caused considerable laughter in the courtroom. Bates, however, seemed shy and nervous. Up to

Many believe the Scottsboro boys . . . were the catalyst for the civil rights movement.

the question, or flat-out lied. In trying to cast doubt upon Price's credibility, the defense asked her if she had ever engaged in prostitution.

When she claimed not to know what prostitution meant, she was asked, "Haven't you made it a practice to have intercourse with other men?"

"No, sir, I absolutely haven't," she answered.

Price also claimed that she and Bates had arrived in Chattanooga on March 24 and spent the evening at a boardinghouse. Price went on to say that she and Bates were hiding in a gondola car on the train when the fight broke out the following afternoon. She testified that after the white youths were thrown off, six of the defendants entered the car and raped her at knifepoint.

The prosecutor, Bailey, then called on Dr. R. R. Bridges to describe any injuries Price might have sustained during the rape. Surprisingly, he testified that he found only a few small bruises and scratches and that she was "not lacerated at all." He further declared that there was no blood on either victim and that neither had seemed particularly

this point, she had spoken very little of the alleged rape, but she now supported her friend's story. She was, however, unable to identify any of her attackers.

When the defense called defendant Charlie Weems to testify, he was very sure of himself and conducted himself well on the stand. He told how Haywood Patterson had come to him and told him of the fight with the white boys and how he had agreed to help Patterson and his friends if the fight were to continue. He further claimed that, although he had been part of the fight, he had raped no one and that he had seen no women on the train. "There wasn't a soul in that car with me and Patterson except those negroes and one white boy," he testified.

Clarence Norris stunned all those in attendance when he announced during his testimony that "every one of them [his co-defendants] have something to do with those girls after they put the white boys off the train." He claimed that a gang rape had indeed taken place, but he was the only one who did not participate. He said that Roy Wright held a knife on the women while the others took turns assaulting them.



Above: Witness Victoria Price testifying during the April 1933 trial of Haywood Patterson, one of nine men accused of rape. She claimed that six of the defendants entered the railcar and raped her at knifepoint. Her testimony was later discredited. Below: Dr. R. R. Bridges testified on April 3, 1933, with Judge James E. Horton (leaning forward) presiding, that he found no blood on either Victoria Price or Ruby Bates, or that they sustained internal damage consistent with rape.



Norris later explained his testimony: "We was scared and I don't know what I said. They [the prison guards] told us if we didn't confess they'd kill us—give us to the mob outside." When Roddy offered to enter a guilty plea in exchange for life sentences, Bailey refused the deal.

Verdicts Come for Weems, Norris As Patterson's Trial Begins

The trial of Haywood Patterson had already begun when the Weems-Norris verdict was announced. Hearing that both were found guilty, crowds gathered around the courthouse to cheer. Roddy complained that the cheers might bias the Patterson jury, but his request for a mistrial was denied. It took only three hours for the jury to convict Patterson, and a mere 15 days after their arrests, five of the six remaining defendants were also found guilty and sentenced to death.

The lone exception was 13-year-old Roy Wright. His case ended in a hung jury when he was found guilty but punishment could not be agreed on. Although the prosecution recommended a life sentence, 11 jurors held out for the death penalty. When the remaining juror refused to vote likewise, the court was forced to declare a mistrial.

A representative from the International Labor Defense (ILD, the legal arm of the Communist Party) who attended the proceedings recognized the potential the case might provide in recruiting new members, especially African Americans. Although the Communist Party supposedly represented the idea of racial equality for all, it was still perceived as a white man's organization.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which first chose to stay out of the case for fear that the accused might actually be guilty, now recognized the likely innocence of the Scottsboro nine. NAACP representatives went to Alabama to offer their services to appeal the verdicts. The NAACP argued

that “communist involvement in the case” would prejudice a jury.

With support from the mothers of the boys, the ILD convinced the nine young men to choose them as their legal representatives. With July 10 set as the execution date, the ILD sprang into action and managed to secure a stay of execution until the cases could be reviewed by the Alabama Supreme Court.

In March 1932 the Alabama Supreme Court upheld all but one of the original convictions. Eugene Williams was the lone exception, and the court ruled that he never should have been tried as an adult. The ILD lawyer, Joseph Brodsky, argued that the remaining defendants had been unfairly judged because there were no blacks on the jury, but the court ruled that the state had the right “to fix qualifications for jurors.”

When the ILD turned to the Supreme Court of the United States for relief, the Court announced in November that the defendants had received inadequate counsel and therefore would be granted new trials.

The second trial of Haywood Patterson began on March 27, 1933, with Samuel Leibowitz—a New York lawyer hired in part for his amazing record of 77 acquittals and 1 hung jury in 78 murder trials—now appearing as lead defense counsel.

Accuser Changes Her Testimony As Patterson Trial Moves Ahead

Victoria Price was called to the stand on April 3. After a short examination by the state, Leibowitz wasted no time going on the attack. He brought up Price’s reputation before painting her as a liar by pointing out untruths in her previous testimony. His next witness testified to having seen Price engage in sexual activity two days before the alleged rape. Leibowitz suggested that this might account for a small amount of semen found during her examination. Doctor Bridges was then called to the stand to restate his previous testimony that there

PATRONS ARE REQUESTED TO FAVOR THE COMPANY BY CRITICISM AND SUGGESTION CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

SIGNS

DL = Day Letter
NM = Night Message
NL = Night Letter
LCO = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
WLT = Week-End Letter

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at 520 Bank Street, Decatur, Ala.

8BM MC 50 NL

JY CHICAGO ILL APRIL 5 1933

JUDGE JAMES E HORTON

DECATUR ALA

WE VIGOROUSLY PROTEST AGAINST ATTEMPT TO LYNCH SCOTTSBORO BOYS AND
DEFENSE ATTORNEY LIEBOWITZ AND SHAMEFULL DISCRIMINATION AND BARRING
OF NEGROES FROM JURY STOP WE DEMAND IMMEDIATE FULL PROTECTION FOR
SAFETY OF DEFENDANTS AND OF THEIR DEFENSE COUNSELS WE FURTHER DEMAND
DISMISSAL OF JIM CROW JURY AND RELEASE OF INNOCENT BOYS

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

8A APRIL 6

Judge James Horton received numerous messages, some threatening, during the Patterson trial. An April 6, 1933, telegram from the District Committee International Labor Defense in Detroit urged a change of trial venue to Birmingham.

was no blood found on either woman and that neither Price or Bates sustained internal damage consistent with rape.

When Ory Dobbins, a farmer who claimed to have seen the defendants pull Price and Bates back on the train as they attempted to escape, was called to the witness stand, Leibowitz quickly discredited him. Knowing that both women were wearing men’s overalls when they were taken from the train, Leibowitz asked how it was that Dobbins knew it was a woman the defendants had pulled back onboard. “She was wearing women’s clothes,” he answered. When Judge James Horton asked if it could have been overalls they were wearing, Dobbins was even more specific and said, “No sir, a dress.”

The biggest surprise came when Ruby Bates entered the courtroom. After disappearing from public view following the first trial, some thought she might have been kidnapped or worse. Now testifying for the defense, she said that her conscience had gotten the better of her and that she was there to tell the truth. There was no rape, she said, and it was Price’s idea to accuse the defendants of the crime in order to keep from being arrested themselves.

Attorney General Thomas Knight, however, pounded away on cross-examination until Bates admitted that the ILD had paid for her clothes and her trip back to Alabama (she had been in hiding in New York), suggesting that she was nothing more than a paid witness for the defense. She either lied

To learn more about

- The treatment of African Americans in the post-Civil War South, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/fall/.
- How the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/summer/.
- The beginnings of the African American migration from the South, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/summer/.

*Petitions
Sent to Justice 7/10/33* (532) 1733

This committee, representing the National Scottsboro Action Committee elected by more than ninety fraternal, political, social, and religious organizations, Negro and white, and formed for the purpose of supporting the fight for the lives and freedom of the Scottsboro Boys as led by the International Labor Defense, is here to make an appointment with President Roosevelt for two o'clock in the afternoon of May 8, when a delegation of twenty-five representatives of the Free the Scottsboro Boys Marchers, who will be in Washington that day, will present their demands to him.

The marchers, from the cities of the Atlantic Seaboard, with delegations from as far as El Paso and Seattle, will come to Washington May 8 with a twofold purpose. They will ask that the president intervene in the Scottsboro cases, which have resulted in the first re-trial at Decatur in a lynch-verdict of death for Heywood Patterson, first of the Scottsboro boys to be re-tried. The precedent for such intervention by the president was laid in 1917 by President Woodrow Wilson, who intervened in the case of Tom Mooney, then sentenced to death in California.

The second purpose of the marchers will be the presentation of a "Bill of Civil Rights" to the ^{president and to the} congress, the purpose of which will be to put teeth into the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, guaranteeing democratic rights to Negroes. The Scottsboro case, in which the issue of the exclusion of Negroes from juries was raised, has clearly shown that these rights are fundamentally linked with

The International Labor Defense (legal arm of the Communist Party) provided defense counsel for the Scottsboro Boys. Its Action Committee planned a march in Washington in early May 1933 and asked for a meeting with the President to urge presidential intervention and adoption of a bill of rights for blacks.

during the first trial, Knight implied, or she was lying now; therefore, her testimony could not be believed.

In closing summation, the assistant prosecutor asked the jury to "show them that Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York." Leibowitz angrily demanded a mistrial be declared, but Judge Horton denied the motion. On April 9, 1933, the jury returned with its verdict—Haywood Patterson was guilty as charged. It was later learned that it took only five minutes for the jury to reach a decision. The defense immediately

filed a motion with Judge Horton for a new trial.

While awaiting the judge's decision, the ILD planned a march on Washington, D.C., in support of the Scottsboro Boys for early May.

On May 8, 4,000 marchers converged on Washington. Among them was Ruby Bates, who marched alongside Janie Patterson, Haywood Patterson's mother. When the marchers reached the White House, they were disappointed by President Franklin Roosevelt's refusal to meet with them. Instead, a petition signed by 145,000 people

calling for presidential intervention was handed to the White House appointments secretary.

A letter presented along with this petition called for the President to use his "good office to influence the granting of a desired change of venue, to a largely populated center" and further urged him to issue "a new declaration of civil, political and economic justice and freedom, in the authentic voice of the Chief Executive of the nation, aiming at the future strict enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, for the purpose of safeguarding the life, liberty and prosperity, and guaranteeing the pursuit of happiness of twelve millions of black Americans."

Judge Horton Risks His Career, Orders New Trial for Patterson

At considerable risk to his professional career, Judge Horton, believing that Price was lying about the rape, announced on June 22 that he was setting aside the verdict and ordering a new trial for Patterson.

In his decision he pointed out several discrepancies between Price's story and the evidence presented. While Price claimed to have been hit on the head with the butt end of a gun during the supposed rape, the doctors found no sign of a head injury. She also stated that the doctors had seen her blood-soaked coat, but Judge Horton wondered why neither had mentioned it during their testimony. Price also testified that at the time of the rape she was lying in a car full of chert (crushed gravel), causing the sharp jagged rock to dig into her back. However, despite finding a few bruises in that location, the doctors found no visible lacerations.

The judge also questioned why none of the seven white boys were called to testify. In conclusion, he wrote that history had proven "that women of the character shown in this case are prone for selfish reasons to make false accusations both of rape and insult upon the slightest provocation for ulterior motives."

These boys have faced
death and torture each
time hoping to prove
their innocence. In
the second trial the
Judge himself helped
to convict them.
This trial has stirred
the hearts of the
People in the North.
Christmas is coming.
It is a night of
happiness and joy.
Yet, in seven little
homes sit seven
mothers. who will
sit alone, mourning
and brooding for

The White House felt public pressure for fairness in the Scottsboro cases. In a December 1933 letter, 15-year-old Pearl Blumkin wrote that "seven mothers . . . will sit alone, mourning and brooding for their sons." She asked naively why they could not be tried in the north "where Negroes are considered as we are?"

He further declared that "this tendency on the part of the women shows that they are predisposed to make false accusations upon any occasion whereby their selfish ends may be gained." Judge Horton failed to win reelection the following year.

Using his political connections, Attorney General Knight managed to have Patterson's third trial, which began that November, transferred to the court of Judge William Callahan. Callahan's prejudice was immediately

noticeable, as he overruled nearly every defense objection and denied Leibowitz the opportunity to question Price's character and credibility. It was his opinion—and he openly shared it with the jury—that a white woman would never consent to sex with a black man. Haywood Patterson would later say of Callahan: "He couldn't get us to the chair fast enough."

Appearing for the prosecution was Orville Gilley, the lone white man allowed to remain

on the train after the others were thrown off. At Patterson's retrial, and later at Norris's, he claimed that the attacks on Price and Bates ended only when he begged the black youths to stop before they killed the two women. To the dismay of the defense, Ruby Bates had moved to New York and refused to return to Alabama after receiving letters suggesting she should be lynched along with the defendants. When both Patterson and Norris were found guilty, the remaining trials were delayed until the appeals process for both could be exhausted.

In 1934 the special assistant to the U.S. attorney general reported to President Roosevelt that he found the testimony of both Gilley and Price to be filled with inconsistencies and that if the Scottsboro Boys continued to face execution, it was his advice that the President intervene. Roosevelt then met with incoming Alabama governor David Bibb Graves at Warm Springs, Georgia, and asked him to do all he could to "clear it up." The governor promised to look into the matter but later backed out of a plan to pardon the prisoners when they refused to acknowledge any guilt.

White House Flooded with Mail; FDR Refuses to Get Involved

Ruling that the paperwork in Patterson's trial had not been submitted in time, the Alabama state Supreme Court refused to review the case. Two ILD officials then foolishly contacted Victoria Price and attempted to bribe her into changing her story. After first agreeing to do so, she then changed her mind and contacted the police. When ILD representatives arrived in Alabama carrying \$1,500 in cash for Price, they were immediately arrested. Angered by the actions of the ILD, Leibowitz and Communist Party officials reached a compromise. He would represent Clarence Norris, who still believed in him, while ILD attorneys would speak for Haywood Patterson.

[The Supreme Court] wrote that the defendant had been denied his 14th Amendment right of equal protection under the law.

Correspondence began arriving at the White House shortly after the arrests of the Scottsboro Boys. One particularly poignant letter was received from 15-year-old Pearl Blumkin in December 1933. She wrote: "Christmas is coming. It is a night of happiness and joy. Yet, in seven little homes sits seven mothers who will sit alone, mourning and brooding for their sons." She then asks somewhat naively: "Why can't these boys be given a fair trial in the Northern states where Negroes are considered as we are?"

But by 1935 much of the public was growing frustrated with Roosevelt for his failure to intervene. Mr. Ernest Pierce wrote the President, addressing him as "Franklin Deflated Roosevelt," saying:

All the way down the historical line there have been so-called great men who, viewed from the more acute angle of greater distance, proved to be DAMNED FOOLS. ARE YOU AWAKE ENOUGH TO KNOW THAT TOM MOONEY [convicted of a San Francisco bombing in 1916] and the SCOTTSBORO BOYS ARE STILL SUFFERING THE INJUSTICE OF OUR CRIMINAL COURTS?

WHAT COULD BE MORE CRIMINAL THAN YOUR FAILURE TO ACT?

Even Andy and Roy Wright wrote to the President, asking him to bring their case to a conclusion, as they were the sole support for their mother and sister.

Eleanor Roosevelt herself was not immune from the pressure. A Mrs. Davis of Indianapolis appealed to the First Lady's motherly instincts, writing: "You as a

mother can easily understand just how the mothers of those boys feel." The New Deal Girls Social Club in New York asked her to "use your influence with the President in behalf of the Scottsboro Boys."

Rev. Pearl Burnett of Flint, Michigan, inquired about the President's refusal to meet with a contingent who had come to the White House. "I did not believe Pres. Roosevelt would deliberately refuse to see anyone," Burnett wrote, adding "these boys have been punished enough by their three years of incarceration." Despite public sentiment that was clearly on the side of the Scottsboro Boys, Roosevelt chose to stay out of the fray, believing this was a state issue and not a federal one.

On April 1, 1935, the Supreme Court decided *Norris v. Alabama* and *Patterson v. Alabama*. Leibowitz had argued that the verdict in the Norris trial should be overturned because the exclusion of black residents from the jury rolls in Alabama prevented the defendant from receiving a fair trial from a jury of his peers. For Patterson, the ILD's Walter Pollak contended that a mere technicality about paperwork should not preclude the defendant from receiving a new trial. The Court agreed with both arguments and sent the cases back to Alabama. In the Norris decision they wrote that the defendant had been denied his 14th Amendment right of equal protection under the law, while in Patterson's case they simply saw the unfairness of allowing him to be executed while at the same time granting Norris a new trial.

The fourth trial of Haywood Patterson began on January 21, 1936, with the ILD, the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the Methodist Federation for Social

Services now working together on behalf of the Scottsboro Boys.

With the ILD no longer in sole control of the defense, Leibowitz had agreed to return. However, because of harsh comments he had made about Alabama, not to mention his religion and his affiliation with the communists, the Jewish lawyer from New York was now considered a liability. Leibowitz, whose first concern was always his clients, agreed to take on an advisory role and accepted Clarence Watts, a Southern attorney with local ties to the community, as lead counsel for the defense.

**Life Takes Different Turns
For the Scottsboro Boys**

From the witness stand, Patterson declared that not only was he innocent of rape, but he also claimed to have seen neither woman on the train that day. During cross-examination, prosecutor Melvin C. Hudson, the local solicitor, simply mocked Patterson's answers and treated him with utter contempt throughout the questioning. Hudson then called Obie Golden, a guard at Kilby prison, to testify to a supposed confession Patterson had made two years earlier. When asked on cross-examination why he never told anyone of this in the past, Golden was unprepared and had no answer.

In summation, Hudson made an impassioned plea for the jury to protect the "womanhood of Alabama." If Patterson were allowed to go free, he told them, women would "have to buckle six-shooters to their middles." Watts then took his turn for the defense and asked the jury to consider the evidence carefully and to administer fair justice for the defendant.

When the jury returned with a guilty verdict, Patterson was given a sentence of 75 years rather than the death penalty the prosecution had hoped for. For the first time in state history, a black man had escaped the death penalty after being convicted of raping a white woman.

Clarence Norris's trial began nearly a year and a half later, and for the first time Judge Callahan allowed the defense to call witnesses to testify to Victoria Price's character. Despite two deputy sheriffs from Huntsville, Alabama, telling the jury that they "would not believe her under oath," and Doctor Bridges's earlier testimony (he had died the previous March) regarding the lack of any serious injury found on Price, the jury returned with a guilty verdict and once again sentenced Norris to death. This proved too much for Watts to handle, and he fell ill. Leibowitz was once again left to represent the remaining defendants.

The next two trials ended with Andy Wright receiving a 99-year sentence and Charlie Weems getting 75 years. Ozie Powell, who was seriously wounded after being shot in the head while attempting to escape the previous year, was next brought into the courtroom. It was then announced that rape charges against Powell were being dropped and that he would instead plead guilty to assaulting a police deputy during his escape attempt. State Attorney General Thomas Lawson then shocked everyone in the courtroom when he announced that all charges against Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Eugene Williams, and Roy Wright were being dropped as well.

In 1943 Charlie Weems was paroled, followed by both Clarence Norris and Andy Wright in 1944. Norris, however, was returned to jail after violating the conditions of his parole by leaving the state without permission. Two years later, he was again paroled and once again fled.

In 1973, after spending a number of years in New York, Norris contacted the Alabama governor's office to see if he was still wanted for his last skip. When told that he was, Norris enlisted the NAACP to help him obtain a pardon. In October of 1976, after a media blitz and public relations campaign launched by the NAACP, the state of Alabama granted Norris his pardon. Ozie Powell, who was never the same after being shot in the head, was released in 1946.

Andy Wright, like Norris, violated his parole by leaving Montgomery, Alabama, without permission. He was captured the following year and paroled for good in 1950. In 1951 he was accused of raping a 13-year-old girl (the daughter of a girlfriend) in New York but was acquitted by an all-white jury. Roy Wright, the youngest of the Scottsboro Boys, joined the military after his release from prison and served until 1959.

Upon returning home, believing his wife had been unfaithful to him, Wright took both of their lives in a murder-suicide. Although they each suffered from various problems on the outside, Willie Roberson, Eugene Williams, Olen Montgomery, Ozie Powell, and Charlie Weems eventually settled into everyday society and started new lives for themselves.

Life behind bars was not an easy one for Haywood Patterson. Not especially liked by any of his co-defendants, he found this to be the case as well with many of the prisoners and guards at Atmore prison near Mobile, Alabama. In fact, one guard had paid another prisoner to kill Patterson, but he miraculously survived despite being stabbed 20 times. Because of this and other abuses suffered at the hands of prison guards, he twice attempted to escape, the second attempt being a successful one.

On July 17, 1947, Patterson was working on a prison farm when he and several other inmates simply ran off from their assigned duties. After swimming through snake-infested creeks and evading pursuing dogs, Haywood reached Atlanta, Georgia, before eventually arriving at his sister's home in Detroit. He was arrested there in 1950 after killing a man in a barroom brawl. Two years later, Haywood Patterson died in prison at age 39.

As scholar David Pitts has remarked, the Scottsboro case resulted in a "more wide-reaching interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of 'equal protection under the law.'"

Whereas in most cases whites could feel confident about the protection of their 14th Amendment right guaranteeing them a fair trial, blacks, especially those in the South and of lower financial and economic status, could not always feel as secure. As stated earlier, the Alabama Supreme Court had ruled that the state had the right to "fix qualifications for jurors," preventing the defendants from being judged by a jury of their peers.

The Scottsboro Boys deserved the same protection under the law that the Constitution grants to all Americans. They didn't always get it. **P**

NOTE ON SOURCES

My special thanks go to Christina Jones and Tab Lewis at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, and Kirsten Carter at the Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum in Hyde Park, New York, for their help in locating documents related to the Scottsboro case. Thanks also go to Karen Needles for bringing the Scottsboro Boys case to my attention.

Letters to President Roosevelt are in the Straight Numerical File 158260-46 section 1-13, General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60. Records regarding the Scottsboro march on Washington are from File 104-32—Scottsboro Demonstrations May 8, 1933, Central Classified Files, 1937–1950, Records of the U.S. Secret Service, Record Group 87.

Two books were helpful in writing this article: *The Scottsboro Boys* by James Haskins published by Henry Holt and Company, Inc. 1994, and "The Scottsboro Boys and Fundamental Rights" by David Pitts, published in *Issues of Democracy* (July 2001). The quotation from Clarence Norris about Judge Hawkins is from "The 1930s in America: Facing Depression" published by the Center for Gifted Education at the College of William and Mary, published in 2003.

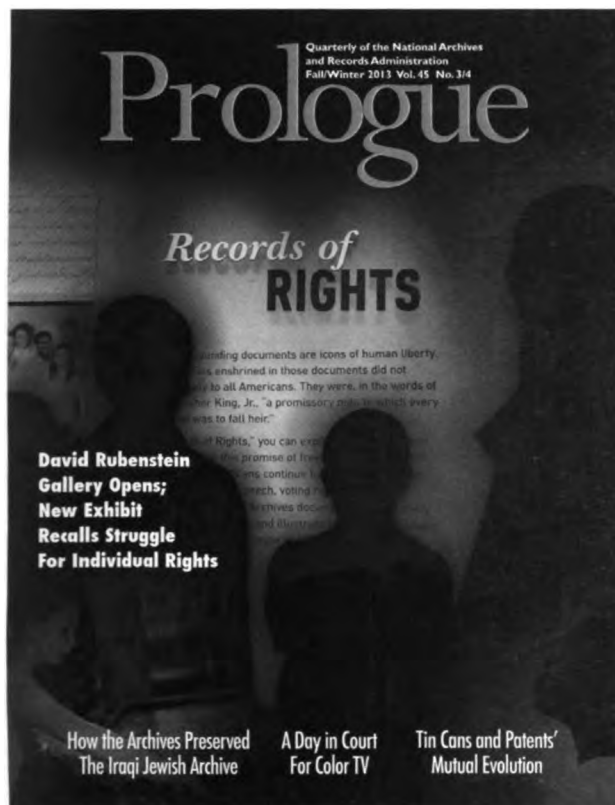


Author

Jay Bellamy is an archives specialist in the Research Support Branch at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, and a frequent contributor to *Prologue*. In 2008, he published *Dear Jennie*, a mystery novel based on the lives of three young people who grew up in the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, before the start of the Civil War.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE PAST?

FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS, *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* has been telling readers about the rich resources and programs of the National Archives, its regional facilities, and the presidential libraries.



In every issue you will find thought-provoking and entertaining articles—based on research in the Archives' magnificent holdings of original documents—on American history and on the activities of the agency.

SOME RECENT ARTICLES IN *Prologue* INCLUDE:

- ★ What happened when the "Monuments Men" discovered treasures of the Third Reich after World War II.
- ★ How the 1862 Homestead Act lured Americans from the East to settle the West.
- ★ A look at the new "Records of Rights" permanent exhibit in the David M. Rubenstein Gallery in the National Archives Building in downtown Washington, D.C.
- ★ How a presidential aide sought to restore cordiality between Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

COMING UP: *Prologue* will have articles that examine the burning of the White House during the War of 1812; the plight of German Americans in World War I; and when the President's archivist went to war.

VISIT US ONLINE AT: www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/.

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATE IS \$24 (\$30 OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES).

To start your subscription, mail this form to the National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001.

Make checks payable to the National Archives Trust Fund. Credit card orders may also call toll free 1-800-234-8861 or 202-357-5482 weekdays, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. eastern time.

Prologue Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration

1 year (4 issues) is \$24. Subscriptions outside the United States are \$30.

Check ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express ☐

Account number Card expires

Signature _____

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Please allow up to 10 weeks for delivery of first issue.



“OK, We’ll Go”

Just What Did Ike Say When He Launched The D-day Invasion 70 Years Ago?

By Tim Rives



n elusive D-day mystery persists despite the millions of words written about the Allied invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944: What did Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower say when he gave the final order to launch the attack?

It is puzzling that one of the most important decisions of the 20th century did not bequeath to posterity a memorable quote to mark the occasion, something to live up to the magnitude of the decision. Something iconic like Gen. Douglas MacArthur's vow to the people of the Philippines, "I shall return."

The stakes of the invasion merited verbal splendor if not grandiloquence. If Operation Overlord failed, the Allies might never have won the war. Yet eyewitnesses to Eisenhower's great moment of decision could not agree on what he said.

As for Eisenhower, he could not even agree with himself: He related five versions of his fateful words to journalists and biographers over the years. Even *more* mysteriously, he wrote five different versions of the statement in a 1964 article commemorating the 20th anniversary of D-day.

To put his words—whatever they may have been—into context, the high drama of the meetings leading up to the invasion decision 70 years ago bears repeating.

Eisenhower Relies On His Weatherman

All the elements for the D-day attack were in place by the spring of 1944: more than 150,000 men, nearly 12,000 aircraft, almost 7,000 sea vessels. It was arguably the largest amphibious invasion force in history. Every possible contingency had been planned for. Every piece of equipment issued. Every bit of terrain studied. The invasion force was like a coiled spring, Ike said, ready to strike Hitler's European fortress.

All it waited for was his command, as Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force, to go.

But for all the preparation, there were critical elements Eisenhower could not control—the tides, the moon, and the weather. The ideal low tidal and bright lunar conditions required for the invasion prevailed only a few days each month. The dates for June 1944 were the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh. If the attack was not launched on one of those dates, Ike would be forced to wait until June 19 to try again. Any wait risked secrecy. Delay would also cut into the time the Allies had to campaign during the good summertime weather.

"The inescapable consequences of postponement," Ike wrote in his 1948 memoir *Crusade in Europe*, "were almost too bitter to contemplate."

Ike and his staff began meeting in early June to choose the final invasion date, a day now contingent on the best weather forecast. The setting was Southwick House, near Portsmouth, in southern England. The conference room where they met was large, a 25-by-50-foot former library with floor-to-ceiling French doors, dark oak paneling, and a blue rug on which Ike would pace anxiously in the days leading up to the invasion. Empty bookshelves lined the room, a forlorn reminder of its now decidedly unliterary purpose.

Ike, his commanders, and his weather team, led by Group Captain J. M. Stagg, met in the library twice a day, at 4 a.m. and 9:30 p.m. On the evening of Saturday, June 3, Stagg reported that the good weather England experienced in May had moved

Opposite: General Eisenhower talks with paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division in Newbury, England, on June 5, 1944, prior to their boarding for the invasion.



An aerial view of Operation Overlord, the largest amphibious invasion force in history, shows landing craft, barrage balloons, and allied troops landing in Normandy, France.

out. A low was coming in. He predicted June 5 would be cloudy, stormy, windy, and with a cloud base of zero to 500 feet. That is, it would be too windy to disembark troops in landing craft and too cloudy for the all-important preparatory bombardment of the German coastal defenses. The group reconvened early the next morning to give the weather a second look. The forecast was no better, and Eisenhower reluctantly postponed the invasion.

**"How long can you . . .
let it hang there."**

The group gathered again at 9:30 the evening of Sunday, June 4. Ike opened the

meeting and signaled for Stagg to begin. Stagg stood and reported a coming break in the weather, predicting that after a few more hours of rain would come 36 hours of clearer skies and lighter winds to make a June 6 invasion possible. But he made no guarantees.

The commanders debated the implications of the forecast. They were still struggling toward consensus when Eisenhower spoke.

"The question," he said, "is just how long can you keep this operation on the end of a limb and let it hang there."

The order, he said, must be given. Slower ships received provisional orders to sail. But Ike would wait until the next morning to make the decision final. He ordered the men

to return again in the early hours of June 5.

Ike rose at 3:30 and traveled the muddy mile from his camp to Southwick House through withering rain and wind. Stagg had been right. If the invasion had started that morning, it would have failed.

Ike started the meeting. Stagg repeated his forecast: the break in the weather should hold. His brow as furrowed as a Kansas cornfield, Eisenhower turned to each of his principal subordinates for their final say on launching the invasion the next day, Tuesday, June 6, 1944. Gen. Bernard Law Montgomery, who would lead the assault forces, said go. Adm. Sir Bertram Ramsay, the Naval Commander in Chief, said go. Air



Above: Operation Overlord commanders meet in London, January 1944. Left to right: Lt. Gen. Omar Bradley, commanding U.S. Army Ground Forces; Adm. Sir Bertram Ramsay, Allied Naval Commander; Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Deputy Supreme Commander; Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander; Gen. Bernard Montgomery, Commander in Chief; Air Chief Marshal Sir T. Leigh-Mallory; Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, U.S. Army. Right: Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force. Only he could decide on a date for the D-day invasion based on weather and tidal conditions; continued postponement would have been disastrous.



Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, the Air Commander in Chief, said go.

Eisenhower stood up and began walking back and forth on the war room's blue rug, pondering the most important decision of his life and the fate of millions. It was now up to him. Only he could make the decision. He kept pacing, hands clasped behind his back, chin on his chest. And then he stopped. The tension left his face. He looked up at his commanders and said . . . what?

This is where history draws a blank. What *did* Ike say when he launched the D-day invasion? Why is there no single, memorable quote?

Ike Gave the Order, But What Did He Say?

The eyewitnesses offer answers but little help. Of the 11 to 14 men who attended the final decision meeting—the number is also in dispute—only four men besides Eisenhower reported what they believed were the Supreme Commander's historic words. The accounts of three witnesses appeared in memoirs published between 1947 and 1969.

Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, who as Ike's chief of staff probably spent more time with him than anyone else during the war, reported, "Well, we'll go!" in his memoir,

Eisenhower's Six Great Decisions (1956). Maj. Gen. Francis De Guingand, Field Marshal Montgomery's chief of staff, noted, "We will sail tomorrow" in *Operation Victory* (1947). In *Intelligence at the Top* (1969), Maj. Gen. Kenneth Strong, whom Ike described as the best intelligence officer he had ever known, said, "OK, boys. We will go."

Admiral Ramsay died in an airplane crash during the war and left no memoir. His version survives through the reporting of Allan Michie of *Reader's Digest*. Michie published the story behind the Ramsay quote in his 1964 book, *The Invasion of Europe*. It is the best account available to historians of a contemporary journalist attempting to verify Ike's words.

Michie writes how he began his quest for the elusive phrase on June 5, pressing Ramsay for the moment-by-moment details of the final meeting at Southwick House. Ramsay was fluently unrolling his story until he reached the moment of Ike's decision. There he stalled. "What did Eisenhower say? What words did he actually use?" Michie asked. "I can't quite remember," Ramsay said, but it was "a short phrase, something typically American." Michie peppered Ramsay with possibilities, all of which the admiral dismissed until the correspondent hit upon "Ok, let 'er rip." Ramsay tentatively

confirmed it, but warned Michie that he would need Eisenhower's agreement.

Michie hurried to Ike's command trailer and asked an aide for Eisenhower's imprimatur. The aide returned a few minutes later and told Michie that if he and Ramsay agreed on the phrase, it was good enough for Ike. A military censor forced Michie to get the quote reconfirmed a few days later when he attempted to cable his article to *Reader's Digest*. Eisenhower obliged, and "Ok, let 'er rip" appeared in the magazine's August 1944 issue.

A Much-Used "OK, We'll Go" Picked Up by Some Historians

Michie's story impressed Eisenhower's British Military Assistant, Col. James Gault, who noted the article in his diary. Gault lent his diary to Kenneth S. Davis, an early Eisenhower biographer, who arrived at Ike's headquarters in August 1944.

Notes from the diary found in Davis's personal papers confirm that he was aware of Michie's version, but he published his own D-day quote in his 1945 book, *Soldier of Democracy*. "All right," Davis writes, "We move." Davis presumably got this from Eisenhower in one of his three interviews with the general that August, but his papers do not contain verbatim notes.

short time to make up my mind. "Well, this is a very good report,"

~~many~~ I said. "We will ~~make the attack on June 6.~~ ^{attack tomorrow}" It was 4:15 o'clock, ^{June 5,}

The scene following will remain engraved in my memory, forever.

These men, this good group of men, scattered like quail,

^{delivered} running to get their orders ^{get their units} delivered and under way.

^{24 hours earlier} The decision to postpone had been taken in beautifully clear

weather. The decision to go was taken in the middle of a ^{heavy} storm.

But the storm only proved that the weatherman had been right ^{the day before;} earlier.

^{I thought this a good omen for the} The Preparation ^{success of the attack.}

I have already alluded to one of the consequences of failure, or

even of appreciable delay. Nevertheless we did not allow ourselves

to think of failure. Although ^{it could not be expected} ~~no one could be certain~~ that all the

people and parts of this great armada would perform properly, or

^{As greatly improve as} that the ~~constant~~ weather would ^{be greatly improve as} part to allow us an approach to the ^{smooth} coasts of France, there was reason for confidence.

In December, 1941, ^{just} ~~right~~ after the United States had been

stung into the War by the attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, I was

^{assigned to duty in}

in the War Department in Washington. At first, I had been put to

work helping to plan our actions in the Pacific, ^{but} ~~Having lost out~~

^{because of the conditions then prevailing — the most important one being that Japan had almost complete command of the Pacific —}

Several versions of Eisenhower's D-day words have been reported, and the general himself was not consistent in his recollections. In a 1964 article for *Paris Match*, he recalled his historic statement as, "We will attack tomorrow."

 To learn more about

- The life of Dwight Eisenhower, go to www.eisenhower.archives.gov/.
- World War II and how to do research on it, go to www.archives.gov/research/military/ww2/.
- Getting your military separation papers to qualify for Federal programs, go to www.archives.gov/research/military/ww2/.

The Davis book was backed by Milton Eisenhower, Ike's youngest brother. The president of Kansas State College (now Kansas State University), Milton recruited Davis to write the biography "so that at least one good one is produced." The book, Milton assured Ike, "promises to be one of real value in the war effort on the home front and to have real historical information."

Although Ike would have qualms with Davis's book—he thought the author over-emphasized class conflict in his Abilene, Kansas, hometown—he had no hesitation later in recommending it to a man who "wanted to know what your thoughts were at 4 a.m. on that day when you had to make the great decision." Additionally, while Eisenhower made 250 annotations in his copy of the book, he did not comment on Davis's version of the quote.

Another wartime writer, Chester Wilmot of the BBC, reports "Ok, we'll go" in *The Struggle for Europe* (1952). Wilmot interviewed Eisenhower twice—on August 11, 1944, and again on October 16, 1945. He submitted his questions to the general before the 1945 interview. Question three asked specifically for the details of the June 5 meeting. Perhaps he got them, but like Davis, Wilmot's interview notes contain no direct evidence of his quote.

Nevertheless, Wilmot's version is confirmed by Eisenhower in the CBS documentary "D-Day Plus 20 Years," an anniversary special filmed on location in England and France in 1963. It aired on June 6, 1964. Walter Cronkite interviewed Ike in the Southwick House war room where he made the decision. In this interview, Ike said, "I thought it [the likely weather] was just the best of a bad bargain, so I said, 'Ok, we'll go.'"

Eisenhower Never Challenges Different Versions of Quote

Eisenhower had the chance to amend his words when he reviewed galley proofs of the interview transcripts prepared for publication in the *New York Herald Tribune* by historian Martin Blumenson. Ike made almost 80 revisions to the text but did not touch the D-day quote.

A similar version of the Wilmot/Cronkite quote is Stephen Ambrose's "Ok, let's go," which appears in his many World War II books. In *The Supreme Commander* (1970), Ambrose claimed he garnered it from Eisenhower during an October 27, 1967, interview. "He was sure that was what he said." But Ike's post-presidential records disprove his claim. He didn't see Ambrose that day. He was playing golf in Augusta, Georgia, not revisiting the past. Furthermore, in Ambrose's book, *D Day: June 6, 1944, The Climatic Battle of World War II* (1994), he mistakenly attributes the quote to the 1963 Cronkite interview.

The confusion over Ike's D-day words would spread beyond the English-speaking world. Claus Jacobi of the German magazine *Der Spiegel* interviewed Eisenhower at his Palm Desert, California, vacation home on May 6, 1964. His version approximates the Wilmot/Cronkite quote, adding one word: "Ok, we'll go *ahead*." Eisenhower reviewed Jacobi's article before publication, but as usual did not comment on the quote, although he did strike out the statement that the Allies would have dropped atomic weapons on Germany had the invasion failed.

Even Eisenhower Himself Couldn't Decide on Wording

Eisenhower never once commented on or corrected the different quotes he found in the work of journalists, biographers, or former comrades. But neither did he use them in his most detailed account of the June 5 meeting. Nor for that matter did he use his own most recent statement. Instead, Eisenhower wrote

five different versions of the quote in drafts of a 1964 article for the *Paris Match*.

The *Paris Match* article was about D-day, but it had a contemporary strategic purpose as well. France was becoming more and more independent of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at the time. Reminding the French of their shared sacrifice during the Second World War might strengthen their bond with the Allies. As Jean Monnet, a leading advocate for European unity, said to Ike in a telegram: "I feel sure that an article by you at this moment on the landing would be politically most important."

Given this importance, Ike presumably put a lot of thought into the story, which either makes the various versions it contains more perplexing, or it explains them. Eisenhower may have been searching for just the right words to inspire French readers.

In his notes for the article, Ike wrote, "Yes, we will attack on the 6th."

In the first full draft of the story, he said, "Yes, *gentlemen*, we will attack on the 6th."

In the penultimate draft, Ike scratched this out and wrote, "Gentlemen, we will attack tomorrow."

Elsewhere in the draft, referring back to his decision, he said, "We will make the attack on June 6," which he then marked out and wrote, "We will attack *tomorrow*."

In the final draft he makes two references to the decision: "We will attack tomorrow" and "Gentlemen, we will attack tomorrow," thereby demonstrating once again his apparent lack of concern with exactly what he said in the early morning hours of June 5, 1944.

The *Paris Match* article appeared within days of the *New York Herald Tribune* series, the CBS airing of "D-Day Plus 20 Years," and the *Der Spiegel* article. Three different Eisenhower quotes in three languages were put before the international public at the same time. The quote was lost before there was even a chance for it to be lost in translation.

What accounts for all these versions of Ike's D-day words? The historian David Howarth perhaps captured it best in his description of the June 5 meeting:

Nobody was there as an observer. However high a rank a man achieves, his capacity for thought and feeling is only human, and one may imagine that the capacity of each of these men was taxed to the limit by the decision they had to make so that none of them had the leisure or inclination to detach his mind from the problem and observe exactly what happened and remember it for the sake of historians.

Confusion Also Reigns Over Time of Decision

The stress confounding the commanders obscured other key details of the meeting: What time did they meet? Who was there? Was Ike sitting or pacing when he made the decision? How long did it take him to make up his mind?

Various eyewitnesses place the June 5 meeting at 4:00, 4:15, and 4:30 a.m. Eisenhower was nearly as inconsistent with the time as he was with his words. In the early *Paris Match* drafts, he states he made the final decision at 4:00, but in the last draft he says the meeting started at 4:15. His 1948 war memoir records that he made the decision at 4:15. Field Marshal Montgomery puts the decision at 4:00 in his 1946 account of the meeting, but at 4:15 in his memoir 12 years later. Another six eyewitnesses who noted the time of the meeting cast one vote for 4:00, four for 4:15, and one for 4:30. Francis De Guingand omits the June 5 date altogether and places the final decision on the night of June 4.

The identity of the eyewitnesses is questioned by . . . the eyewitnesses.

A June 5, 1944, memorandum by operations planner Maj. Gen. Harold Bull names Eisenhower, Montgomery, Ramsay, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder,



A view from a Coast Guard barge hitting the French coast with the first waves of invaders. American fighting men wade ashore under heavy machine-gun fire from Nazi beach nests, June 6, 1944.

Leigh-Mallory, Air Vice Marshal James Robb, Rear Admiral George Creasy, Smith, Strong, and De Guingand as present. In some accounts Stagg attended the meeting but left before the decision was made. Air Vice Marshal Robb had his own list, which adds Gen. Sir Humfrey Gale, Ike's chief administrative officer, and Air Vice Marshal H.E.P. Wigglesworth. Eisenhower is alone in including Gen. Omar Bradley in his account of the final meeting, but Bradley wrote in his 1951 war memoir that he was aboard the *USS Augusta* at the time of Ike's decision.

The eyewitnesses—a designation rapidly losing its force—further disagree on Ike's movements during the final decision meeting. Eisenhower paced the room in the

account shared above, which came from General Strong. But General Smith asserts that Ike sat. But was it on a sofa, as Smith writes? Or at a conference table, as General De Guingand says? Or in an easy chair, as the weatherman Stagg remembers?

And how long did it take Eisenhower to make up his mind once his commanders had given their opinions? Was it the 30 to 45 seconds he recalled in 1963? Or "a full five minutes" as Smith recorded in his 1956 memoir?

Eisenhower pondered these discrepancies in later years. While he did not directly evoke David Howarth's "fog of war" explanation in his unpublished 1967 essay, "Writing a Memoir," he agreed with its implications. He wrote:

When accuracy is all important, memory is an untrustworthy crutch on which to lean. Witnesses of an accident often give, under oath, contradictory testimony concerning its details only hours later. How, then, can we expect two or more individuals, participants in the same dramatic occurrence of years past, to give identical accounts of the event?

With Eisenhower, There Were No Theatrics, Just Modesty

But there is more to the mystery of Ike's D-day words than the inability of memory to preserve the past. Eisenhower's humble character contributes to the riddle. And

Our landings in the
Cherbourg - Have our
have failed to gain a
satisfactory foothold and
I have withdrawn
the troops. ~~have been~~
withdrawn. My decision to
attack at this time and place
was based upon the best
information available, and
the troops, the air and the
Navy did all that ~~valuable~~
Bravery and devotion to duty
could do. If any blame
or fault attaches to the attempt
it is mine alone.

July 5

while his character alone cannot solve the mystery, it may explain why there is no single, memorable quote.

Ike disdained pomposity in word and manner. He disliked the "slick talker" and the "desk pounder." The histrionic gesture or declamation just wasn't in him.

As his biographer Kenneth S. Davis writes, "There was nothing dramatic in the way he made [the decision]. He didn't think in terms of 'history' or 'destiny,' nor did there arise in him any of that grandiose self-consciousness which characterizes the decisive moments of a Napoleon or Hitler."

Everything about Eisenhower was restrained, D-day historian Cornelius Ryan adds. "Apart from the four stars of his rank, a single ribbon of decorations above his breast pocket and the flaming shoulder patch of SHAEF, Eisenhower shunned all distinguishing marks. Even in the [command] trailer there was little evidence of his authority: no flags, maps, framed directives, or signed photographs of the great or near-greats who visited him."

Eisenhower penned a quick, direct note explaining his decision in case the D-day landing failed (writing July instead of June in his haste). The note reveals his concern with the consequences rather than how he gave the order.

There is no memorable quote, in other words, because of Eisenhower's good old-fashioned Kansas modesty. He did not have the kind of ego that spawns lofty sentiments for the press or posterity. Ike was a plain speaker from the plains of America's heartland. Contrast this with Douglas MacArthur, whose "I shall return" was carefully composed for press and posterity. (The U.S. Office of War Information preferred, "We shall return" but lost the fight to the lofty MacArthur.)

Eisenhower's self-effacing character is also revealed in his other D-day words, words he never intended anyone to hear. The words show he was far more concerned with taking responsibility for failure than with glorying in whatever success crowned D-day. During the somber lull between the decision and the invasion, Ike scribbled a quick note and stuffed it in his wallet, as was his custom before every major operation. He misdated it "July 5," providing more evidence of the stress vexing him and his subordinates. He found the note a month later and showed it to an aide, who convinced him to save it.

The note said simply:

Our landings in the Cherbourg-Havre area have failed to gain a satisfactory foothold and I have withdrawn the troops. My decision to attack at this time and place was based upon the best information available. The troops, the air and the Navy did all that Bravery and devotion to duty could do. If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt it is mine alone.

Eisenhower's D-day worries lay with the consequences of his decision, not the style in which it was uttered. And while the result of his D-day decision is well known, his words unleashing the mighty Allied assault on Normandy will remain a mystery, just the way he would have wanted it. **P**

NOTE ON SOURCES

The faint trail connecting the sources used for this article begins in the holdings of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum in Abilene, Kansas. The sole mention of his Last Words in the Pre-Presidential Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1916–1952, appears in the Principal Files series. A similar lone reference is found in the White House Central Files, President's Personal Files series. It is not until you examine Ike's Post-Presidential Papers, 1961–1969, that the bread crumbs start appearing at regular intervals. Records relating to the D-day invasion and his fateful words are found in numerous folders in the series 1963 and 1964 Principal Files. His essay on the difficulties of memoir writing is in the Augusta-Walter Reed series. The Post-Presidential Appointment Books series proves whether a writer saw Eisenhower on the date(s) he claimed. An important memorandum on the June 4 and 5 meetings is located in the Lt. Gen. Harold Bull Papers, 1943–1968.

Helpful sources in other manuscripts repositories include the Kenneth S. Davis Collection, Hale Library, Kansas State University; the Chester Wilmut Papers at the National Library of Australia; and the Alan Moorehead Papers, also at the National Library of Australia. Air Vice Marshal James Robb's account of the June 5 meeting is in the archives of the Royal Air Force Museum in London. I thank all four institutions for their long-distance reference services.

This article benefited by the several, if contradictory, accounts found in the memoirs noted in the text. David Howarth's *D Day: The Sixth of June, 1944* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Ltd.: New York, 1959) and Cornelius Ryan's oft-copied, never-surpassed *The Longest Day* (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1959) are among the best-written narratives of D-day and provide keen observations of the June 5 meeting (Howarth) and Eisenhower's character (Ryan).

I also want to thank Dr. Timothy Nenninger of the National Archives and Records Administration for his advice and counsel on D-day records.



Tim Rives is the deputy director of the Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum in Abilene, Kansas.

He earned his master of arts degree in American history from Emporia State University in 1995. He was with the National Archives at Kansas City from 1998 to 2008, where he specialized in prison records. This is his fifth article written for *Prologue*.



DEPICTING *the* CREATION *of a* NATION

The Story Behind the Murals About Our Founding Documents

BY LESTER S. GORELIC

Two large oil-on-canvas murals (each about 14 feet by 37.5 feet) decorate the walls of the Rotunda of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The murals depict pivotal moments in American history represented by two founding documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

In one mural, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia is depicted handing over his carefully worded and carefully edited draft of the Declaration of Independence to John Hancock of Massachusetts. Many of the other Founding Fathers look on, some fully supportive, some apprehensive.

In the other, James Madison of Virginia is depicted presenting his draft of the Constitution to fellow Virginian George Washington, president of the 1787 Constitutional Convention, and to other members of the Convention.

Although these moments occurred in the Pennsylvania State House in Philadelphia (Independence Hall)—not in the sylvan settings shown in the murals—the two priceless documents are now in the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C., and have been seen by millions of visitors over the years.



When the National Archives Building was built in the mid-1930s, however, these two founding documents were in the custody of the Library of Congress and would not be transferred to the Archives until 1952. Even so, the architects designed and built an exhibition hall that included space for two large murals celebrating the documents.

Creating the murals would prove not to be a simple task. The muralist commissioned for the project, Barry Faulkner, had to serve a number of masters, including the architects, the historical community, and the United States Commission of Fine Arts. Faulkner submitted numerous preliminary sketches to the commission, only to be rejected. At one point, it appeared that the entire mural project was in jeopardy.

The details of how the paintings were conceived and their meanings tell a fascinating back story of American public art, allegory, and American history.

DELEGATES' PLACEMENTS IN DECLARATION BASED ON VIEWS ON INDEPENDENCE

In depicting Jefferson presenting the draft of the Declaration to the Congress, Faulkner portrays the Committee of Five, who were charged with composing a declaration (Thomas Jefferson, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert Livingston of New York). Included with these five are John Hancock and Virginians Benjamin Harrison and Richard Henry Lee, who made the motion for independence. All of these men stand in the front rows of the right side of the mural.

Lee, who did not see military action during the Revolution, stands defiantly with sword in hand—likely symbolic for his emotion-filled “call-to arms” speech as he made his motion to officially declare independence.

Jefferson's placement at the front of the Committee of Five reflects his position as its head. Although Jefferson was the primary author of the Declaration, his initial draft was edited first by Adams and then by Franklin. The noticeable difference in clothing styles of Adams and Jefferson (as well as Lee) reflects a suggestion made to Faulkner to use clothing to distinguish “the Puritan and Cavalier strains” (New England and Southerners) at the Congress.



Barry Faulkner, a noted American muralist, submitted several sketches or studies before the large murals of the National Archives Exhibit Hall took final form. Top: *The Declaration of Independence* (left) and the *Constitution of the United States* (right) have decorated the walls of the National Archives Rotunda since their installation in 1936.

To the left of Jefferson, Hancock, president of the Congress, is partnered with Benjamin Harrison, who served as the chairman of the Committee of the Whole. Hancock is portrayed as poised to receive the draft from Jefferson. Harrison is shown with arms wide open, welcoming the Congress into his committee to discuss the draft.

On the left side of the mural are two groupings. The first consists of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania (hand on chin), standing to the right and somewhat apart from the group composed of Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, and Thomas McKean of Delaware. These four men were leaders of the revolutionary movement in the colonies but approached the issues differently.

Dickinson, a conservative revolutionary, preferred negotiation over revolution. He would ultimately abstain from voting on independence. The remaining men, with a cloaked Sam Adams in an oratorical stance and with an expression matching his "fire-brand" reputation, advocated the overthrow of British rule.

CLOTHING, OTHER PROPS REVEAL LIVES OF DELEGATES

The three men at the extreme left—Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, both of Maryland, and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania—worked for independence behind the scenes through the "secret committees" of the Congress.

Carroll and Chase had been commissioned by the Committee of Correspondence to negotiate an alliance with Canada to join in the fight against the British as the 14th state. Morris, a member of the Committee of Secret Correspondence and the Secret Committee of Trade, as was Carroll, coordinated the acquisition of munitions and shipment of arms. Morris was also involved in gathering intelligence on British troop movements through his worldwide shipping fleet. Morris has been called the "Financier of the Revolution" and would later become the superintendent of

finance for the first central bank of the new republic, the Bank of North America.

The committee that drafted the Articles of Confederation is represented by Dickinson (chairman), John Adams, Josiah Bartlett of New Hampshire, William Ellery of Rhode Island, Hancock, Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, Lee, Robert Morris, Thomas McKean of Delaware, Roger Sherman, and John Witherspoon of New Jersey.

Faulkner uses costuming and props to provide a glimpse of the professional and personal lives of some of the delegates.

Hancock, dressed in elegant clothing, came from the elite of Boston society. The small roll of paper in his right hand likely represents the speech he gave after the Boston Massacre, dispelling any of the prior doubts of Bostonians about his patriotism. McKean was a judge and is portrayed with a Pennsylvania court judicial gown draped over his arm. Wythe, wearing a black robe, was America's first law professor. Witherspoon, also in black robes, was the president of the College of New Jersey.

John Adams, Hopkins, and William Floyd of New York are portrayed with walking sticks, a symbol of authority and wealth. Hopkins, considered an early true patriot, and Joseph Hewes of North Carolina are portrayed with hats and clothing reflecting their Quaker backgrounds. (Ironically, Hewes would later become the first secretary of naval affairs.) Bartlett is brandishing a sword symbolic of his having been a commander in the New Hampshire militia.

FOR THE CONSTITUTION: COMMITTEES AND PLANS

Faulkner painted a clear sky and a "trophy" of state flags of each of the 13 original colonies to convey that the Constitution was written during a time of peace and that the individual states were joined in a union under the Constitution.

In the *Constitution* mural, which faces the *Declaration of Independence* mural, Faulkner portrays the chairmen of two

committees—John Rutledge of South Carolina, and William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut—in the front row. The chairman of his third committee, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, is portrayed centrally but diminutively in a back row.

Edmund Randolph of Virginia, portrayed obscurely and paired with and behind Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts at the extreme left, presented to the Convention a draft plan—the Virginia Plan, which served as the working document for the Constitution. Gorham was the chairman of the Committee of the Whole, which deliberated for first two months of the Convention on Randolph's plan. The bundle of parchment Gorham carries likely represents the record of these deliberations, a record that became the Gorham Report.

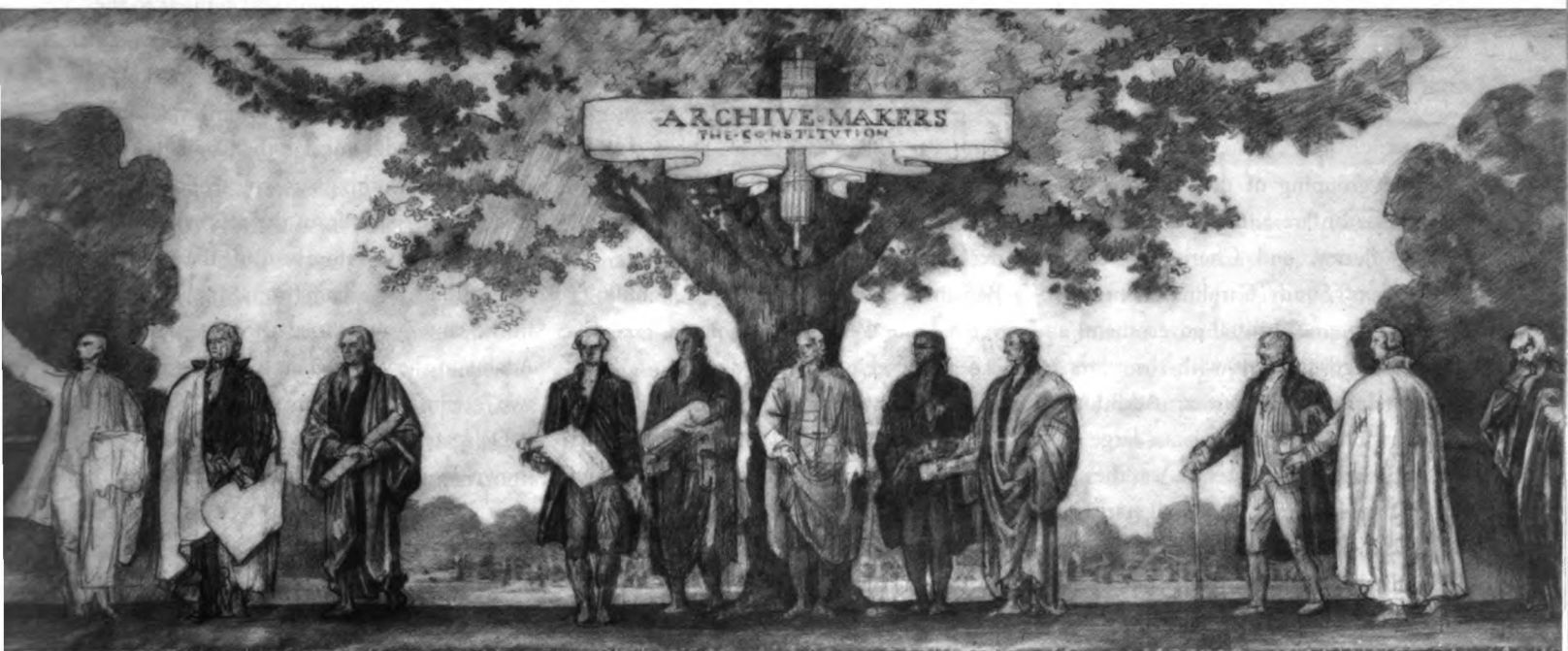
To the right of Gorham is Rutledge (holding a book), whose "Committee of Detail" incorporated all the details of the Gorham Report into the first draft of the Constitution. The other members of this committee were Randolph, Gorham, James Wilson of Pennsylvania (to the right of Rutledge), and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut (right of Wilson).

Two drafts of a Constitution were actually generated by Rutledge's committee. Wilson contributed several key elements to a somewhat disjointed preliminary first draft, among which were the Electoral College and the guiding principle of separation of powers. He also proposed the slavery compromise and would go on to almost singlehandedly hand-write the second draft, which would serve with little correction as the working document for Johnson's committee.

Ellsworth, through his additional participation in Gerry's committee, had been the primary advocate for and one of two architects (with Roger Sherman) of the Great Compromise, which resolved how states would be represented in the legislature. Ellsworth is portrayed holding a partially unrolled and disorganized document, likely symbolizing the preliminary draft, and a quill symbolizing his role in the compromise.



The *Archive Makers* sketches supported the bid for the contract. Above: The *Declaration* featured, left to right, unknown, R. Morris, unknown, unknown, B. Franklin, unknown, T. Jefferson, S. Adams, R. H. Lee. Bottom: The *Constitution* featured, left to right, A. Hamilton, J. Monroe, O. Ellsworth, J. Madison, J. Dickinson, G. Mason, E. Randolph, J. Jay, Gouverneur Morris, G. Washington, J. Marshall.

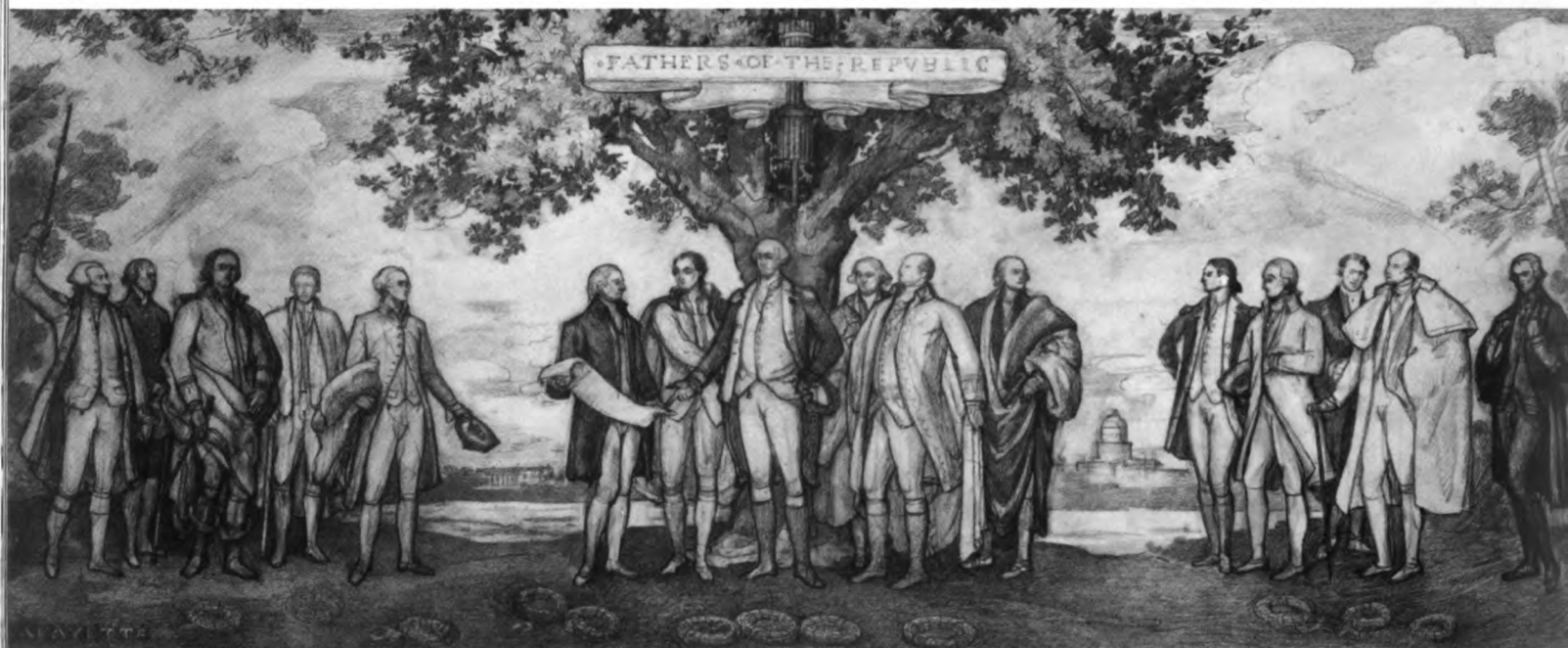


Johnson's committee, the Committee of Style and Arrangement, accepted the draft from Rutledge's committee and used it to produce the final draft of the Constitution, represented by the carefully rolled document cradled in his hands. The members of

this committee were Alexander Hamilton of New York, G. Morris, Madison, and Rufus King of Massachusetts.

Madison, to the left of Johnson, is shown symbolically submitting "the original draft of the Constitution to Washington and a group

of the Convention members." Behind and paired with him is Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, who had presented a plan to the Convention at the same time as Randolph, the elements of which were integrated into the final draft without prior discussion.



The recomposed *Archive Makers: The Constitution* presented with the first-stage studies at the July 26, 1934, commission meeting. Left to right: M. de Lafayette, C. Strong, G. Mason, J. Dickinson, A. Hamilton, J. Madison, O. Ellsworth, G. Washington, G. Morris, E. Randolph, J. Jay, C. C. Pinckney, J. Monroe, R. King, A. Gallatin, J. Marshall.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE POWER OF THE STATES

On the right side of the mural, primarily, Faulkner represents allegorically the conflicts in the Convention over the form of the new republic's government.

In the grouping of three men adjacent to Washington are King, William Paterson of New Jersey, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. King advocated a "supreme" central government, and Paterson a government with the states retaining considerable power. Additionally, King supported the Virginia, or large state, plan for government; Paterson was the architect of the New Jersey, or small state, plan. Gen. C. C. Pinckney, paired with Paterson, shared Paterson's view on the states' retaining a role in the government.

The three men in the next group on the right were strong advocates for a supreme central government. George Read of Delaware, portrayed as an outlier in shadow at the far right, advocated the extreme approach of erasing all state boundaries. The one-legged Gouverneur Morris favored an aristocracy, reflected in the aristocratic

bearing of his portrait. Hamilton favored a powerful, almost monarchical, form of central government with an executive and senate elected for life, likely symbolized in his gold cape and partially raised sword. G. Morris and Hamilton played key roles in the ratification of the Constitution.

Behind Washington and over his shoulders are George Mason of Virginia and Benjamin Franklin. Mason and Franklin favored a plural executive; a singular executive is personified in Washington.

Supporters of states' rights are seen throughout the composition. However, four such individuals—Luther Martin of Maryland, Sherman, Gunning Bedford, Jr., of Delaware, and Abraham Baldwin of Georgia—are clustered at the top of the steps of the portico.

The exposed epaulette on Washington's right shoulder, scabbard, and riding boots (with spurs) present an image of Washington as commander-in-chief once more. The cape barely hanging on his shoulders is reminiscent of portraits of the monarchs of the time. Together with his facial expression and stance, the portrayal projects the dignity of a monarch, which was how the

Congress (particularly the Federalists) preferred Washington to present himself to the European powers.

Two of the men discussed in this section—Martin (who wrote the Supremacy Clause) and Mason—did not sign the Constitution.

Rutledge's clothing was typical of the finery worn by delegates from the southern states. Faulkner may therefore be using the contrasting clothing of Gorham (from Massachusetts) in the same way he used Jefferson and John Adams in the *Declaration* to distinguish the two "strains" at the Convention.

Delegates associated with the judiciary are shown in their robes. Ellsworth and Read were judges; Wilson was a legal scholar. Paterson would become an associate justice of the Supreme Court but is portrayed wearing a style of robe seen in portraits of Chief Justice John Jay instead of the robe shown in Paterson's own portraits.

Gen. C. C. Pinckney is costumed in a manner befitting his rank. The red sash around Hamilton's waist, the exposed epaulette, the riding boots, and officer's short sword are consistent with the military rank he held in the Battle at Yorktown, commander of the

light infantry. The gray color of his uniform, however, was seen only in uniforms worn in the first year of the War of 1812.

Charles Pinckney's love of scholarship is symbolized in the book he is holding over his heart. The walking sticks of Gouverneur Morris and Charles Pinckney are symbolic of social status. Sherman is portrayed holding his walking stick in a sinister manner, likely reflecting the comment of Jeremiah Wadsworth, a Connecticut statesman, that Sherman is as "cunning as the devil, slippery as an eel."

Finally, Bedford is shown with his left hand outstretched surreptitiously, likely reflecting his "foreign influence" statement, "Sooner than be ruined, there are foreign powers who will take us [small states] by the hand."

THE BACK STORY: FAULKNER IS HIRED, OFFERS SKETCHES

On October 23, 1933, the chief architect of the National Archives, J. Russell Pope, recommended the approval of a two-year contract to hire Barry Faulkner, a noted American muralist, to paint a mural for the Exhibit Hall in the planned National Archives Building.

The contract awarded \$36,000 in costs plus \$6,000 for incidental expenses, with all deliverables due two years later.

The work would be supervised by Pope. The government was represented on the contract by Louis A. Simon, the supervising architect for the Treasury Department. All work on the murals would need the approval of both architects. The United States Commission of Fine Arts would serve in an advisory capacity.

The team presented expertise in art, architecture, painting, and sculpture. Faulkner had trained under and worked with renowned artists and sculptors and was among the muralists considered to have revolutionized decorative painting in America.

By 1933, Faulkner had been commissioned by and completed murals for the Eastman Theater (Rochester, New York), RCA Building, Rockefeller Center (New



The first-stage studies presented at the July 26, 1934, commission meeting. *Top:* The *Declaration* features, left to right, G. Wythe, G. Read, R. Morris, R. Sherman, J. Adams, G. Livingston, B. Franklin, T. Jefferson, S. Adams, P. Henry, R. H. Lee. *Bottom:* In the *Constitution* the individuals portrayed are unchanged from the *Archive Makers Constitution*.



York City), and Mortensen Hall of Bushnell Center (Hartford, Connecticut). Pope had been the architect for the National Gallery of Art, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, and the Masonic Temple of the Scottish Rite in Washington, D.C.

Missing from the team was credentialed expertise in United States history. This deficiency haunted the project for several months until the team added J. Franklin Jameson from the Library of Congress, regarded by the chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, Charles Moore, as the "dean of American history."

Two sketches had been supplied with the contract. One was titled *Archive Makers: The Declaration* and the other *Archive Makers: The Constitution*. Both sketches showed a lineup of persons of importance to the early republic, set against a purely landscape background.

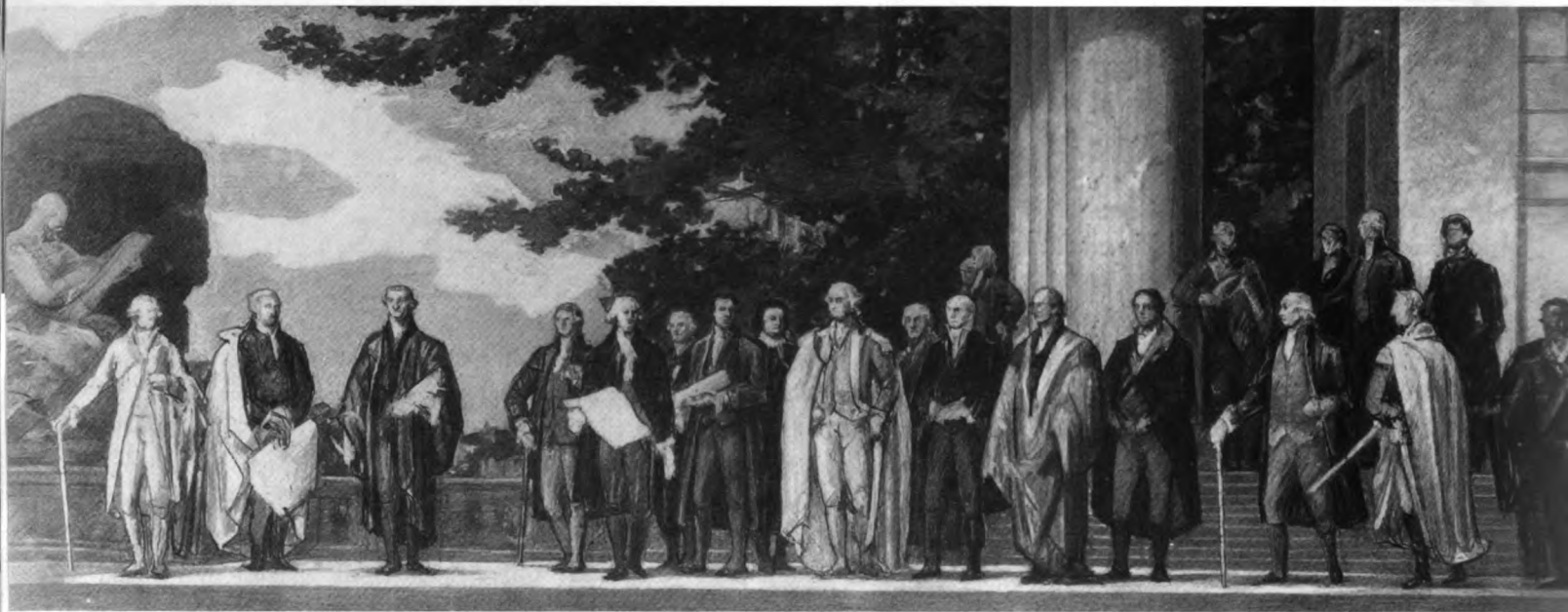
The sketches did not elicit much reaction from the commission. According to the minutes from the January 1934 meeting, the commission commented, "you get as much life and congruity in your *Constitution* as you have done in your *Declaration*, that mostly front views are shown" and that "Washington ought to be doing a little something."

FAULKNER PREPARES SKETCH "FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC"

In the months that followed, Faulkner worked on and completed a new *Constitution*, retitled *Fathers of the Republic* and the first-stage studies required by the contract. The completed *Fathers* sketch demonstrates a major rethinking of organization. Washington is clearly the central figure, and the men are clustered. Monroe had been deleted from the original sketch; Albert



Expanded studies showing men through Lincoln and his time, based on recommendations made by Charles Moore, with statues representing war (*Declaration*) or peace (*Constitution*). *Top: Declaration*. Left to right along the base are H. Clay, A. Gallatin, A. Lincoln, J. Monroe, R. Sherman, G. Livingston, J. Adams, J. Hancock, J. Dickinson (obscured), R. Morris, T. Jefferson, S. Adams, P. Henry, B. Franklin. By the column, extreme left in front, B. Harrison R. H. Lee; in back, 3 unknown. At top of steps, to right of column, from left: G. Wythe, W. Floyd. *Bottom: Constitution*, left to right: unknown, J. Wilson, O. Ellsworth, C. Pinckney (in back), J. Madison, E. Gerry (in back), S. Johnson, G. Mason (behind Washington), G. Washington, B. Franklin (behind Washington), R. King, W. Paterson, C. C. Pinckney, G. Morris, A. Hamilton, W. Read. At the left of the column are W. R. Davie and J. Langdon, and at right of column, left to right, are L. Martin, R. Sherman, B. Gunning, A. Baldwin.



Gallatin (who was treasury secretary under Jefferson and Madison), the Marquis de Lafayette, Gen. C. C. Pinckney, and Celeb Strong had been added. Based on Simon's comments that "it was limited to the early days of the Republic" and "the figures would be disproportionately large," this sketch was not considered further.

The first-stage studies had been mounted on the "walls" of a partial cutaway scale model of the Exhibit Hall. The commission

used black-and-white photographs of the construct to evaluate both the artistry and how well the murals would integrate with the decorations in the hall.

One first notices the change in backgrounds to a mix of landscape and architecture. "The [new] background would integrate well with the stark architecture of the Exhibit Hall, and would impart a feeling of distance and space; and the alternative, an architectural background, would require the

use of Independence Hall, which would be monotonous across two panels," Faulkner later explained.

The positions of the men in the first-stage *Declaration* differ from the original sketch. Two men had been added, Patrick Henry and another whose identity is lost to history. For the *Constitution*, it is almost as if the lineup of men in the original sketch had been cut out and pasted into a new background.

The commission, in a letter to Simon on July 27, explained that they "agree[d] that a more comprehensive treatment of the matter was desirable in connection with the wide range of materials to be housed in the Archives Building." Simon forwarded a copy of this letter with his comments to Pope the following day. It is clear from Pope's reply to Simon that he understood the commission's concern to mean that the murals "should be a subject related to this particular building."

Subsequent attempts by Faulkner and Pope to obtain additional information on the commission's evaluation of the first-stage studies failed. Still, Faulkner forged ahead, completing a revised set of first-stage studies. Through a process of addition and deletion, the number of men in his prior first-stage *Declaration* had been increased by four and now included John Hancock.

HISTORICAL SCOPE EXTENDED, BUT COMMISSION SAYS "NO"

Faulkner submitted the revised studies for presentation at the commission's September 17 meeting. He introduced his new studies as the signers of the Declaration and the signers of the Constitution (even though Patrick Henry was included in the *Declaration*, John Marshall and Lafayette in the *Constitution*, and James Monroe in both).

The lack of comprehensiveness was brought up again. Moore proposed as a solution that "one of the panels be dedicated to the founders of the Republic and the other to Abraham Lincoln and his time."

Viewing Moore's proposal positively, Faulkner developed two lists accommodating the portrayal of up to 19 men in each study, with each list based on one of two selection models for each subject.

The first model was "to confine the subject matter to men of primary and secondary importance who wrote or signed the Declaration and the Constitution or who were intimately concerned with the two documents, but not members of the

Conventions: like Patrick Henry, Otis, John Jay and Marshall."

The second was "to enlarge the scope of the subject, introducing great statesmen up to the time of Jackson or even Lincoln, but with the stress still on the men of the Constitution and Declaration."

Based on his lists, Faulkner composed a new set of studies and submitted them to Moore's office on September 22. What is immediately apparent in the new studies are features from the *Fathers* sketch. Specifically, men are distributed throughout the composition and are organized into clusters. Additionally, in the *Constitution*, Washington is now the central figure.

Twenty-one men are portrayed in the *Declaration*, 10 more than in the prior study. Henry Clay, Gallatin, and Lincoln had been added. Twenty-two men are portrayed in the *Constitution*, 11 more than in the prior study. With the exception of the statue and a few missing persons to the left of Charles Pinckney, the *Constitution* resembles the fully evolved mural.

Unbeknownst to Faulkner, Moore had drafted a letter to Pope on September 25, a day before receiving Faulkner's new studies. Moore provided a clear insight into the commission's vision for the murals: "Thus, opportunity is offered, as never since the Rotunda of the Capitol was decorated, to express in mural work the significance of the place of the building itself in the history of the country."

The letter also stated that the commission found the original first-stage studies to be inadequate, lacking unity and needed focal character; and recommended their disapproval.

Moore's draft letter was not delivered to Pope until mid-October, after Moore had personally met with him to discuss the status of the contract.

At Moore's request, he and Pope met in Newport, Rhode Island, on October 10 and 11 to discuss the status of the murals. Faulkner was brought into the discussion by phone. Pope and Moore informally agreed

that Faulkner needed to discard his prior studies and prepare an entirely new set.

According to the report on the meeting, "two new panels should be prepared for submission, the first panel is to present the Declaration of Independence, the second, the Constitution, general terms to connote the spirit in which these historic documents were produced."

The fact that the actual Declaration and Constitution were at the Library of Congress was brought up twice at the commission meetings. Moore remarked that "when laying the cornerstone for the new Archives building, President Hoover referred to them saying that they would be deposited in the new Archives building."

Not until December 13, 1952, 16 years after the opening of the building, would the two documents be transferred to the National Archives Building and enshrined in their display cases.

HISTORIAN JAMESON OFFERS HELP ON WHOM TO DEPICT

Faulkner requested Moore's help in assembling an authoritative list (25 men for each picture) for a new set of studies, and Moore suggested that Faulkner contact Jameson for assistance, noting that he had already asked Jameson to "put his mind to the subject."

Moore continued: "First, in the *Declaration*, only half the signers can be represented. Therefore, the selection of twenty-five out of fifty men should have a basis in some broad generalization. Second, it has seemed to me that in a central group, the contrasting puritan and cavalier strains, would give the artist a great opportunity in costume and type—the Lees and John Adams. Third, I do not see why the buildings peeping out at the ends should not be Georgian. Fourth, the Declaration stood for war, the Constitution for peace. Is there not an opportunity to work this feeling into the skies? Fifth, Washington's character produced the harmony in the Convention which brought the Constitution into being." Moore closed

by commenting "I suppose Madison had most to do with the text and details of the Constitution, and that Hamilton and John Adams had most to do with its ratification."

By November 16, Jameson had provided Faulkner with a list of possible men to portray and a rationale for his selections. He advised including in each study at least one person from each state, lest "there be outcries if there was any one [state] that did not have a figure in the painting." For the *Declaration*, "John Hancock as well as Thomas Jefferson and his committee needed to be included."

Jameson's *Declaration* list named Hancock, Jefferson, and 11 men from the remaining states and named 10 additional men in order of preference "should the need arise for additional." He also provided a list of 19 men for the *Constitution*.

FAULKNER USES COMMITTEES TO DETERMINE GROUPINGS

Using Jameson's lists plus some additional men, Faulkner submitted a new set of studies to the commission. In his presentation note, Faulkner clarified that "the *Declaration* symbolized war, the *Constitution* peace. His committee groupings show thirteen in one group to represent the thirteen original colonies; and only Benjamin Franklin and one or two other statesmen had been duplicated in each of the sketches."

Faulkner explained that the basis for his groupings was that of the committees appointed in the two Conventions: "The Committee of the Grand [Great] Compromise . . . , the Committee for the first draft of the Constitution; and the Committee for the final draft of the Constitution. The groups are centered on Washington where men served on more than one committee. Finally, a few important men had been included, such as

General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and his cousin Charles Pinckney, who did not serve on these committees."

Two committees are represented in the *Declaration*, Faulkner continued: "One is comprised of Jefferson and the Committee on the Declaration [the Committee of Five] with Hancock and Harrison. The second, the committee for drafting the Articles of Confederation, is represented because it was closely linked with the Committee on the Constitution and was appointed at the same time; the Articles were useful as a basis for some parts of the Constitution and help link the two subject matters; and the Committee gave a man from each state. R. H. Lee is positioned prominently in the *Declaration* because of his motion for independence. Finally, men not on any committee are by themselves."

Twenty-seven men were portrayed in the new *Constitution*, grouped the same as in the fully evolved mural. Thirty-three men were portrayed in the new *Declaration*.

Where Faulkner had placed statues representing war (*Declaration*) and peace (*Constitution*), the commission suggested using standards of the colonies "to represent the dangerous situation of the men who took part in the Declaration of Independence"; and "trophies of victory and the Stars and Stripes" for the Constitution. Overall, the commission evaluated the new studies favorably.

Following the December meeting of the commission, Faulkner set to work incorporating their recommendations into a final set of studies. In a letter to Moore, he explained that the basis for the groupings remained the same as for the prior set of studies.

The sculpted figures in the prior set of studies, he wrote, had been replaced with "known Revolutionary battle flags in the *Declaration*;

and for the *Constitution*, the State flags of the thirteen original colonies in the symbol of the Union Not mentioned were the realistic gathering storm clouds now appearing in the sky of the *Declaration*, addressing Moore's suggestion to represent "war" in the skies.

FINAL VERSION APPROVED: MURALS COME TO ARCHIVES

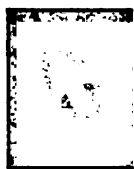
With his final studies, Faulkner had produced two murals that were historically consistent throughout. This even applies to the architecture, which is representative of the type found in early Greek democracies. Additionally, the columns are intended to be "pillars of democracy."

The individual elements of each mural are integrated, and through the Articles of Confederation, Faulkner has linked the two murals historically.

Finally, through the use of costuming, Faulkner "covertly" enhanced the historic scope of the murals from the early days of the Republic through the Revolution and the War of 1812. In the storm clouds in the *Declaration* one can see Lincoln's profile turned on its side. The Lincoln image extends the historical period into the Civil War, making the murals better serve as frontispieces for the contents of the Archives building. The commission officially approved Faulkner's latest studies on January 21, 1935.

After completing the individual drawings of the figures and incorporating them into the cartoons, Faulkner moved out of his studio and rented space in the attic over New York's Grand Central Station. Here he built two walls 40 feet long by 18 feet high facing each other to support the canvases.

By December 20, the completed cartoons had been enlarged to full size by photography and traced onto the canvas. Faulkner



To learn more about

- Faulkner's role in designing camouflage for U.S. troops in World War I, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/spring/.
- Conservation work given to the Faulkner murals, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2003/spring/.
- Where the Declaration and Constitution were kept before coming to the Archives, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/winter/.



Recomposed expanded studies based on listings provided by J. Franklin Jameson and provided at the December 3, 1934, commission meeting. *Top: Declaration.*
Bottom: Constitution.



provided 24 inches of empty canvas to allow for possible differences between the space allotted for the murals in the plans and the actual space on the curved walls of the Exhibit Hall.

The commission visited Faulkner's studio on March 12, 1936, to see Faulkner's compositions—now in full color. At that time, Faulkner informed the commission he had approximately six more months of

work on details; they were completed as promised in September.

The completed murals were rolled up on wooden drums, boxed, and shipped to the National Archives in Washington. Faulkner and one his painters, John Sitton, and paperhanger Fred Crittendon accompanied the murals. By October 15, the murals had been installed on the Rotunda walls, and the artists painted in the areas where they had

extra space. The first public viewing was in early November.

One year after their installation, the painted surface of each mural was completely varnished using beeswax and varnish in turpentine followed by buttermilk in water. Faulkner instructed that the treated surface of the murals not be touched and explained that the pictures could be expected to stay in good condition for 40 or 50 years.

MURALS RECEIVE CONSERVATION TREATMENT AFTER 60 YEARS

As Faulkner predicted, the murals did stay in decent condition for about 40 years. By 1986, however, they were exhibiting buckles and bulges due to the crumbling of the plaster behind them and deformation of the canvas. In 1999, needed conservation work for the murals was officially designated as a "Save America's Treasures" project. The project was timed to coincide with the first-ever top-to-bottom renovation of the National Archives Building, during which it would be closed to visitors. Conservation of the murals

was completed by November 2002, and they were reinstalled on the Rotunda walls.



The story of these historic murals, which enhance the meaning of the documents on display just below them, is fascinating in itself, for it sheds light on the differing interpretations about the roles of many of those we call the "Founding Fathers." How each man is depicted tells a lot about him and the beliefs he brought to the Pennsylvania State House in 1776 or 1787 to debate either the Declaration or the Constitution.

Although Faulkner kept the main visual focus of the murals on a single subject, either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, he was able to inject other messages.

Taking into consideration the possible symbolic meanings of the "Lincoln" cloud (Civil War) and Hamilton's gray uniform (War of 1812), Faulkner appears to have used costuming and the sky to expand the scope of history represented from the early days of the Republic.

In that sense, the murals span the arc of our nation's early history. **P**

NOTE ON SOURCES

The author is grateful to the following individuals for their assistance and advice in retrieval of information and documents used to assemble this article: Richard Blondo and the staff of the Research Libraries at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., and College Park, Maryland; Emily Moazami of the Photographic Archives, Research and Scholars Center, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Marisa Bourgoin, Richard Manoogian, and Margaret Zoller of the Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.; Doug Copeley, New Hampshire Historical Society; and Alan Rumrill, Historical Society of Cheshire County, Keene, New Hampshire.

Summary descriptions of Faulkner's rationale for the organization and content of the murals, as well as their painting and installation, were found in the autobiography *Barry Faulkner: Sketches from an Artist's Life* (Dublin, New Hampshire: William L. Bauhan, 1973); and Alan E. Rumrill and Carl B. Jacobs, Jr., *Steps to Great Art: Barry Faulkner and the Art of the Muralist* (Keene, NH: Historical Society of Cheshire County, 2007). A more detailed description was provided in a transcript of a presentation made in 1957 by Faulkner to the Keene (N.H.) Daughters of the American Revolution, in the Barry Faulkner Papers in the Archives of American Art, Research Collection, Series 3: Writings: "Archives," 1957 (www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/Archives--282658).

The contract hiring Faulkner to paint the murals is in the Records of the Public Building Services, Record Group (RG) 121, National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

The stages in the evolution of the murals from their original sketches through their painting and installation are captured in the U.S. Commission

of Fine Arts correspondence and meeting minutes in the Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, 1893–1981, RG 66.

Photographic reproductions of the sketches and studies Faulkner submitted to the Commission for review are in the Peter A. Juley & Son Collection at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. Only three of the reproductions carried identifications of the portrayed individuals, and none of the reproductions are dated. Fortunately, a "Rosetta Stone" for matching portrayals with names in the form of listings was included with a letter from Faulkner to Charles Moore of September 20, 1934, in Record Group 66.

The process of conserving the murals is summarized in Richard Blondo, "Historic Murals Conservation at the National Archives" in *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 44 (Fall 2012): 26–29.

Interpretation of the murals proved to be a daunting task. Faulkner's explanations to the commission on his murals (Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, RG 66) contain only the core elements of the organization of his compositions. With the exception of the differences in clothing of Jefferson and Adams in the *Declaration*, the records do not provide a basis for the poses and costuming in the individual "portraits" and a rationale for the color schemes promised to the commission.

Further information about the organization of the *Declaration* mural's composition, roles of individual delegates, and personal and professional lives were found primarily in the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1724–1789*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, et al. (Washington, D.C.: 1904–37), vol. 4, and Reverend Charles A. Goodrich, *Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Mather Publisher, 1832).

For the *Constitution* mural, the same type of information, as well as the members of the committee writing the Articles of Confederation came from Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1911), vols. 1–3; Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Miracle at Philadelphia: The Story of the Constitutional Convention May to September 1787* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966); and Farrand, *The Fathers of the Constitution: A Chronicle of the Establishment of the Union* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1921); and other articles and books about individual delegates.

The comment on Sherman's character is a direct quote from "Letter from Jeremiah Wadsworth to Rufus King," June 3, 1787, in Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*.

The commentary on Alexander Hamilton's military uniform is based on information from James L. Kochan, *The United States Army, 1812–1815* (Oxford, England: Osprey Publishing, 2000); and David Cole, "Survey of U.S. Army Uniforms, Weapons and Accoutrements," (www.history.army.mil/html/museums/uniforms/survey_uwa.pdf).



Author

Lester S. Gorelic volunteers as a docent at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. He retired in 2009 from the National Cancer Institute, Rockville, Maryland, where most recently as program director, he developed and managed portfolios of federal grants supporting the research training and research career development of cancer researchers. He holds a Ph.D. in chemistry from the University of Chicago.

© 2014 by Lester S. Gorelic

FOUNDATION FOR THE
NATIONAL ARCHIVES

MEMBERSHIP



Be a part of the Foundation's mission to inspire citizens to explore the past and cultivate a deeper understanding of their civic history and civic responsibility. Members of the Foundation for the National Archives help fund cutting-edge exhibits, interactive educational activities, and high-profile public programs.

Join today! www.archivesfoundation.org/membership

PATRON: \$60

- Complimentary subscription to *Prologue*
- Membership card authorizing priority admission to the National Archives Museum through the Special Events entrance
- Advance notice of upcoming programs and activities through the monthly Calendar of Events
- 10-percent discount year-round, plus additional seasonal discounts, at the myArchives Store in Washington, DC, and online at myarchivesstore.org.
- Invitations to members-only tours and events
- National recognition in the Foundation's Annual Report and on the website

FAMILY: \$100

All benefits of the Patron level membership, plus:

- A copy of an educational family publication
- Advance notice of family programs and activities at the National Archives Museum
- Opportunity for you and your children to enroll in members-only activity days in the Boeing Learning Center at the National Archives

BENEFACTOR: \$250

All benefits of the Patron level membership, plus:

- National Archives box for archival storage
- Invitations to exhibition openings
- Reproduction of a significant historical document selected by the Foundation

GUARDIAN: \$500

All benefits of the Benefactor level membership, plus:

- Catalog from a National Archives Museum exhibition
- Invitations to special receptions prior to exhibition openings

FOUNDER: \$1,000

All benefits of the Guardian level membership, plus:

- Signed copy of a book related to programs and exhibitions at the National Archives Museum
- Invitations to a July 4th breakfast and priority seating for ceremonial reading of the Declaration of Independence and viewing of the National Independence Day Parade
- Personalized guided tours of the National Archives Museum

SCHOLAR: \$2,500

All benefits of the Founder level membership, plus:

- Opportunity to attend a private dinner with members of the Board of Directors of the Foundation for the National Archives and National Archives leadership

YOUNG FOUNDERS SOCIETY

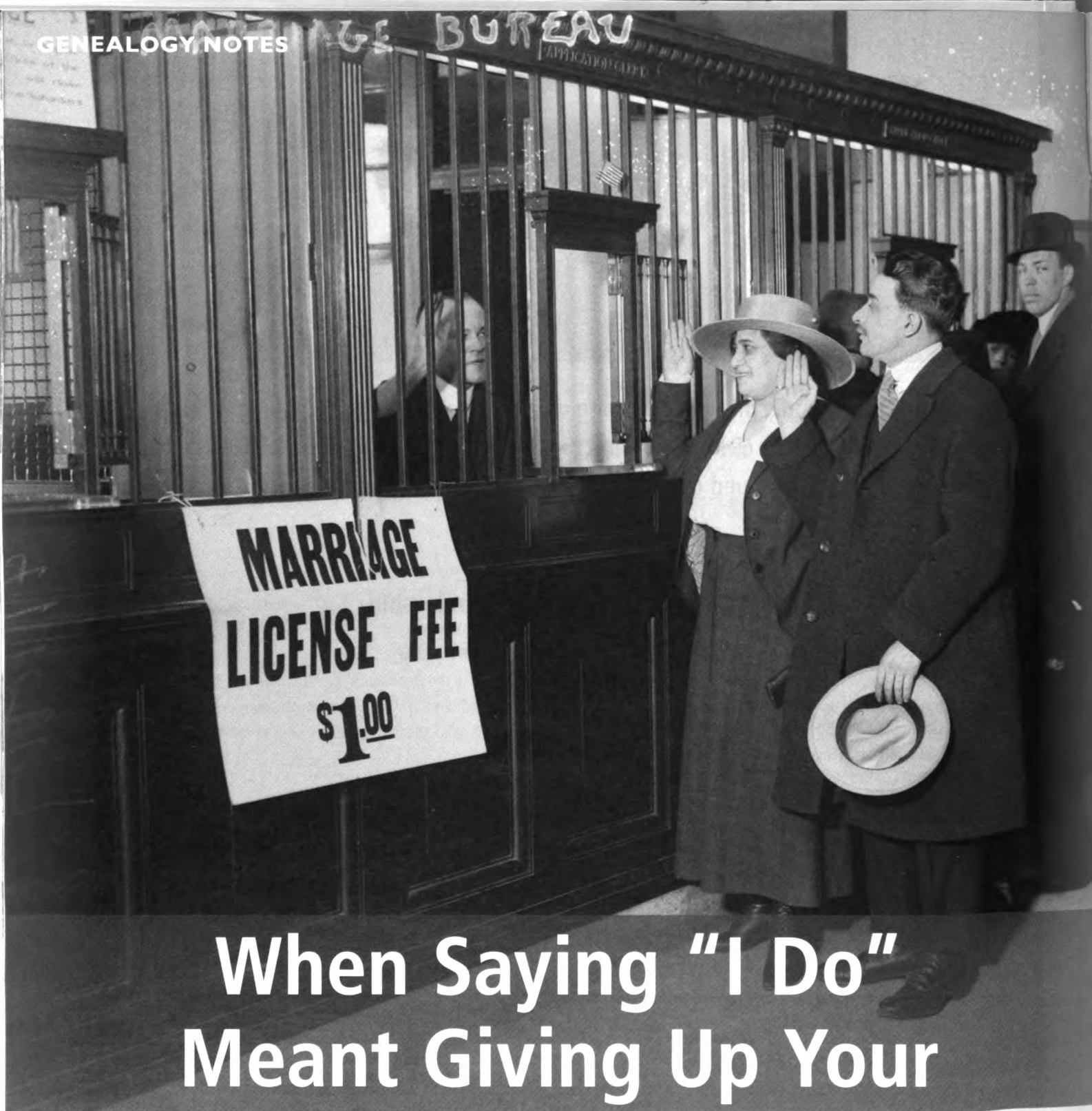
Open to young professionals in their 20s-40s. To receive benefits of the Young Founders Society, add \$50 to your choice of membership, or join at the \$50 introductory rate. Receive invitations to special Young Founders Society programs and events, networking opportunities with young professionals in Washington, DC and email updates on upcoming programs and events.

For more information contact the membership office at 202-357-5946 or members@archivesfoundation.org.

FOUNDATION FOR THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

700 Pennsylvania Ave, NW Room G-12 | Washington, DC 20408

Digitized by Google



When Saying "I Do" Meant Giving Up Your U.S. CITIZENSHIP

By Meg Hacker

4/80-16

Nestled among the records from almost every federal court in America is a small body of records documenting women swearing allegiance to the United States—to be more accurate, *re-swearing* their allegiance. When the massive amount of naturalization records in the National Archives present similar information—people pledging loyalty to America—what is special about this group?

The women in these records were all *born in America*. Some most likely never left this country, let alone their hometown, and yet they were swearing allegiance *back* to the United States. Why would these women not already be considered American?

Since the earliest days of our nation, millions of people have gone through the process of becoming a U.S. citizen. Naturalization is a choice, not a requirement, and no rule mandates that one must complete the naturalization process once it has been started. There is also no regulation promising the reinstatement of one's lost American citizenship.

At certain times in our country's history, marriage—at least for the woman—could affect one's citizenship status. If an American woman married a foreigner before 1907 and the married couple continued to reside in the United States, she did not, *because of her marriage*, cease to be an American citizen. The American woman remained a U.S. citizen even after her marriage to a non-U.S. citizen.

An act of March 2, 1907, also known as the Expatriation Act, changed all this. Congress mandated that “any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband.” Upon marriage, *regardless of where the couple resided*, the woman's legal identity morphed into her husband's.

In line for a marriage license, undated. With an act of 1907, women lost their U.S. citizenship when they married a foreigner. They had to reapply for naturalization. Below: Amelia Pizani Westphal explained the reason for her application in 1942.

"I lost, or believe that I lost, United States citizenship solely by reason of my marriage on October 25, 1917 to Julius H. Westphal, then an alien, a citizen or subject of Germany and my marital status with such person was terminated on January 27, 1932 by divorce."

Date: *March 11, 1942*

Amelia Pizani Westphal
Applicant

If a (former) American woman's alien husband became a naturalized U.S. citizen after the marriage, she would regain her citizenship through the very husband with whom she had lost it. If the same woman wanted her American citizenship restored, and her husband had not naturalized, she had to go through the entire naturalization process as a true immigrant, with all of its standard rules and regulations.

Even then, she was still tethered to her husband through his political or legal standing. If the United States, for whatever reason, would not grant *him* citizenship, it would not extend any repatriation opportunities to his wife.

This inequity in citizenship rights prompted Ohio Congressman John L. Cable to act. He sponsored legislation to give American women "equal nationality and citizenship rights" as men.

The Cable Act (also known as the "Married Women's Independent Nationality Act" or the "Married Women's Act") passed on September 22, 1922, and repealed the 1907 Expatriation Act.

An American woman who married a non-U.S. citizen after September 22, 1922, would no longer lose her citizenship if her husband was eligible to become a citizen. The Cable Act was great news for couples marrying after 1922.

Cable Act Confusing For Some Women

But what about women who had already lost their citizenship—what could they do? They would still have to follow the full standard naturalization process.

The Cable Act's restrictions caused some confusion.

A wife's citizenship status no longer changed automatically upon the husband's naturalization—in fact, it did not change at all. Some women who had married before passage of the act understandably believed they had either never lost their citizenship in the first place or assumed that they held the same status as their husbands (and, no doubt, children).

After 1922, women who thought they had lost citizenship by marriages due to the 1907 act had to file a petition for naturalization if they wished to regain it.

No. 329

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
NATURALIZATION SERVICE

ORIGINAL

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

To the Honorable the U. S. District Court of Southern District of Florida at Miami

The petition of Betty Ogan Mundy

First. My place of residence is 28 NW 5th Ave, Miami, Fla.

Second. My occupation is Housewife

Third. I was born on the 21st day of January, anno Domini 1885, at Wahkiak, Wahkiak County, Idaho

Fourth. I immigrated to the United States from _____ on or about the _____ day of _____, anno Domini _____, and arrived in the United States, at the port of _____ on the _____ day of _____, anno Domini _____, on the vessel _____

(U) The alien arrived otherwise than by vessel, the character of his means of transportation should be given: _____

17th. I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on the _____ day of _____, anno Domini _____

18th. I am able to speak the English language.

19th. I am able to speak the English language.

20th. I have resided continuously in the United States of America for the term of five years at least immediately preceding the date of this petition, to wit, 21st day of January, anno Domini 1885, and in the State of Florida, continuously next preceding this petition, since the 5th day of October, anno Domini 1911, being a residence within this State of at least one year next preceding this petition.

21st. I have not heretofore made petition for citizenship to any Court. (If made petition for citizenship to the _____ Court on the _____ day of _____, anno Domini _____, and the cause of such denial was _____)

Attached hereto and made a part of this petition are my declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States and the certificate from the Department of Labor together with my affidavit and the affidavits of the two verifying witnesses thereto, required by law.

Declaration of Intention No. None and Certificate of Arrival No. None from Department of Labor filed this _____ day of _____, anno Domini _____

NOTE TO CLERK OF COURT.—If petitioner arrived in the United States on or before June 30, 1906, strike out the words reading "and Certificate of Arrival No. _____ from Department of Labor"

AFFIDAVITS OF PETITIONER AND WITNESSES

State of Florida,
County of Dade, } ss:

The aforesaid petitioner being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the petitioner in the above-entitled proceedings; that he has read the foregoing petition and contents thereof; that the said petition is signed with his full, true name; that the same is true of his own knowledge, belief, and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Nina Wilson Brewer Housewife, residing at Wahkiak, Idaho
and Oliver Thornburgh Castle Housewife, residing at Perrine, Fla.

Betty Ogan Mundy, the petitioner above mentioned, to have resided in the United States of America, since the 15th day of December, anno Domini 1917, and in the State in which this petition is made continuously since the 15th day of December, anno Domini 1917; and that he has personal knowledge of the said petitioner; a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and that the petitioner is in every way qualified, in opinion, to be admitted a citizen of the United States.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named petitioner and witnesses in the office of the Clerk of said Court this 20th day of December, anno Domini 1922

Edwin H. Williams, Clerk.
M. Mahan, Deputy Clerk.

To learn more about

- Women in naturalization records, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/summer/.
- Locations of and contact information for National Archives research facilities nationwide, go to www.archives.gov/locations/.
- Naturalization records in the National Archives, go to www.archives.gov/research/naturalization/.

The Cable Act of 1922 allowed women to repatriate or reapply for their citizenship. Betty Mundy certifies her continuous residence in Florida in her application recorded December 20, 1922.

APPLICATION TO TAKE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE ACT OF JUNE 25, 1936, AND FORM OF SUCH OATH (PUBLIC-NO. 793-74th CONGRESS)

This form is for use under the Act of June 25, 1936 (Public-No. 793-74th Congress) by a woman residing within or under the jurisdiction of the United States, who was a native-born citizen of the United States and who has, or is believed to have, lost United States citizenship solely by reason of marriage prior to September 22, 1922, to an alien, and whose marital status with such alien has terminated. A woman, residing elsewhere, who is otherwise qualified should take up her case with an embassy, legation, or a consular officer of the United States. The oath of allegiance prescribed herein may be administered by any naturalization court in the United States to which this application is made. This form, which constitutes the court record of the transaction, should be executed in triplicate. The original should be retained as the record of the court. The duplicate, duly certified by the clerk of court, should be forwarded to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Washington, D. C., through the proper District Director or Division Director of Immigration and Naturalization on the first day of the succeeding month. The clerk of court shall furnish to the applicant, upon her demand, at a cost not exceeding \$1, a certified copy of the proceedings, under the seal of the court, including a copy of the oath administered. The triplicate copy of this form, which should be duly certified by the clerk, may be furnished to the applicant who makes such demand. If no such demand be made, the triplicate, unperfected, shall be forwarded with the duplicate as provided above.

In the United States District Court at Seattle, Washington

Before District Judge, John C. Bowen, J., presiding.

I, Martha Empey nee Kuhnke, was born at Sprague, Washington
on January 4, 1893, and was married on July 26, 1916 to

Gerald Empey, then an alien, a citizen or subject of Canada
I lost, or believe that I lost, United States citizenship solely by reason of such marriage. My marital status with such alien terminated on February 25, 1928 by divorce.
The following available documents which support the foregoing facts are herewith exhibited by me: Baptismal certificate dated May 21, 1893, showing my birth January 4, 1893, Sprague, Wash.; Certified copy of marriage certificate, Gerald Empey and Martha Kuhnke on July 26, 1916; Certified copy of divorce from said husband on February 25, 1928.

I hereby apply to take the oath of allegiance as prescribed in section 4 of the Act of June 29, 1906 (34 Stat. 506; U. S. C., t. 8, sec. 106), to become repatriated and obtain the rights of a citizen of the United States.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of July, 1939
By Martha Empey
Elmer Deane Clerk.
Thuman Egan Deputy.

Upon consideration of the foregoing, it is hereby ORDERED and DECREED that the above application be granted; that the applicant named therein be repatriated as a citizen of the United States, upon taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; and that the clerk of this court enter these proceedings of record.

Dated July 24, 1939 J. John C. Bowen District Judge

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I hereby declare on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly to George VI, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India; and that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; SO HELP ME GOD. In acknowledgment whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature.

Martha Empey
(Signature of applicant)

The foregoing oath was administered to the applicant in open court this 24th day of July, 1939

[SEAL]

By Thuman Egan Clerk.
Thuman Egan Deputy.

Left: Martha Empey's July 1939 application for an oath of allegiance lists the documents she submitted, including her birth and marriage certificates and a copy of her divorce decree. Right: Yetta Ostrovsky applied to take the oath of allegiance under the act of 1936. She lost her citizenship through marriage to a Russian national in Florida in 1919 despite the fact that she had "resided continuously" in the United States since her birth.

A woman's suitability for citizenship still depended on her husband's status—he had to be "eligible" whether he wanted to swear allegiance or not.

The act did not affect expatriated woman who had formally renounced their citizenship by personally appearing before a U.S. court. Nor did it affect women who had become naturalized under the laws of another country. In these cases, she remained a citizen of the other country. American men who expatriated themselves by swearing an allegiance to another nation during World War I had it easier—they only had to file an oath of allegiance to restore their U.S. citizenship.

The changing laws could cause unexpected citizenship flip-flopping. John Henry Pengally arrived in New York in 1914 from England and started his naturalization process in 1916. According to his naturalization papers, he divorced his first wife in 1919 and married Bertha Anna Haak (born in Bayside, New York) sometime thereafter. Bertha Anna, upon this marriage, became a British subject.

APPLICATION TO TAKE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE ACT OF JUNE 25, 1936, AS AMENDED, AND FORM OF SUCH OATH

To the Honorable, the District Court of the United States

This application, hereby made and filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My full, true, and correct name is Yetta Ostrovsky

(2) My present place of residence is 1127 Pennsylvania Ave., Miami Beach, Dade, Florida

(3) My occupation is housewife

(4) I am 50 years old. (5) I was born on May 1, 1901 in New York

(6) My personal description is as follows: Sex female; color white; complexion fair; color of eyes hazel; color of hair brown; height 5 feet 2 inches; weight 134 pounds; visible distinctive marks mole on right cheek

(7) I am married; the name of my husband is Samuel Ostrovsky; we were married on December 20, 1919 at Brooklyn, N.Y.

at Kanagawa, Russia on January 10, 1900 and now reside at 1127 Pennsylvania Ave., Miami Beach, Dade, Fla.

(8) I lost, or believe that I lost, United States citizenship solely by reason of my marriage on Dec. 20, 1919 to Samuel Ostrovsky then an alien, a citizen or subject of Russia and my marital status with such person was not terminated on (Month) (Day) (Year)

by (State by what means marital status terminated)

(9) I have resided continuously in the United States since the date of my marriage shown in paragraph 8 hereof, to wit, since May 1, 1901 date of birth (Month) (Day) (Year)

(10) I hereby apply to take the oath of renunciation and allegiance as prescribed in Section 335 (b) of the Nationality Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1157) to become repatriated and obtain the rights of a citizen of the United States.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named applicant, in the office of the clerk of said court at Miami, Florida this 8th day of November, Anno Domini 1951

Yetta Ostrovsky
(Full, true, and correct signature of applicant, without abbreviation)

EDWIN R. WILLIAMS Clerk.
Myron L. Boyson Deputy Clerk.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ss: In the District Court of the United States

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA ss: Upon consideration of the foregoing, it is hereby ORDERED and DECREED that the above application be granted; that the applicant named therein be repatriated as a citizen of the United States, upon taking the oath of renunciation and allegiance to the United States; and that the clerk of this court enter these proceedings of record.

By the Clerk, Myron L. Boyson

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I HEREBY DECLARE, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion—So Help Me God. In acknowledgment whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature.

Yetta Ostrovsky
(Full, true, and correct signature of applicant, without abbreviation)

The foregoing oath was administered to the petitioner in open court this 13th day of November, 1951

[SEAL]

By EDWIN R. WILLIAMS Clerk.
Myron L. Boyson Deputy Clerk.

John Henry finally naturalized in September 1923—but what was the status of Bertha Anna? Because of the Cable Act, she remained a British citizen who happened to be married to an American citizen. Two years later, Bertha Anna naturalized and became a United States citizen.

Another obstacle faced women who wanted to reclaim their American citizenship. The Cable Act permitted a woman who was living abroad and lost her citizenship due to the 1907 act to return to the United States to regain her citizenship. Due to the 1924 Immigration Quota Law, however, she would have to return to the United States as a quota immigrant. If the quota for her husband's country had been exhausted for that year, she could not get a visa and therefore could not return to the United States to repatriate.

A series of bills introduced in 1931 removed the remaining inequalities of the 1922 act: the ineligible spouse clause and the foreign residency issues.

ORIGINAL
(To be retained
by Clerk of Court)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

No. 1372

To the Honorable the District Court of the United States at Orlando, Florida

This petition for naturalization, hereby made and filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My full, true, and correct name is MARION STEED Nee HUMPHREYS
(2) My present place of residence is 224 Melbourne Avenue, Winter Park, Florida
(3) My occupation is home
(4) I am 69 years old. (5) I was born on May 8, 1886, in Lawrence, Massachusetts
(6) My personal description is as follows: Sex female, complexion fair, color of eyes gray, color of hair brown, height 5 feet 3 inches, weight 93 pounds, visible distinctive marks none, country of which I am a citizen subject, or national Great Britain (7) I am a widow the name of my ~~late~~ husband was Harry Edward Steed, we were married on Jan. 15, 1938, at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya he or she was born at London, England on May 13, 1861 and entered the United States at never for permanent residence in the United States and now resides at deceased and was naturalized on not at deceased certificate No. deceased; or became a citizen by deceased

(7a) (If petition is filed under section 819 (a), Immigration and Nationality Act.) I have resided in the United States in marital union with my United States citizen spouse for at least 3 years immediately preceding the date of filing this petition for naturalization, and have been physically present in the United States at least half of that time.

(7b) (If petition is filed under section 819 (b), Immigration and Nationality Act.) My husband or wife is a citizen of the United States, is in the employment of the Government of the United States, or of an American institution of research recognized as such by the Attorney General of the United States, or an American firm or corporation engaged in whole or in part in the development of foreign trade and commerce of the United States, or subsidiary thereof, or of a public international organization in which the United States participates; and such husband or wife is regularly stationed abroad in such employment. I intend in good faith upon naturalization to live abroad with my spouse and to resume my residence within the United States immediately upon termination of such employment abroad.

(8) I have no children; and the name, sex, date and place of birth, and present place of residence of each of said children who is living, are as follows:
I took my United States citizenship under Sec. 401(3) of the Nationality Act of 1940 by voting in the General Election held at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, Sussex, England on July 5, 1945

(9) My lawful admission for permanent residence in the United States was at New York, New York under the name of MARION STEED on May 16, 1950 on the S. S. VEENDAM

(10) Since my lawful admission for permanent residence I have not been absent from the United States, for a period or periods of 6 months or longer, except as follows:

DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES			RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES		
PORT	DATE (Month, day, year)	VESSEL OR OTHER MEANS OF CONVEYANCE	PORT	DATE (Month, day, year)	VESSEL OR OTHER MEANS OF CONVEYANCE

(11) It is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States and to renounce absolutely and entirely all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which at this time I am a subject or citizen. (12) It is my intention to reside permanently in the United States. (13) I am not and have not been for a period of at least 10 years immediately preceding the date of this petition a member of or affiliated with any organization proscribed by the Immigration and Nationality Act or any section, subsidiary, branch affiliate or subdivision thereof nor have I during such period engaged in or performed any of the acts or activities prohibited by that Act. (14) I am able to read, write and speak the English language (unless exempted therefrom). (15) I am, and have been during all the periods required by law, a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. I am willing, if required by law, to bear arms on behalf of the United States, or to perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces of the United States, or to perform work of national importance under civilian direction (unless exempted therefrom). (16) I have

resided continuously in the United States since May 16, 1950 and continuously in the State in which this petition is made for the term of 6 months at least immediately preceding the date of this petition and I have been physically present in the United States for at least one-half of the 5 year period immediately preceding the date of this petition. (17) I have not heretofore made petition for naturalization: No. not on not at not in the not Court, and such petition was denied by that Court for the following reasons and causes, to wit:

(18) Attached hereto and made a part of this, my petition for naturalization, are the affidavits of at least two verifying witnesses required by law.

(19) Wherefore I, your petitioner for naturalization, pray that I may be admitted a citizen of the United States of America, and that my name be changed to no change. I, aforesaid petitioner, do swear (affirm) that I know the contents of this petition for naturalization subscribed by me, and that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that this petition is signed by me with my full, true name: SO HELP ME GOD.

ALIEN REGISTRATION NO. A-7 477 264

1940 Law: All Women Can Regain Citizenship

An act of 1936 provided marital expatriates—whose marriages to aliens had ended through death or divorce—with an opportunity to regain their lost citizenship by filing an application. Upon approval, women could resume citizenship simply by taking an oath of allegiance. This act required the proof of her U.S. birth or naturalization as well as proof that the marriage had ended. Women flocked to the courts to file their applications. Women involved in ongoing marriages continued to file the regular paperwork for naturalization until 1940.

The act of July 2, 1940, provided that all women who had lost citizenship by marriage could repatriate *regardless of their marital status*. They only had to take an oath of allegiance—no declaration of intention was required. But they still had to show that they had resided continuously in the United States since the date of the marriage.

How do you find these records? Since women could repatriate at any court—county, state, or federal—the records could be anywhere. Some of the federal court records have even been digitized and are available on National Archives partner sites: Ancestry.com, Fold3.com, and FamilySearch.org.

Repatriation records that have not been digitized are found among the naturalization records in Records of District Courts of the United States, Record Group 21. The records cover the years 1939–1981 and are housed at National Archives locations across the country (a list of them is on the inside back cover of this magazine).

The courts often kept the repatriation oaths separate from other naturalization records, and when they did, the series titles usually include the word “repatriation.” Examples of series titles include Applications to Regain Citizenship and Repatriation Oaths, Naturalization Repatriation Applications, Naturalization Repatriation Proceedings, Repatriation Cases, Naturalization Repatriations of Native Born Citizens, Repatriation Orders, Repatriation Case Record, Repatriation Certificates, and Repatriate Oaths of Allegiance.

Once all of the repatriation oaths are digitized and uploaded onto our partner sites, searching for these women should become much easier. Until then, keep in mind that the federal courts across the nation maintained repatriation oaths in different ways: separately with an index; separately without an index; combined with all of the naturalization records with an index; or combined with all of the naturalization records without an index.

If you believe your ancestor repatriated and you cannot locate her on our online partner sites, contact the National Archives research facility responsible for the state in which your ancestor resided. **P**



Meg Hacker, a *Prologue* contributing editor, has been with the National Archives at Fort Worth since 1985 and is now Director of Archival Operations there. She received her B.A. in American history from Austin College and her M.A. in American History from Texas Christian University. Texas Western Press published her thesis, *Cynthia Ann Parker: The Life and the Legend*.

The best place to start a search for women's repatriation records is online. Several series of records have been digitized and can be found in the National Archives Online Public Access catalog and on our partner websites Ancestry.com, FOLD3.com, and FamilySearch.org.

Keep in mind that the different sites will have different sets of records. On Ancestry, select the search category “immigration and travel.” On Fold3, select “non-military collections,” and then “naturalization petitions (1700–mid 1900s).” On FamilySearch, you can choose a filter by collection after you have typed in the person's name and dates.

All of these online sources continually add material, so it helps to check regularly.

Opposite: Marion Steed's petition for naturalization provides useful family information as well as her claim that she lost her U.S. citizenship when she voted in an election in Sussex, England, in July 1945.

The “Girls” and the “Gadget”

BY KEITH DONOHUE



Denise Kiernan

The Girls of Atomic City tells the story of the tens of thousands of people—many of them young women—who were recruited to work in a new town built near Oak Ridge, Tennessee, on a secret project designed to end World War II. Secreted away in the Appalachian Mountains, the Atomic City was home to a project to enrich the uranium needed for the creation of the atomic bomb.

Drawing upon historical records from the Atomic Energy Commission at the National Archives in Atlanta, Denise Kiernan pieced together this remarkable story by interviewing the women who came to the Atomic City. Now in their 80s and 90s, they give shape to a different age and testify to their pluck and courage.

Coming from all across the United States, these workers were sworn to secrecy, forbidden to talk about the nature of their work even with each other. Juxtaposed with their personal stories is a fascinating account of the work undertaken in Washington, D.C., and in Los Alamos, New Mexico, to build the “Gadget” that would end the war.

Denise Kiernan is the author of *Signing Their Lives Away*, about the risks taken by the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence, and *Signing Their Rights Away*, about the 39 men who signed the Constitution. Her work has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Discover*, *Ms.*, and other national publications.

One of the rich features of the book is how you followed the lives of a small group of women who worked in the Atomic City. How did you find them? Who gave you the best insight into the lives of ordinary people there?

The first thing I did when I initially became interested in this topic was get in my car and drive to Oak Ridge. My initial visits were about looking around, visiting the museum and the library, going to existing structures that dated to the Manhattan Project days, and getting a feel for the town.

I contacted a local historian and told him that I was interested in tracking down some of the men and women who had lived and worked in Oak Ridge during World War II. He took me to meet a man named Connie Bolling, who was 101 when I interviewed him. At Connie’s assisted living facility, I met Colleen Black and Dot Wilkinson in the lobby, and they were happy to speak with me. Each person I met introduced me to a few more. I went to the coffee shop, historic preservation meetings, bridge games . . . if someone was willing to give me any amount of their time, I sat down with them and listened to their stories.

Everyone had something to offer. I wanted to collect as many different perspectives and experiences as possible. Colleen helped me see what life was like for families in the trailer camps. Dot had lost a loved one at Pearl Harbor. Kattie was a window into the African American experience and allowed me a close look at

segregation. Helen was recruited to spy. I used their variety of experiences to paint as complete a picture as I could of Oak Ridge, while letting the women move the story forward.

After the tests of the “Gadget” in the New Mexico desert, Robert Oppenheimer famously quotes the Bhagavad-Gita: “Now I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.” President Truman compared the atomic bomb with the prophesied end of the world by fire. Did any of the people you met have regrets about the terrible power unleashed by their work?

One of the things I wanted to do when addressing the bombing of Hiroshima itself was to capture how the characters in my book felt that specific day. I was fascinated by the idea of individuals who lived in two very different worlds: one without nuclear weapons, and one with nuclear weapons. For most of us living today, the phrase “the bomb” immediately conjures up a collection of very powerful words and images.

This was not the case for the women in my book. No one had heard of an atomic bomb or had ever heard of things like radiation sickness, fallout shelters, or nuclear winter. I wanted to show how different individuals learned about the bombing and how their understanding of the larger implications of it changed over time. Most individuals experienced a range of feelings. There was joy that the war was finally coming to an end. There was sadness

at the destruction. More than anything, this particular community of individuals had to process this world-changing event in a way that the rest of the country did not.

Toward the end of the project, it seemed, more and more people were figuring out the secret of the Atomic City. How close did they come?

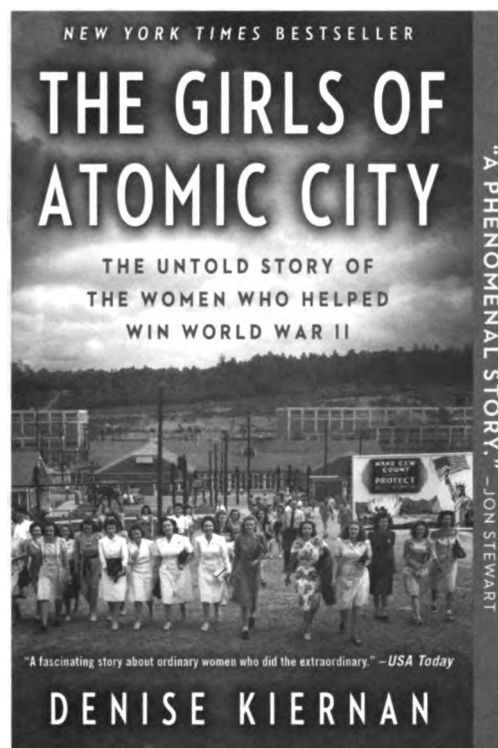
The vast majority of people working on the project in Oak Ridge and elsewhere were still very much in the dark, even toward the end. It's important to remember that atomic bombs didn't exist yet, so guessing about the project's purpose was limited to what people could fathom. Some of the scientists figured it could be a weapon that was possibly related to fission, but even then many were unaware about what just kind of weapon that might be. Before the Trinity test in July 1945, even the scientists in Los Alamos were wondering whether the bomb would work or if it would just fizzle out. However, spies were certainly a threat, and who knows what kind of information would have gotten out if the project had lasted much longer than it did.

The range of source materials for this book is remarkable, weaving together the story of the Manhattan Project and the "behind-the-scenes" work in Tennessee. What treasures did you uncover at the National Archives?

The archivists at the National Archives at Atlanta were a tremendous resource for me, as was the Archives team in College Park, Maryland. The photographs and maps really help when I'm visualizing a world as distinct as Oak Ridge, and that in turn makes it easier for me to communicate the details of that world to readers.

The reports of Dr. Eric Clarke, a psychiatrist assigned to Oak Ridge, were incredibly helpful. His perspective on the mental states of the workers helped me better understand the unique challenges faced by the community. He was, in a sense, an outsider brought in during 1944 to assess and help those living there, and his insight was a real gift to my research.

Documents pertaining to J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr., an African American nuclear scientist, engineer, and mathematician who worked on the project at the University of Chicago, not only allowed me to examine how segregation in Oak Ridge affected even scientists at the highest level, but also led to my connecting



with his surviving family. I mentioned Wilkins during my *Daily Show* television appearance and shortly thereafter received an email from his daughter. The family was unaware that he had been suggested to transfer to Oak Ridge but could not because of the color of his skin. They did not know about this because Wilkins himself was unaware he had been considered for the position. Making that connection meant a lot.

One of the side benefits of the project was that it provided a wonderful opportunity for women to find work, but not the same kind of opportunities for minorities. How much did segregation play a part in life in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, in the early 1940s?

Oak Ridge was completely segregated. Housing, cafeterias, post offices,

recreational facilities and more were all kept separate. African American workers were limited to janitorial, domestic, or construction work. African American husbands and wives were not permitted to live together and were not permitted to bring their children to Oak Ridge with them. I was very fortunate to be able to interview Kattie Strickland. She was so generous with her time and was incredibly forthcoming in discussing what were often unpleasant memories. Having that personal insight into Oak Ridge's segregation was an invaluable addition to the book.

What surprised you from the records of the Atomic Energy Commission at the National Archives in Atlanta? What was it like to go behind the "Big Door" into the room with some 5,000 cubic feet of Atomic Energy Commission records?

I continue to be flabbergasted by the sheer amount of information that the National Archives has. Stepping into that cavernous room at the National Archives in Atlanta, I was reminded of the final scene of the first "Indiana Jones" movie during which the crate containing the Ark of the Covenant is placed among countless other crates and boxes and effectively hidden in plain sight. The size of the collection is mindblowing, especially when you consider that the 5,000 AEC boxes are just one part of the vast holdings there. As a writer, what I always find myself thinking about is, "What else is in there? What other secrets are waiting to be discovered?" It was quite overwhelming, but stimulating at the same time.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

For up-to-date event information, consult our Calendar of Events. The free Calendar is available from National Archives and Records Administration, Calendar of Events (SC, Room G-1), 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408, or on the web at www.archives.gov/calendar/.

Permanent exhibit: "The Public Vaults." National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Permanent exhibit: "Records of Rights." Rubenstein Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Continuing exhibit: "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures." Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

June 6–July 14. Featured Document: GI Bill of Rights. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

ABILENE, KANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "World War II Remembered: Leaders, Battles & Heroes." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

Continuing exhibit: "Be Ye Men of Valour: Allies of World War II." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

June 6, 9–13. Teachers Workshop. World War II Remembered. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

June 7. Documentary: *D-Day Plus 20 Years: Eisenhower Returns to Normandy*. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

June 7. Lecture: "Not So Famous Last Words: What Did Eisenhower Say When He Launched D-Day?" Tim Rives. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

June 10. Lecture: "Project 9: Birth of the Air Commandos in World War II," Dennis Okerstrom. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Continuing exhibit: "The Remarkable Life and Times of Gerald and Betty Ford." Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Through September 21. Exhibit: "Kongo Across the Waters." Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

June 5. Author lecture: "Georgia County Courthouses: The Architecture of Living Monuments." Rhett Turner. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

June 19. Author lecture: "A Commercial Republic: America's Enduring Debate over Democratic Capitalism," Mike O'Connor. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.



African art from the "Kongo Across the Waters" exhibit at the Carter Library

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Sixty from the 60s." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "Civil Rights." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "The Vietnam Conflict." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

June 24. Teacher Workshop: "A New Day for LBJ." Register online: <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/events/all>. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

July 16. Teacher Workshop: "Tune In, Turn On, Drop By: 1960s." Register online: <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/events/all>. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Continuing exhibit: "Superman's Mission for President Kennedy." 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "To the Brink: JFK and the Cuban Missile Crisis." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "In Her Voice: Jacqueline Kennedy, The White House Years." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "Freedom 7 Space Capsule." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Offshore Drilling: The Promise of Discovery." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

June 19. Education Program: Juneteenth Celebration: Upholding Freedom's Legacy. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

DALLAS, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "The Art of Leadership: A President's Personal Diplomacy." George W. Bush Library. 214-346-1557.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

Continuing exhibit: "Growing Up Grand." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

June 4. Author lecture: "The Dead and Those About to Die D-Day: The Big Red One at Omaha Beach," John C. McManus. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

Opening July 14. Exhibit: "Taking the Seas: The Rise of the U.S. Aircraft Carrier." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

HYDE PARK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: "See America . . . Then and Now." Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

June 21. 11th Annual Roosevelt Reading Festival. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Continuing exhibit: Exhibit: "Spies, Lies, and Paranoia: Americans in Fear." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

Continuing exhibit: "Truman: The Presidential Years." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Continuing exhibit: "What's Cooking, Uncle Sam?" National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

June 24. Exhibit opening: "State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "Artwork of Dale Chihuly." Clinton Library. 501-374-4242.

MORROW, GEORGIA

July 10–11. Teacher Workshop: "Captivity Legacies: Examining Prisoners of War in American History." With Andersonville National Historic Site. National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.



A reproduction of a Julia Grant dress at the Hoover Library exhibit on First Ladies.

July 21–25. Primarily Teaching Workshop. National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: “New York on the Record: Markings and Signatures.” National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

Ongoing: Educational programs in the Learning Center. Contact for details. newyork.archives@nara.gov. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Continuing exhibit: “Documented Rights, Part II.” National Archives at Philadelphia. 215-606-0112.

SIMI VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: “Baseball! Celebrating Our Great American Pastime.” Reagan Library, 800-410-8354.

WEST BRANCH, IOWA

Continuing exhibit: “America’s First Ladies.” Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

July 4. Eastern Iowa Brass Band. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

July 12. Author lecture: “The Politics of Fashion,” by Annette Dunlap. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

YORBA LINDA, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: Lincoln Sitting Room in the White House, a replica. Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

GENEALOGY EVENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Genealogy workshops are conducted throughout the year. For up-to-date information, consult the monthly Calendar of Events and www.archives.gov/research/genealogy/events/.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

June 14. “Getting the Most Out of the Census.” Call to register. National Archives at Chicago. 773-948-9010.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

June 11. Webinar: “Order in the Court: Finding Your Family in Federal Court Records.” Call to register. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

June 10. Finding Family: Using FamilySearch. Call to register. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

June 12. “Understanding the National Archives.” National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

June 14. “The National Archives Online.” National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

July 10. Brick Wall Genealogy Discussion Group. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

July 8. Passenger Lists, Censuses, & Naturalizations: The Big 3 Sources for Family History. National Archives at Boston, 866-406-2379.

PICTURE CREDITS

Front cover, pp. 44–45 (top), National Archives photos by Earl McDonald; back cover, p. 72 (bottom), Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group (RG) 84; pp. 6 (top), 69, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; pp. 6 (bottom), 10 (left), Records of the Continental and Confederation Congresses and the Constitutional Convention, RG 360; p. 7, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), RG 153; p. 8 (left), Records of the U.S. Senate, RG 46; p. 8 (right), Harry S. Truman Library; p. 9 (left), Records of the Bureau of Prisons, RG 129; p. 9 (right), 306-NT-93C-1; pp. 10 (right), 31, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; pp. 11, 12–13 (bottom), 39, 40, 43, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library; pp. 12 (top), 57 (bottom), Records of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, RG 255, National Archives at Fort Worth; p. 13 (top), Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; p. 14, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780’s–1917, RG 94; p. 15, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, RG 65; p. 16 (top), Records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney, 1846–1989, RG 204; p. 16 (bottom left), Records of the Selective Service System, 1940– , RG 147, National Archives at Riverside; p. 16, (bottom right), Records of the War Relocation Authority, RG 210; p. 17, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75; p. 18 (top), Naval Historical Center; p. 18 (bottom), 19-LCM-73276; pp. 20, 21, 23, Records of the Chief of Naval Operations, RG 38; p. 22, 80-G-307723; p. 24, 80-G-328524; p. 25, 80-G-267956–59; pp. 26, 38, 56–57, Library of Congress; p. 27, 306-NT-677C-177-271c-2; p. 29 (top), Bettmann/Corbis; p. 29 (bottom), AP/Corbis; p. 30, Samford University, Special Collection, James E. Horton Collection, D-001186; p. 32, General Records of the Department of Justice, RG 60; p. 36, 111-SC-194399; p. 42, 26-G-2343; pp. 44 (bottom), 47–50, 53, Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum; pp. 58, 59 (right), 60, RG 21, National Archives at Atlanta; p. 59 (left), National Archives at Seattle; p. 62, Treadshots.com; p. 63, Touchstone/Simon & Schuster; p. 64, Jimmy Carter Library; p. 65, Herbert Hoover Library; p. 66, LBJ Library photo by Frank Muto; pp. 67 (top), 68 (top & bottom left), LBJ Library photos by Lauren Gerson; pp. 67 (bottom), 68 (bottom right), LBJ Library photos by David Hume Kennerly; p. 68 (center), LBJ Library photos by Marsha Miller; p. 70, photos by Jeffrey Reed; p. 71, photos by Christine Huhn; p. 72 (top), National Archives at Denver.

Reflections on LBJ and Civil Rights

BY MARK K. UPDEGROVE

The first time a sitting President came to the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library was on May 21, 1971, when President Richard Nixon boarded Air Force One and journeyed to the campus of the University of Texas at Austin to help former President Johnson dedicate the library to the American people.

It had been a little more than two years since Johnson had yielded the Oval Office to Nixon, and Johnson's place in history was very much in the balance.

The war in Vietnam that Johnson had escalated, and that continued to divide the nation, hung balefully over his legacy. This, despite the profusion of landmark laws LBJ left in his wake, including the passage of a triumvirate of seminal civil rights legislation: the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

As library's inauguration played out, the voices of 2,100 Vietnam protesters rumbled in the distance, their chants of "No more war!" carried by 25-mile-an-hour winds that swirled throughout the day.

On April 10, 2014, when Barack Obama became the second sitting President to visit the LBJ Library, the weather, which topped out at 88 degrees, was far less tempestuous—and Lyndon Johnson's legacy had become far clearer.

The President had come to the library, along with former Presidents Carter, Clinton, and George W. Bush, to take part in the Civil Rights Summit, a three-day conference commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, and gender.

Their participation bespoke the importance of civil rights in our country's long, troubled journey toward fulfilling the promise etched in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." It also marked a growing appreciation for what has become the bigger part of legacy, as each of the Presidents paid tribute to LBJ's courage and conviction in the cause of civil rights.

The summit not only celebrated America's progress in civil rights in the half a century since the Civil Rights Act was signed but also addressed the civil rights issues of our times.

Icons of the civil rights movement like Julian Bond, John Lewis, and Andrew Young held the stage with those who, along with them, are making a difference today.



Former legal rivals Ted Olson and David Boies discussed why they joined forces to mount a Supreme Court challenge against Proposition 8, a ballot initiative that would ban gay marriage in California.

George W. Bush's secretary of education, Margaret Spellings, and Democratic Congressman George Miller talked about their efforts toward the passage of "No Child Left Behind" and where education reform is needed today.

Sports legends Jim Brown and Bill Russell looked at race when they dominated their sports in the 1960s and the issues athletes face today.

LBJ would have wanted the summit to look to the future. "We are not caretakers of the past," he said, "we are charged with the construction of tomorrow."

Through educational programming, all presidential libraries are helping to meet LBJ's charge. The Civil Rights summit is just one example of the remarkable work the National Archives and all the presidential libraries have done throughout their histories to shape the national dialogue.

I have been asked a number of times since the summit what memory burns the brightest. There are many. But the most prominent is of sitting on stage, John Lewis and Michelle Obama to my immediate right, watching President Obama address the audience, as he said these words:

You're reminded daily that in this great democracy, you are but a relay swimmer in the currents of history, bound by decisions made by those who came before, reliant on the efforts of those who will follow to fully vindicate your vision. But the presidency also affords a unique opportunity to bend those currents by shaping our laws and by shaping our debates, by working within the confines of the world as it is but also by reimagining the world as it should be.

Lyndon Johnson could have said it no better.

Mark K. Updegrove is Director of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas.



President Barack Obama discussed the impact of the Civil Rights Act.

LBJ Library Hosts Civil Rights Summit

A half-century ago, President Lyndon B. Johnson used his mastery of the congressional process to put into the law books one of the most important pieces of legislation of the 20th century: the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A three-day Civil Rights Summit was held at the LBJ Presidential Library at the University of Texas campus in Austin this spring to mark the 50th anniversary of the 1964 landmark legislation.

The gathering drew President Barack Obama and three former Presidents—Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush—as well as many veterans from the civil

rights movement, Johnson administration officials, historians, and current and former public officials.

President Obama paid tribute to not only President Johnson but also to those who helped create the forces that resulted in the 1964 law, which Johnson signed July 2, 1964.

“We recall the countless unheralded Americans, black and white, students and scholars, preachers and housekeepers—whose names are etched not on monuments, but in the hearts of their loved ones and in the fabric of the country they helped to change,” Obama said.

Front row, from left: U.S. Representative John Lewis of Georgia, former NAACP Chairman Julian Bond, former National Urban League President Vernon Jordan, singer Mavis Staples, and former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young. Back row, from left: Dr. Bernice King, daughter of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., and Luci Baines Johnson and Lynda Johnson Robb, daughters of President Lyndon Johnson.





Former President Jimmy Carter listens to question from the audience.



Former President George W. Bush speaks at the summit.



LBJ Library Director Mark Updegrove greets Harry Middleton, the library's first director. Middleton was director from 1971 to 2002.



The crowd stood and linked arms while Mavis Staples led them in singing "We Shall Overcome."



Jim Brown, NFL Hall of Fame running back; Bill Russell, NBA Hall of Fame center; and Harry Edwards, professor emeritus of University of California at Berkeley, discuss a panel on sports and leveling the playing field.



Tucker McIntosh, great-grandson of former President Lyndon B. Johnson, takes a selfie with former President Bill Clinton at the Civil Rights Summit.

Obama said that because of the act, "new doors of opportunity and education swung open for everybody." He added: "They swung open for you and they swung open for me, and that's why I'm standing here today."

Over the three days, participants discussed not only civil rights issues of the past but those of the present, including

immigration policy, gay marriage, and professional sports.

The three former Presidents spoke on different days. Obama and Clinton spoke of Johnson's civil rights legacy, Carter talked about the Camp David Summit in 1978, and Bush spoke of the state of American education.

For more on the summit, go to www.civilrightssummit.org.



In January 1964 President Johnson meets with civil rights leaders in the Oval Office. From left: Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League. Six months later, the Civil Rights Act was law.

\$2.62M Awarded for Processing Records, Documentary Editing

The National Archives and Records Administration this spring awarded 30 grants totaling \$2.62 million for historical records projects in 18 states and the District of Columbia. The awards were made by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), the grant-making arm of NARA.

Grants totaling \$1.1 million went to 14 documentary editing projects to publish the papers of key figures in American history, including Presidents Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, Abraham Lincoln, and Ulysses S. Grant; Walt Whitman; Frederick Douglass; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Clarence Mitchell Jr.; George C. Marshall; Eleanor Roosevelt; and Thomas Edison.

Another grantee in documentary editing was the Presidential Recordings project at the University of Virginia. The grant will support the preparations of online editions of John F. Kennedy's recorded conversations on civil rights and Richard Nixon's taped telephone conversations from 1971.

Grants totaling \$1.5 million were awarded to 15 archival projects, including projects to process the records of Oklahoma City; state government archives in South Dakota; the gubernatorial records of former Pennsylvania governors Milton Shapp, Richard Thornburgh, and Robert Casey and former Arkansas governor Jim Guy Tucker; labor records at Wayne State University; emancipation records in Maryland; and records at the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

An Innovation grant of \$130,405 was awarded to George Washington University to explore innovative methods to facilitate the preservation and use of social media collections by developing viable preservation tools.

Clinton Library Releases 33,000 Pages of Withheld Records

The William J. Clinton Library in Little Rock, Arkansas, earlier this year released nearly 33,000 pages of records from the Clinton administration that were previously withheld under the 1978 Presidential Records Act.

The records that were released, 12 years after President Clinton left office, were exempt from disclosure during that period because they concerned appointments to federal office and confidential advice among the President and his advisers. The records were released in response to Freedom of Information Act requests processed during the 12-year period.

Among the topics were health care, speeches, visiting foreign heads of state, Vice President Al Gore's 2000 presidential campaign, terrorism, the 1995 government shutdown, the Monica Lewinsky affair, Clinton's farewell address, passages dropped from Clinton speeches, and advice to Clinton in his 1996 reelection campaign against Senator Bob Dole. Also released were records from the Office of the First Lady.

All the records are now available on the Clinton Library's website (www.clintonlibrary.gov/) and in the reading room at the library.

George H.W. Bush Receives JFK Profile in Courage Award

Former President George H. W. Bush recently received the prestigious John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award for demonstrating political courage when he agreed to a 1990 budget compromise that reversed his 1988 campaign pledge not to raise taxes and put his reelection prospects at risk.

Bush's granddaughter, Lauren Bush Lauren, accepted the award for her grandfather. The award was presented by Jack Schlossberg, President Kennedy's grandson, at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston on May 4. Paul W. Bridges, former mayor of Uvalde, Georgia, was also honored for risking his mayoral career with his decision to publicly oppose a controversial immigration law in Georgia.

The Profile in Courage Award is presented annually to public servants who have made courageous decisions of conscience without regard for the personal or professional consequences. The award is named for Kennedy's 1957 Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

"President Bush had promised Americans no new taxes during the 1988 presidential campaign," Schlossberg said. "But he had also promised to serve his country, and he decided that was the promise he would keep. . . . His decision to put country above party and political prospects makes him an example of a modern profile in courage that is all too rare."

Foundation Pledges \$1.4 Million to Archives for 2014

The snow finally is gone! The cherry blossoms are fading. And we at the Foundation are eager to join our partners at the National Archives in welcoming spring and summer visitors to the museum in Washington, D.C., and to National Archives venues around the country. I'm pleased to report that the Foundation has pledged more



than \$1.4 million this year to the Archives in our mutual quest to bring alive American history and to encourage civics education and participation.

Our funding supports the new "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" exhibit in the Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery and the permanent "Records of Rights" exhibit, which opened last December in the new David M. Rubenstein Gallery. In addition, the very popular exhibit "What's Cooking, Uncle Sam?" will soon embark on a national tour.

In January, the Foundation was proud to partner with the Archives in hosting its first sleepover, welcoming young visitors and their parents from around the country. The event was so popular that we will support two additional sleepovers this summer and fall.

We also will continue our support of the agency's annual Independence Day celebration, free public programs and film screenings in the William G. McGowan Theater, educational and family programming in the Boeing Learning Center, scholarly research fellowships, and "Primarily Teaching" summer workshops for teachers in Washington, Boston, Chicago, and Atlanta. The Foundation also is renewing funding for National History Day programs in Washington and the DocsTeach website and app. We are excited about collaborating this spring and summer with the famed Newport Jazz Festival on a new "Jazz at the National Archives" series in Washington in conjunction with the group's 60th anniversary.

We are fortunate to have so many generous contributors who share our vision of making the Archives' treasures accessible to the widest audience possible.

Major donors to the Foundation include David M. Rubenstein; Ancestry.com; Mars, Incorporated; AT&T; Texas Instruments; Toyota; Capital One; and the William G. McGowan Charitable Fund.

The Foundation's work is made possible by its members, including corporations, foundations, and individuals from across the country. We hope you will join us and follow our work at archivesfoundation.org.

A'Leia Bundles

A'Leia Bundles
Chair and President
Foundation for the National Archives



Young visitors try out the autopen machine in the "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" exhibit in the Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery.

AT&T, O'Brien Family, Foundation Board Support "Making Their Mark" Exhibit

Thanks to its generous donors, the Foundation is pleased to support "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures," this year's special exhibition in the National Archives Museum's Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery.

The exhibit, which explores the power of the pen through more than a hundred National Archives records, is made possible through the support of lead sponsor AT&T. Major additional support is provided by the Lawrence F. O'Brien family and members of the Foundation's Board of Directors.

Family and educational programming related to "Making Their Mark" is sponsored in part by Fahrney's Pens, Cross, and Parker Pen Company—Newell Rubbermaid.

In addition to helping launch the year-long exhibit and hosting an opening event, the Foundation is promoting the exhibit on its website and through traditional and online media outreach and advertising.

McGowan Forum: Women in Leadership



(Left to right) Former U.S. Reps. Connie Morella (R-Md.), Barbara Kennelly (D-Conn.), and Mary Bono (R-Cal.), and former Sens. Carol Moseley Braun (D-Ill.) and Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.) speak at the 7th Annual McGowan Forum on Women in Leadership: Women in Congressional Leadership.



Left: Campers settle in for the night in the Rotunda of the National Archives Building. Right: Sleepover guests chat with author Brad Meltzer during a story-writing workshop at the first National Archives sleepover.

Night at the Archives

The Foundation partnered with the National Archives to host its first overnight event, inviting children 8–12 years old to roll out their sleeping bags and soak in the history as they spent the night at the home of the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

One hundred children and parents participated in the January 25 event, meeting award-winning author and History Channel host Brad Meltzer, as well as journalist and author Cokie Roberts, a vice president on the Foundation's Board of Directors, who signed copies of their children's books. Participants dressed up in colonial-period costumes, engaged with historical reenactors, decoded Civil War ciphers, learned to write with quill pens, and enjoyed a selection of Oscar-nominated short films in the Archives' William G. McGowan Theater before turning in for the night in the Rotunda.

The next morning, the campers were awakened by a five-and-drum band and greeted by Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero, who joined Meltzer in flipping pancakes for breakfast. Participants also played Archives

trivia and joined an interactive demonstration on how hot chocolate was made in colonial times, using American Heritage Chocolate.

"This event was a unique opportunity to introduce the next generation to the history held here at the National Archives Museum," said Patrick M. Madden, executive director of the Foundation. "In addition to being the first group ever to sleep in the Rotunda with the Charters of Freedom, these children from around the country—some visiting for the first time—were able to explore the records and exhibits at the museum in a fun and exciting way."

Due to the popularity of this event, the Foundation will join the Archives in hosting two more sleepovers this year, on August 2 and October 18. For more information, go to archivesfoundation.org/sleepover.

The sleepover was supported by the Foundation for the National Archives; Mars, Incorporated; American Heritage Chocolate; Ridgewells Catering; Penguin Young Readers Group; HarperCollins; The Coca-Cola Company; Minute Maid; and DASANI.

Natixis Supports "Jazz at the National Archives"

The Foundation for the National Archives is pleased to be working with Natixis Global Asset Management to support "Jazz at the National Archives."

In April (National Jazz Appreciation Month), the National Archives Museum began a five-month series of performances, discussions, and film screenings focused on the uniquely American export of jazz music.

Kicking off the series in the museum's William G. McGowan Theater on April 24 was a panel discussion titled "Jazz Diplomacy: Sending America's Music to the World." Moderated by Dr. John Edward Hasse, author, curator, biographer of Duke Ellington, and founder of the Smithsonian Jazz Masterworks Orchestra, the panel focused on efforts by the United States Information Agency, the Voice of America, and the U.S. State Department to use the art of jazz as a diplomatic tool during the Cold War era.

On June 19, the Archives will present "Jazz in the USA: On the 60th Anniversary of the Newport Jazz Festival," a panel discussion moderated by Foundation Board Member Soledad O'Brien and featuring founder of the Newport Jazz Festival George Wein, NEA Jazz Master Dan Mogenstern, and jazz artists Jonathan Batiste and Christian McBride. The program will include the screening of rare performance footage from the 1960 Newport Jazz Festival, with performances by the Cannonball Adderley Quintet, Oscar Peterson, Ray Charles, and others.

"Natixis Global Asset Management is a tremendous supporter of jazz," said Patrick M. Madden, executive director of the Foundation for the National Archives. "Its generous contribution aligns with the Archives' desire to celebrate how jazz brings people together and crosses cultures."

CARL SCHNEGELBERGER & CO.

BUCHDRUCKEREI

WIESBADEN, MARST. 26.

TOP BILLING

When we consider the billions of documents in the National Archives, we usually think about the words that people have written on the pages. In this instance, however, we're looking not at the message but at the messenger—at the words and images that appear *above* the written correspondence.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries appear to have been an age of elaborate letterhead. The type styles, images, and promotional wording broadcast a business's image at a glance.

The examples here show the variety of elaborate stationery that found their way into the National Archives among the records of federal agencies and diplomatic posts.

The Edinburgh Roperie & Sailcloth Company uses a rope outline and a picture of a tall-masted sailing ship to establish its identity. The company manager wrote in December 1908

to the U.S. consulate at Wiesbaden to inquire about experiments to produce power gas from bituminous coal.

A touring and hunting concessionaire in Glacier National Park reproduces a Charles Russell drawing of rugged cowboys on a trek (with a bonus at the top—a poem in praise of horses). The Park Saddle Horse Company was transmitting payment for leases to conduct its business in the park.

The lettering and decoration of a German publisher's stationery (reproduced on the back cover) showcase the Art Nouveau style then popular in Europe. The publisher wrote to the American consular agent in 1906 to ask for names and addresses of Americans living in the area who might use their services.

Regardless of the content of the message, these letters offer a delight for the eye and a window onto business culture of a century ago. **P**

A MACHINE is made,
a horse is born;
No four-wheel brakes,
no screaming horn—
But hoofs take trails
that wheels don't know
With saddle cinch
and latigo. — x 6

COMPLETE OUTFITS
FURNISHED FOR
REGULAR TOURS
THROUGH PARK AND
FOR HUNTING,
FISHING AND
EXPLORING
PARTIES IN NORTH-
ERN MONTANA



"See America First"

SOLE CONCESSION-
ERS FOR CAMPING,
PAGE AND
SADDLE HORSE
TRANSPORTATION
GUIDES AND
SADDLE HORSES
ON SHORT NOTICE

GENERAL ADDRESS:
KALISPELL, MONTANA

PARK SADDLE HORSE COMPANY

Glacier National Park

KALISPELL, MONTANA

DURING PARK SEASON:
GLACIER PARK, MONTANA

TELEPHONE Nos 413 AND 447.

TRADE MARK

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESSES:
LEITH, ROPERIE. LIVERPOOL, ROPERIE.
LONDON, AWNINGS. HULL, ROPERIE.
GLASGOW, ROPERIE. ABERDEEN, ROPERIE.
CABLES: ROPERIE.

CODES: A. & A.B.C. 4TH EDITION. LIEBER & WESTERN UNION.

The EDINBURGH

Roperie & Sailcloth Coy. Ltd.

ALL QUOTATIONS WITHOUT ENGAGEMENT.
DELIVERY UNDER EXCEPTION OF FIRES, BREAKAGES OF MACHINERY,
STRIKES AND OTHER UNFORESEEN CIRCUMSTANCES.

ESTABLISHED 1750.

Leith

Digitized by Google

3rd December, 1908.

REF. NO. AD

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Administration
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20408-0001
202-357-5400

and
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-4001
301-837-2000

National Archives at Anchorage
654 West Third Avenue
Anchorage, AK 99501-2145
907-261-7800

National Archives at Atlanta
5780 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, GA 30260-3806
770-968-2100

Atlanta Federal Records Center
4712 Southpark Boulevard
Ellenwood, GA 30294-3595
404-736-2820

National Archives at Boston and
Boston Federal Records Center
380 Trapelo Road
Waltham, MA 02452-6399
866-406-2379

National Archives at Chicago and
Chicago Federal Records Center
7358 South Pulaski Road
Chicago, IL 60629-5898
773-948-9001

Dayton Federal Records Center
3150 Springboro Road
Dayton, OH 45439-1883
937-425-0600

Dayton-Kingsridge Federal Records Center
8801 Kingsridge Drive
Dayton, OH 45458-1617
937-425-0601

National Archives at Denver and
Denver Federal Records Center
17101 Huron Street
Broomfield, CO 80023-8909
303-407-5740

National Archives at Fort Worth and
Fort Worth Federal Records Center
1400 John Burgess Drive
Fort Worth, TX 76140-6222
817-551-2000

National Archives at Fort Worth (microfilm)
2600 West Seventh Street, Ste. 162
Fort Worth, TX 76107-2244
817-831-5620

National Archives at Kansas City
400 West Pershing Road
Kansas City, MO 64108-4306
816-268-8000

Kansas City Federal Records Center
8600 NE Underground Drive, Pillar 300-g
Kansas City, MO 64161-9742
816-994-1700

Lee's Summit Federal Records Center
200 Space Center Drive
Lee's Summit, MO 64064-1182
816-288-8100

Lenexa Federal Records Center
17501 West 98th Street, Ste. 3150
Lenexa, KS 66219-1735
913-825-7600

National Archives at New York City
One Bowling Green
New York, NY 10004-1415
866-840-1752

National Archives at Philadelphia
900 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107-4292
215-606-0100

Philadelphia Federal Records Center
14700 Townsend Road
Philadelphia, PA 19154-1096
215-305-2000

Pittsfield Federal Records Center
10 Conte Drive
Pittsfield, MA 01201-8230
413-236-3610

National Archives at Riverside and
Riverside Federal Records Center
23123 Cajalco Road
Perris, CA 92572-7298
951-956-2000

National Archives at San Francisco and
San Francisco Federal Records Center
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, CA 94066-2350
650-238-3500

National Archives at Seattle and
Seattle Federal Records Center
6125 Sand Point Way, NE
Seattle, WA 98115-7999
206-336-5115

National Archives at St. Louis and
National Personnel Records Center
1 Archives Drive
St. Louis, MO 63138-1002
314-801-0800

Washington National Records Center
4205 Suitland Road
Suitland, MD 20746-8001
301-778-1600

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library
210 Parkside Drive
P.O. Box 488
West Branch, IA 52358-0488
319-643-5301
www.hoover.archives.gov

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538-1999
845-486-7770 / 800-337-8474
www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu

Harry S. Truman Library
500 West U.S. Highway 24
Independence, MO 64050-1798
816-268-8200 / 800-833-1225
www.trumanlibrary.org

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
200 Southeast Fourth Street
Abilene, KS 67410-2900
785-263-6700 / 877-746-4453
www.eisenhower.archives.gov

John F. Kennedy Library
Columbia Point
Boston, MA 02125-3398
617-514-1600 / 866-JFK-1960
www.jfklibrary.org

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, TX 78705-5702
512-721-0200
www.lbjlibrary.org

Richard Nixon Library
18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Yorba Linda, CA 92886-3903
714-983-9120
www.nixonlibrary.gov

Richard Nixon Library-College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001
301-837-3290

Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114
734-205-0555
www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov

Gerald R. Ford Museum
303 Pearl Street, NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5353
616-254-0400

Jimmy Carter Library
441 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307-1498
404-865-7100
www.jimmycarterlibrary.org

Ronald Reagan Library
40 Presidential Drive
Simi Valley, CA 93065-0600
805-577-4000 / 800-410-8354
www.reagan.utexas.edu

George Bush Library
1000 George Bush Drive
College Station, TX 77845-3906
979-691-4000
bushlibrary.tamu.edu

William J. Clinton Library
1200 President Clinton Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201-1749
501-374-4242
www.clintonlibrary.gov

George W. Bush Library
2943 SMU Boulevard
Dallas, TX 75205-2563
214-346-1557
www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu



CARL SCHNEGELBERGER & C^{IE}.

BUCHDRUCKEREI

WIESBADEN, MARKTSTR. 26.

Telefon 689.

Druck und Verlag des
Adressbuchs von Wiesbaden
und Umgegend.



Druck und Verlag des
Adressbuchs von Biebrich und
des Rheingauer Adressbuchs.

Gegr. 1883.

WIESBADEN, den 3. Dez.

Rec. Dec. 7. 1900

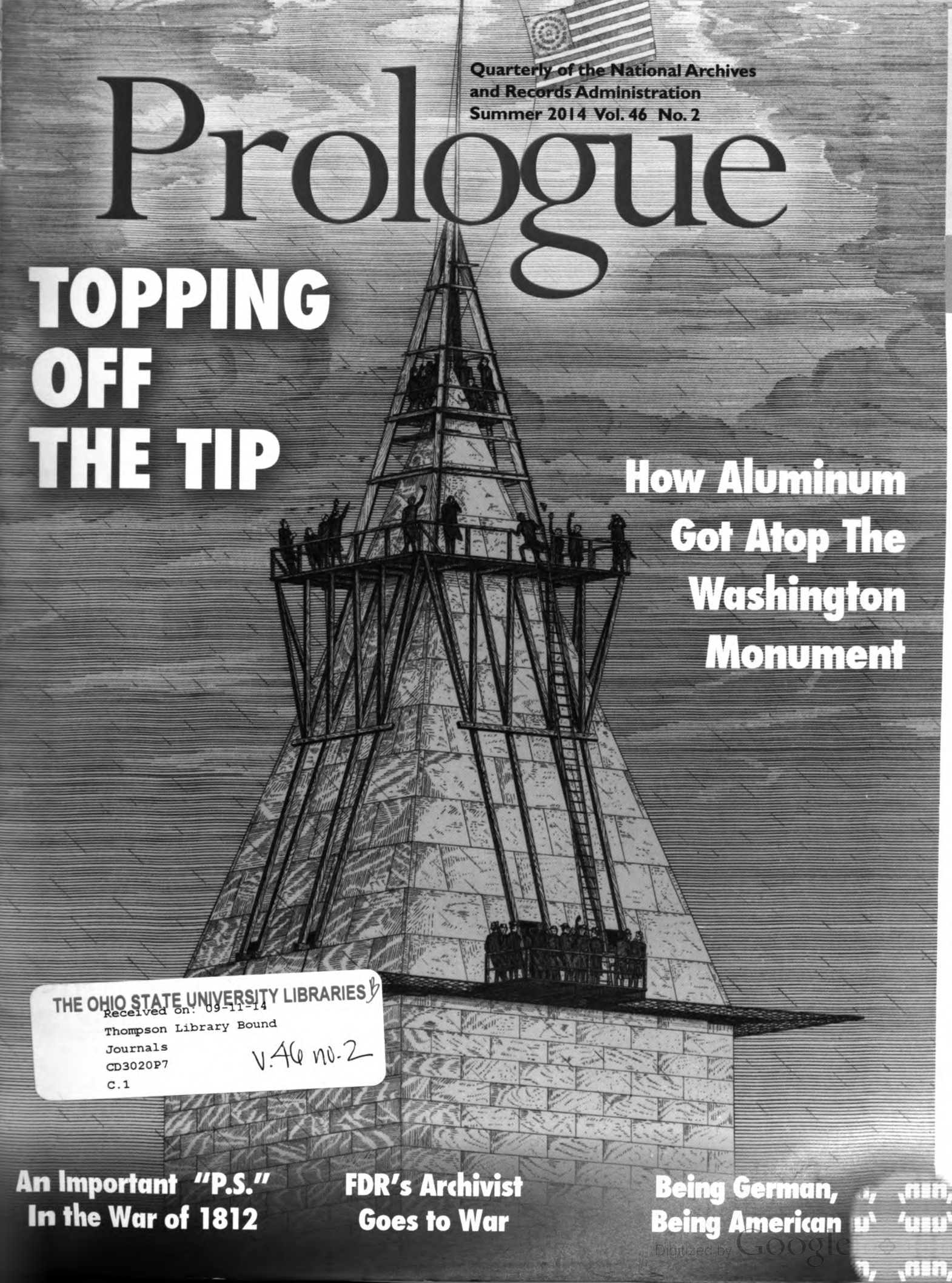
Herrn Consul Breuer, Wofflyat
Hie

Zwecks Erlangung eines Adressen-
zeichnisses der hier lebenden Amerikaner
erlauben wir uns, Sie ergebenst zu bitten
uns die Adressen der g. Zt. hier wohnen-
amerikanischen Familien & Einzelpersonen
erh. gegen Vergütung, gefh. zu übersenden.
In Gegenseiten gerne erbötig em-
pfehlen uns

Hochachtungsvoll
Carl Schnegelberger
Minus



Prologue Spring 2014



Quarterly of the National Archives
and Records Administration
Summer 2014 Vol. 46 No. 2

Prologue

TOPPING OFF THE TIP

How Aluminum
Got Atop The
Washington
Monument

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Received on: 09-11-14

Thompson Library Bound

Journals

CD3020P7

C.1

V.46 no.2

An Important "P.S."
In the War of 1812

FDR's Archivist
Goes to War

Being German,
Being American

Digitized by Google



Prologue

Summer 2014 Vol. 46 No. 2

QUARTERLY of the NATIONAL ARCHIVES and RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



ARCHIVIST of the
UNITED STATES
David S. Ferriero

CHIEF STRATEGY and
COMMUNICATIONS
OFFICER
Donna Garland

DIRECTOR of
COMMUNICATIONS
Chris Isleib

EDITOR of
PUBLICATIONS
James Worsham

MANAGING
EDITOR
Mary C. Ryan

SENIOR EDITOR
Benjamin Guterman

CONTRIBUTING
EDITORS
John Deeben
Keith Donohue
Meg Hacker
Hilary Parkinson

ART DIRECTORS
Brian Barth
Rania Hassan

PHOTO
RESEARCHER
Theresa Roy

SUBSCRIBER
SERVICES
Sandra Tucker

Editorial Policy. *Prologue* is published quarterly by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Its primary purpose is to bring to public attention the resources and programs of NARA, the regional archives, and the presidential libraries. Accordingly, *Prologue* in the main publishes material based, in whole or in part, on the holdings and programs of these institutions. In keeping with the nonpartisan character of NARA, *Prologue* will not accept articles that are politically partisan or that deal with contemporary political issues.

Articles are selected for publication by the editor in consultation with experts. The editor reserves the right to make changes in articles accepted for publication and will consult the author should substantive questions arise. Published articles do not necessarily represent the views of NARA or of any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Prospective authors are encouraged to discuss their work with the editor prior to submission. Articles may be submitted as either an e-mail attachment or as hard copy. The *Prologue* office uses MS Word but can accept any common word-processing format. Correspondence regarding contributions and all other editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001; prologue@nara.gov.

Subscriptions and Reprints. U.S. subscription rates are \$24 for one year; rates for subscribers outside the United States are \$30. Single issues of the current volume are available for \$6 each (add \$3 shipping for orders up to \$50). Send a check or money order to National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (NAT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent within six months of its publication date. Microfilm copies of *Prologue* are available from ProQuest Information and Learning, P.O. Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346. *Prologue's* web site is at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration (ISSN 0033-1031) is published quarterly by the National Archives Trust Fund Board, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Periodicals postage paid at College Park, MD, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, SC/Room 400, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001. INDEXED in Acad. Abstr., Amer. Hist. & Life. Bibl. Cart., Hist. Abst. (Pts. A & B), Hum. Ind., Mag. Art. Sum., U.S. Govt. Per. Ind., Writ. Am. Hist., & Winter *Prologue*.

Printed in the U.S.A.

EDITOR'S NOTE

You probably have never heard of Fred Shipman. He was a National Archives employee whom Franklin D. Roosevelt put in charge of his presidential library in Hyde Park, New York. They became very close.

So Shipman was picked to go to the war zones in Europe. There, he helped pave the way for archivists to be included in the search for archival collections and—not so incidentally—propose ways that U.S. intelligence operatives could benefit from enemy archives.

Greg Bradsher recalls the story of Fred Shipman's 1944 trip to North Africa and Italy in "The President's Archivist Goes to War."

As we observe the 100th anniversary of the beginning of World War I, Mary J. Manning describes what it was like to be a German American in those days—especially for one young man in an Illinois community that had not forgotten its German ancestry.

"In cities and small towns across the American countryside, neighbors debated the pros and cons of the United States entering a European war," she writes in "Being German, Being American." "Citizens fearing what they did not understand began to look askance at neighbors or passers-by who spoke with an accent."

The War of 1812, which was still going two centuries ago this year, posed some real problems for our young government as British troops headed to the new capital city of Washington. Their mission: Destroy as much as they could—and maybe capture a few things to take home to George III.

In her first article for us, National Archives Historian Jessie Kratz recalls how the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and other important documents escaped from falling into British hands in the final year of that war.

"P.S.: You Had Better Remove the Records" reveals that those were the exact words that Secretary of State James Monroe wrote to President James Madison in a dispatch from the front, reminding the President not to forget those documents when the government fled Washington.

And we're beginning a new feature this issue. We'll give you advance notice when an important document might be coming to an institution near you on loan from the holdings of the National Archives or one of our 13 presidential libraries. Look for it in this issue on page 68.

Join us on our blog at <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue> and on our website at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

JAMES WORSHAM

SCANNING THE PAST TO MAKE ACCESS HAPPEN

BY DAVID S. FERRIERO

The National Archives' commitment to open government is clear in our mission:

We drive openness, cultivate public participation, and strengthen our nation's democracy through public access to high-value records.

In the 21st century, access means digital access. For many, if a record isn't online, it simply doesn't exist.

In our Open Government Plan for 2014–2016, our flagship initiative, “Innovate to Make Access Happen,” describes our digitization, description, and online access efforts for the next two years.

“Make Access Happen” is one of the four goals in our new Strategic Plan for 2014 to 2018. And to make access happen, we will establish more substantial “roots” that increase the number of records that we digitize and strengthen the “core” systems that serve as our platforms for all of our online access—the agency's Online Public Access catalog and Archives.gov.

With substantial roots and a strong core, we can “branch out” in innovative ways through engagement and collaboration so that the public can make greater use of National Archives records.

The components of this plan's flagship initiative are led by the new Office of Innovation, which is the focal point for innovation across the agency and works to strengthen engagement and collaboration among staff, stakeholders, and the public.

We have recently established a digitization governance board that is charged with updating the agency's digitization strategy. We will develop a program to support the strategic initiative to digitize our analog archival records. We are also exploring new ways to expand our successful digitization partnerships.

Earlier this spring we launched a new internal description system. Staff members working on description projects are entering all descriptive metadata into the new system.

We also plan to launch an improved Online Public Access system later this year, with improved search and scalability, a public API, and crowdsourcing fields for citizen archivists to contribute to the online catalog.

In the next two years, I want the National Archives and Records Administration to become a leader in innovation. We will launch a new Innovation Hub, an experimental unit that will be responsible for developing new ideas and tools to enhance digital access and archival research.

We will sponsor two fellows during the third round of the Presidential Innovation Fellows program in 2014. The fellows will lead open development of crowdsourcing tools that will help unlock data and information from records formats and allow the public to easily contribute to the records.

Over the next two years we will work to increase the number of National Archives records available on Wikimedia Commons, continue our work to engage local communities of volunteer Wikipedians with on-site events, and collaborate on the development of the GLAM-Wiki U.S. Consortium.

In 2013 alone, 4,000 digital copies of our records that were included in Wikipedia articles garnered more than 1.3 billion views. That is unprecedented access to our records.

We have a great deal of work ahead. But as you can see, digitizing the historical records of the federal government—scanning the past—is foundational to making 21st-century access happen.



“In the next two years, I want NARA to become a leader in innovation.”

Join the Archivist at his own blog at
<http://blogs.archives.gov/aotus>
and visit NARA's website at www.archives.gov

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Ferriero".

Archivist of the United States

Summer

Volume 46 Issue No. 2

2014

Features

- 
- 6 Topping Off the Tip**
John Lockwood reveals how the aluminum tip on the Washington Monument on the National Mall got there and stays there.
- 14 Being German, Being American**
Mary J. Manning describes the suspicion German-Americans faced during World War I and how one young man's death affected the situation.
- 24 All the Women Were Valiant**
Mercedes Graf recalls the lives of women who volunteered as nurses during the Spanish-American War and what their ultimate fate was.
- 36 P.S.: You Had Better Remove the Records**
Jessie Kratz shares how the nation's founding documents were saved when the British sacked Washington in 1814 and how they eventually wound up at the National Archives.
- 46 The President's Archivist Goes to War**
Greg Bradsher introduces us to Fred Shipman, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "own archivist" and the National Archives' own "Monuments Man" in Europe in World War II.



In every issue

2 From the Archivist

The Archives is adopting a vigorous digitization plan to "make access happen."

58 Genealogy Notes

Kathleen Crossman mines the records of soldiers whose job was to chop down spruce trees to make World War I airplanes.

64 Authors on the Record

Todd Purdum recounts how the 1964 Civil Rights Act got through Congress.

66 Events/News & Notices

70 Foundation for the National Archives

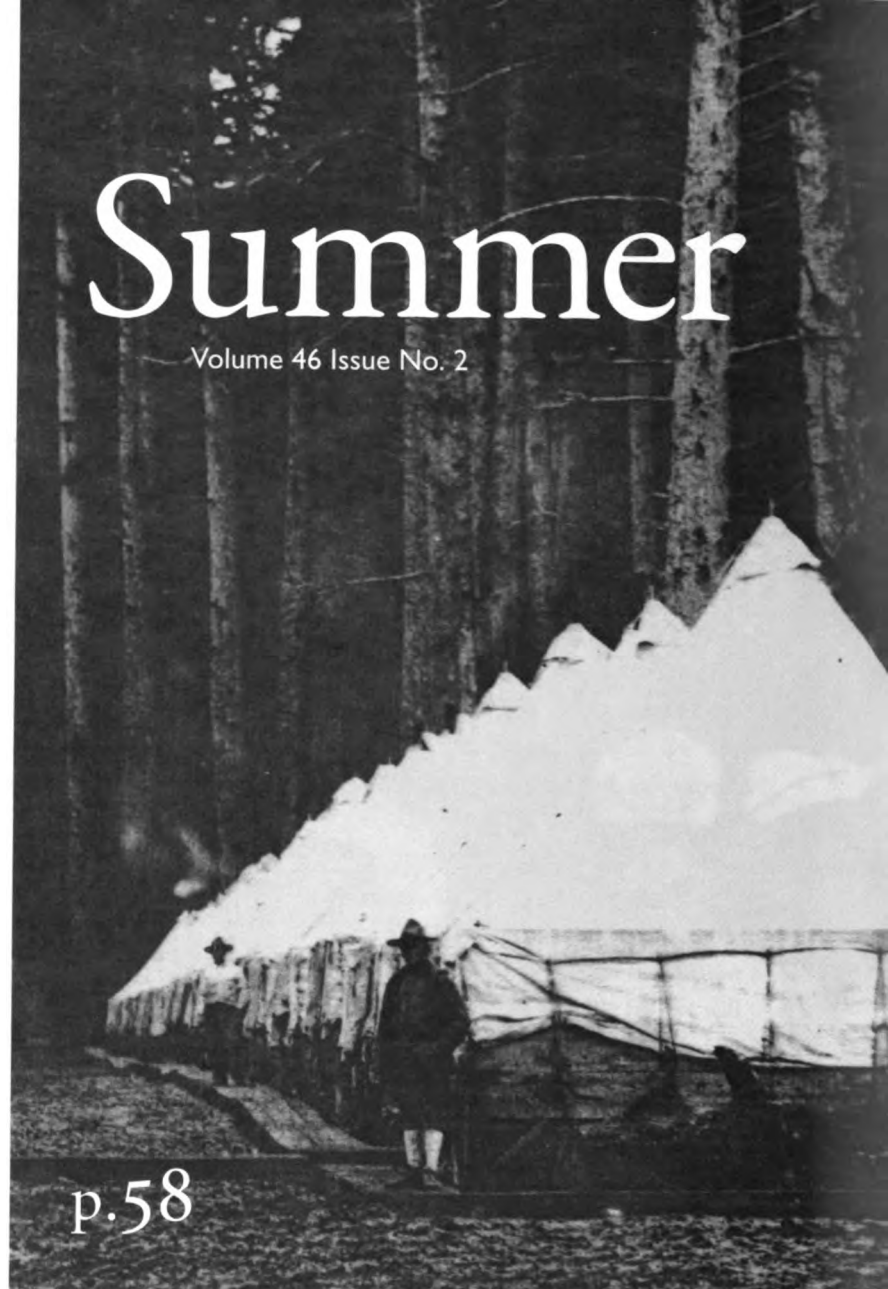
Another terrific July 4th celebration and a welcome to new members of the Board of Directors.

72 Pieces of History

A piece of silk in a World War II personnel file helps identify a downed pilot.

Summer

Volume 46 Issue No. 2



**To subscribe or view online
articles, log onto**

www.archives.gov/publications/prologue

Front cover: Setting the capstone on the Washington Monument on December 6, 1884. The story on page 6 traces the fabrication and acquisition of the aluminum tip to complete the monument, the first time the metal was used in that way.

Inside front cover: On April 12, 1943, the original Declaration of Independence was placed at the base of the Jefferson Memorial to commemorate the bicentennial of Jefferson's birth. The document was then returned to the Library of Congress.

Back cover: *Ruin of the Capitol* by George Munger, drawn after its destruction by the British on August 24, 1814.

Celebrating July 4th with Social Media

This year the National Archives invited visitors to take a #ColonialSelfie with anyone or anything that was in fashion in 1776. Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero kicked off the first #ColonialSelfie on July 4th with some of our favorite historic visitors.

The National Archives also played Instagram Bingo, and visitors submitted collages of what they saw on Independence Day.

To see all of the Fourth of July social media fun, visit us at www.archives.gov/calendar/july4 or follow us on Twitter and Instagram @usnatarchives on your mobile device.



The National Archives on the Web: visit www.archives.gov/social-media

Subscribe



Prologue
on Zinio



Prologue
on Scribd



RSS Feeds



Blogs



Facebook



Tumblr



Twitter



Google+



Instagram



Pinterest

Access



Archival
Videos



Archival
Photos



TOPPING OFF THE TIP

Superintendent P. H. McLaughlin placed the aluminum capstone on the Washington Monument in the dedication ceremony on December 6, 1884. Chief Engineer Col. T. L. Casey (hands up) was responsible for acquiring the aluminum cap, the first time the metal was used in that way.

By John Lockwood

The recent repairs on the Washington Monument are complete. Gone is the scaffolding that made it look more like a very tall chicken coop than a national shrine to the “father of our country.” Once again, tourists are ascending the 555-foot structure to get a bird’s-eye look at the center of their nation’s capital.

Visitors cannot go all the way to the top, just to 500 feet, but if they could, they would find a tip made of aluminum. Things made of aluminum are commonplace now, but when the monument was completed in 1884, the substance was considered a precious metal.

Construction on a monument to honor our first President began in 1848 but was suspended between 1854 and 1877 because of funding problems and the Civil War. The reopening of the monument this spring came after a 32-month shutdown to repair damages caused by a 2011 earthquake, a shutdown symbolized by scaffolding made of steel—and aluminum.

* * *

Aluminum is one of the most common elements in the earth’s crust, after silicon and oxygen. It does not occur in pure form in nature, however. It took decades to learn how to extract aluminum from its ore. Its most important ore is bauxite, named for the French castle Les Baux, in Provence, where it was first discovered.

Opposite: Superintendent P. H. McLaughlin placed the aluminum capstone on the Washington Monument in the dedication ceremony on December 6, 1884. Chief Engineer Col. T. L. Casey (hands up) was responsible for acquiring the aluminum cap, the first time the metal was used in that way.

finished; another suggestion I may mention here is to have the pyramid cast in Aluminium and nicely polished, and not plated, with either Gold or Platinum; I think it would cost no more than one cast in Aluminiumbronze or plated with Platinum, and it would be a very safe metal as it does not tarnish stands the weather temperature, and is the metal, made from the stone ore, Corundum, as nearer to the monument, Aluminium is an excellent conductor of Electricity, and has never been used for that purpose in any part of the world, and it would raise some curiosity as it would make a nice ornament to the Monument, in reference of fastening the pyramid to the base, I would sug-

William Frishmuth of Philadelphia, a German American chemist, recommended to Chief Engineer Casey in a letter that the cap for the monument be cast in aluminum—that it would not tarnish, would conduct electricity, and “would make a nice ornament to the monument.”

In 1807, British scientist Sir Humphrey Davy was the first to suggest that the compound alumina, named for its presence in alum, contained a metal element. In this, Davy was correct, for alumina is aluminum oxide, or Al_2O_3 . He also came up with the name for the new metal, aluminum. (Later on, most of the world came to spell it aluminium, though not the United States.)

Over the years, scientists learned more about aluminum, and the privileged were quite taken with it. Napoleon III, for one, used it to display his wealth—the emperor of the French owned aluminum tableware, used only for the most important guests. His son also had an aluminum baby rattle.

New discoveries gradually lowered the price, but even by 1884, the year of the

Washington Monument's completion, aluminum was still \$1.10 an ounce, twice the price of silver.

Aluminum Is Chosen For Tip of Monument

How did Washington, D.C.'s most prominent landmark end up with an aluminum tip?

By October 1884, after many years of delay, the Washington Monument was almost finished.

Lt. Col. Thomas Lincoln Casey supervised the completion of the Washington Monument and wanted to have a metal tip to complete the monument, either of bronze or brass plated with platinum.



The undersigned, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of the Geological Society of London and the Chemical Society of Dublin, an Associate of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Great Britain &c. Certifies as follows:-

First That the Apex of the Cap-stone destined to complete the Washington Monument was cast from Metallic Aluminium made by Col.

Wm Frishmuth of Philadelphia.
Second - That he has analysed the metal composing it and found the following constituents:-

Pure Aluminium	97.75
Iron	1.70
Silicon	0.55
	<u>100.00</u>

Third The Specific Gravity was determined to be - 2.74. -

The

out further delay. On November 28, Casey sent Frishmuth the following message: "You are embarrassing [*sic*] and delaying the work on the Monument. You must bring the metal point at once. Telegraph me the hour you will be here with it."

A bit later that same day, Frishmuth also got the following from Casey: "You cannot keep that point in Philadelphia any longer. Must send or bring it on this afternoon. You are embarrassing [*sic*] and damaging the Government."

Frishmuth lost no time. On November 28, he telegraphed Davis that the tip would be in the office the next day. On November 29, Casey responded: "The point is received and is satisfactory in every way. Vouchers sent you by mail." Rather than leave well enough alone, on November 29 Frishmuth telegraphed right back to Casey, expressing thanks—and asking him if the tip could be exhibited "in the Capitol Senate & Congress Monday." Monday was December 1 that year. There was no exhibit.

Also on December 1, Frishmuth wrote Casey, with the vouchers signed, plus "I thank you a thousand times for your kindness, in the honor you have given me."

The aluminum tip was finally put into place during a ceremony on December 6, 1884.

An analysis of the aluminum tip by Prof. F. I. Seaven of Philadelphia found that it was 97.75 percent aluminum, with small percentages of iron and silicon.

A Discovery Is Made:

Tip Isn't All Aluminum

Just six days later, on December 12, Casey received another handwritten message from Frishmuth. Professor F. I. Ricardo Seaven of Philadelphia had examined the tip on November 25 for Frishmuth and determined that it was actually 97.75 percent aluminum. The remainder was 1.70 percent iron, and 0.55 percent silicon. Casey's response, if any, does not seem to have been recorded—not in the National Archives, anyhow.

As for Frishmuth, he had some aluminum left over from casting the tip, so he advertised an aluminum watch charm in



To learn more about

- George Washington, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1994/spring/george-washington-1.html
- A teaching activity about American national monuments, go to <http://docsteach.org/activities/66/detail>.
- The records of the Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital, go to www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/042.html.

ounces. Frishmuth charged \$225.00 for it, higher than the earlier agreed-upon price of \$100.00, necessitating a further exchange of telegrams.

Before sending it on to Washington, Frishmuth put it on display at Tiffany's jewelry store in New York City—without permission. On November 25, Frishmuth even sent a telegram to Capt. George Davis, Casey's assistant, telling him about the display. There were "thousand [*sic*] of persons see the pyramid given high credit to all of us."

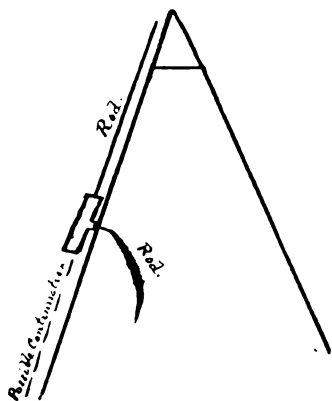
Some stern messages from Washington persuaded Frishmuth to send the tip with-

Engineer Office, Washington Monument,
Washington, D. C., June 15th, 1885.

Mr. Joseph Neumann,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Sir:

In order to provide for a possible continuation of the lightning rods, referred to in my letter of the 13th inst., further downward on the outside of the Monument, I wish you to make the coupling fittings, where the rods are to pass through the stone, of a T instead of an L shape. The fitting will then stand as shown in sketch below.



Very respectfully
Your O^bd. servant,
(Sgd.) Thos. Lincoln Casey,
Colonel, Corps of Engineers,
Engineer in Charge.

Chief Engineer Casey chose Joseph Neumann to fabricate the lightning-rod system for the monument tip. His June 15, 1885, letter to Neumann includes instructions and a drawing of his concept for the system.

the February 28, 1885, *Scientific American*. An aluminum charm would cost 75 cents, an aluminum alloy charm 30 cents, and the alloy with gilding also at 30 cents.

Frishmuth was also not quite done with the Washington Monument.

On June 9, 1885, after recent lightning strikes on the monument, he wrote to Casey with advice about a lightning-rod system, and he offered to provide aluminum points for it, an offer Casey did not take up. Instead, Casey hired another Philadelphian for the job, Joseph Neumann. Casey went to Philadelphia, on June 12, 1885, to hire Neumann in person.

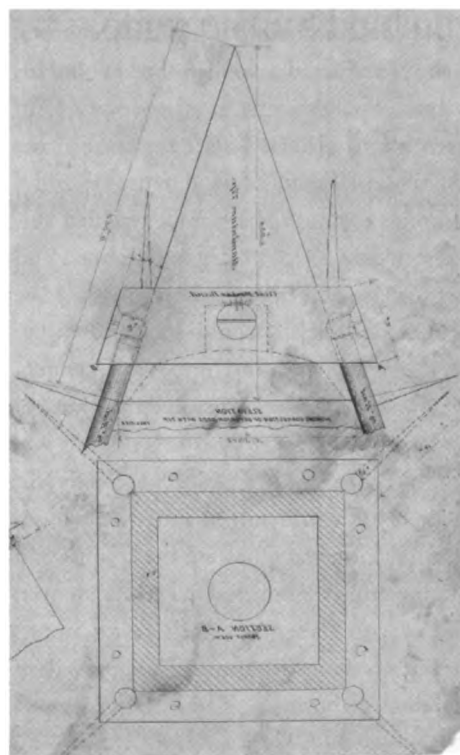
Frishmuth still wanted to keep some of the precise details of his now-famous process a secret, but one of his employees tried to steal those secrets. Also on June 9, 1885,

while Frishmuth was writing his letter to Casey, Charles Krug, who had been working for Frishmuth as an engineer, was convicted in Philadelphia of stealing \$2.50 worth of chemical supplies in an attempt to learn Frishmuth's exact process.

By now, lightning rods or no lightning rods, both Casey and Davis found Frishmuth a bit tiresome. For instance, in one letter to Casey, dated October 16, 1885, Davis sarcastically calls Frishmuth "our mutual friend."

In a June 15, 1885, letter to A. Mordecai, also of Philadelphia, Casey looked back on it all and concluded that aluminum was not a practical metal for widespread use just

A detailed drawing of the aluminum cap and the lightning-rod system, ca. 1880s.



yet. Although aluminum did have its advantages, Casey cited the difficulty in getting even a 100-ounce sample; the troubles with Frishmuth, including the display at Tiffany's; and the last-minute increase in Frishmuth's price from \$100 to \$225. All this "would seem to imply that Aluminum [*sic*] cannot yet be manufactured at such rates as to make it a commercial success."

A Method Is Found For Cheap Aluminum

But there was a young student who would soon make it a commercial success. On February 23, 1886, less than two years after the Washington Monument's completion, a recent graduate from Oberlin College, Ohio, by the name of Charles Martin Hall discovered the purification process that made aluminum cheap and commonplace.

Sometime in 1883, Hall was attending the class of a chemistry professor, Frank F. Jewett, who told his students that anybody who could convert alumina to aluminum, cheaply and in quantity, would make a fortune. Something about this took hold of young Hall and would not let go.

He could not afford a regular laboratory, so he constructed a wooden shed behind his parents' house to serve as one. He could not even afford electric batteries, so he made them himself. Hall decided to use electrolysis as his method. The trouble was that alumina melts at 2,050 degrees Celsius, and his furnace and bellows (both of which he also made himself) could not handle that. So he tried various compounds, which, when molten, would dissolve the alumina and enable the electrolysis to work.

On February 23, 1886, he finally hit upon cryolite from Greenland as a medium, running electricity through the cryolite and alumina for two hours. After it was all over, he ran with his samples to Professor Jewett.

Unlike some inventors, Hall proved to be good at business as well. Sometime in

1888, he came to Pittsburgh and helped found the Pittsburgh Reduction Company. In December of that year, the company opened for business. Hall eventually made a fortune of \$27 million. Coincidentally, a young Frenchman named Paul Heroult was working on the same process. He succeeded in purifying aluminum just two months after Hall.

As for Frishmuth's aluminum tip, it has been in place ever since. It nearly disappeared in July 1941, when the idea got about that it should be donated to a national aluminum scrap drive. Collecting used aluminum for civilian recycling

would free up virgin aluminum for building military airplanes. Fortunately, the idea to decapitate the monument was quietly dropped.

So, ever since 1884, the tip has been on duty, overseeing Washington.

During monument restorations in 1934, 1964, and 1998, the Frishmuth tip was found to be in good shape, and still untarnished. Even now, on sunny days it can sometimes be seen from the ground, glowing like a small white point.

Today, aluminum is so common, it is used almost everywhere—even for scaffolding. **P**

NOTE ON SOURCES

Records about the building of the Washington Monument used in this article are in entry 492, box 8, items 2867, 2871, 2884, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2898, and 3078; entry 495, volume 4, pages 23–25, items 2706, 2707, 2708, and 2709, and, pages 145–146 of items 2915, 2916, 2917, and 2918; all in Records of the Joint Commission for the Completion of the Washington Monument, 1876–1892, Records of the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital, Record Group 42, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Charles Martin Hall's method for refining pure aluminum from its ore, devised in 1886, led to a 50th-anniversary celebration in the media outlets of 1936. I found four such examples. The earliest was in the January 29, 1936, *Washington Post*, on page 8, "The Post Impressionist. From Rare to Common." The others were all on February 23, 1836. One was "Aluminum's Birthday," in the *New York Times* on page E-8. Another was also in the *New York Times*, on page 22, "Honor Aluminum Expert." Finally, I also found in the *New York Times* an article named "The Week in Science: The Romance of Aluminum," on page XX6.

In 1964, the entire Washington Monument was restored. The aluminum tip was found to be in good shape. See "Cap on Monument in Capital Tested," in the *New York Times*, August 30, 1964, on page R-1.

An article in the *Washington Post* makes William Frishmuth's assignment by Casey seem smooth and easy, in "Sure, Frishmuth Said He Could Make It and There It Is Atop the Monument," in the *Washington Post* of August 21, 1964, on page B-1. Not quite so easy as that.

In 1885, Frishmuth's process was still the best, cheapest way to refine any aluminum at all, as

shown in the flattering article, "New Processes for Aluminum," in *The Manufacturer and Builder: A Practical Journal of Industrial Progress*, on January 1, 1885, page 15. Similar flattery may be found "Manufacture of Aluminum," in *American Druggist* for March 1, 1885, page 53; and "The Secret of Making Cheap Alumina," in the *Evening Star*, of Washington D.C., for June 13, 1885, page 2; and even in an advertisement offering watch charms made with 2% aluminum, in *Scientific American*, for February 28, 1885, page 140.

All this would change with Hall's discovery in 1886, as told in "Plentiful in Clay," in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* for September 17, 1889, on page 2, and "City Briefs," in the *Washington Post* for February 22, 1918, page 2.

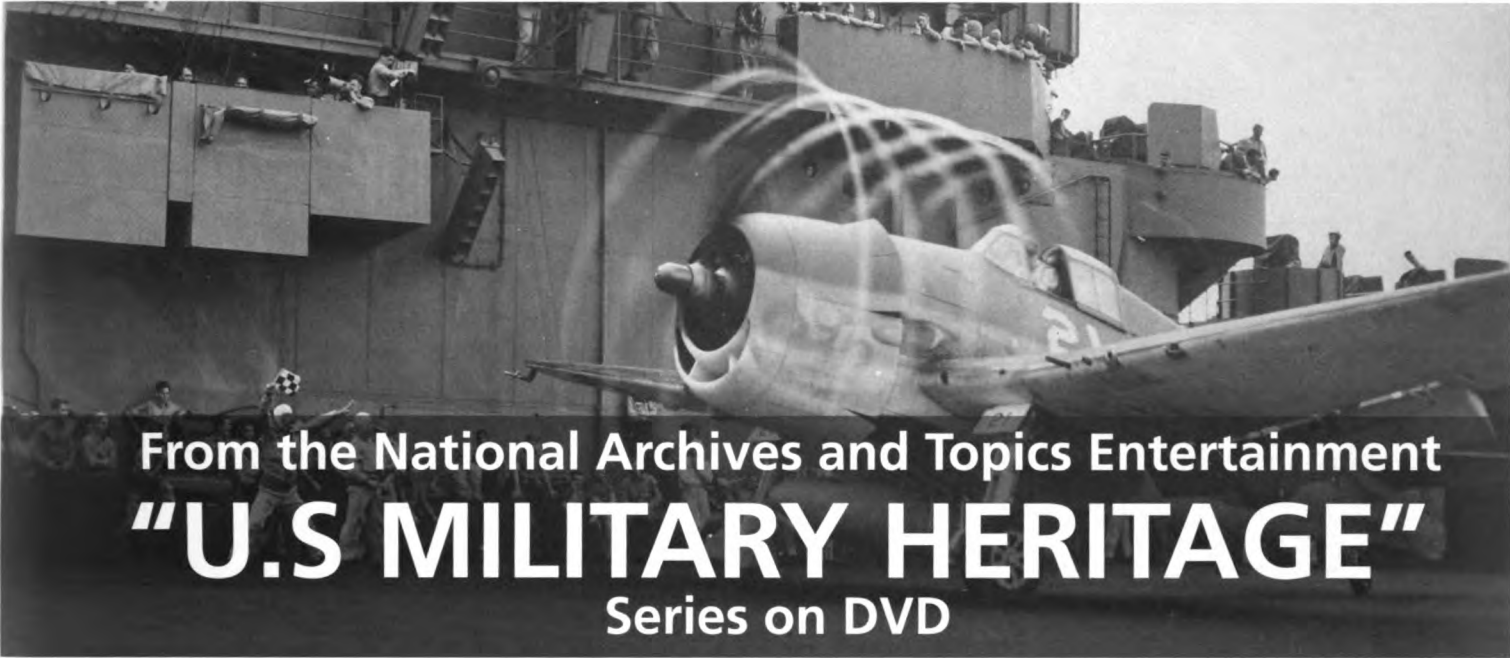
The story of how the monument nearly lost its tip to an aluminum scrap drive is told in "To 'Scalp' Washington Monument," *New York Times*, July 11, 1941, page 11.

A quite prescient article foresees the importance of Hall's process for civilization, in "Aluminum—The Metal of the Future," in *The Cosmopolitan: A Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, for January 1892, on page 277. Their picture of an aluminum-laden future was on target.

Author



John Lockwood is a native Washingtonian who has published some 80 articles in newspapers and magazines since 2002. He and his late brother Charles also wrote a book for Oxford University Press, *The Siege of Washington*, about the nearly defenseless condition of Washington, D.C., during the first 12 days of the American Civil War.



From the National Archives and Topics Entertainment

"U.S. MILITARY HERITAGE"

Series on DVD



A collection of nine boxed sets of 4 DVDs each containing the best military history films selected by National Archives archivists from our vast motion picture holdings

Available at
Walmart, BJ's,
Amazon, and
other major
retailers
nationwide,
as well as at
selected National
Archives
Museum Shops.



- **U.S. Army: Epic Battles in History**, seven films on World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars. Features the Oscar-winning film "The True Glory" and the Academy Award®-nominated World War II film "Baptism of Fire."
- **U.S. Air Forces: Top Guns of WWII**, 10 films, many starring iconic Hollywood actors, including Ronald Reagan, Clark Gable, Burgess Meredith, Jimmy Stewart, and others.
- **U.S. Navy: War in the Pacific**, nine films highlighting the Pacific campaign during World War II. Features John Ford's Academy Award®-winning masterpieces "The Battle of Midway" and the rare extended version of "December 7th."
- **U.S. Marines: Bloodiest Battles**, 11 films on World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars. Features actual film of the Battle of Angaur, U.S. Marines landing at Inchon, and of combat operations and air strikes in Vietnam.
- **WWII: Rampage Across Europe**, eight films focusing on U.S. involvement in the European campaign. Features Academy-Award®-winning film "The True Glory" on the Al-

lied invasion and conquest of Western Europe, as well as John Huston's controversial war film "The Battle of San Pietro."

- **WWII: Combat in the Pacific**, 12 films covering U.S. efforts in the Pacific Theater. Features John Ford's short film on the attacks on Pearl Harbor and war footage of Admiral "Bull" Halsey, Admiral Chester Nimitz, General Douglas MacArthur, and Ernie Pyle.

- **WWII: Nazi Germany, the Rise & Fall**, seven films that recount the atrocities of Adolf Hitler's army. Features Academy-Award®-nominated film "Prelude to War," the Nuremberg Trials, and the startling "Death Mills."

- **Korea: Battles Not Forgotten**, 14 films examining U.S. involvement in "the Forgotten War." Features John Ford's documentary "This is Korea," rarely seen Korean War films, and footage of President Truman on the postwar state of South Korea.

- **Vietnam: Apocalypse in the Jungle**, 11 films highlighting the role of the U.S. military in this controversial war. Features the documentary "Vietnam, Vietnam," narrated by Charlton Heston, and "To Save a Soldier," narrated by Henry Fonda.



BEING GERMAN, BEING AMERICAN

In World War I, They Faced Suspicion,
Discrimination Here at Home

By Mary J. Manning

Otto Edwin Radke was like any other young American boy growing up in a small midwestern town in the early 1900s.

He attended the local schools and went to the Methodist Church in Barrington, Illinois, 30 miles northwest of Chicago. He probably skated on the Russell Street Pond and sledded down the schoolhouse hill on Hough Street or on Castle's Hill, where they iced the slide to make it more slippery.

Born in 1900, Otto grew up in modest surroundings. His family lived in a white frame house on the edge of town. Like much of Barrington, the sidewalks were wooden planks, and plumbing was a pump and an outhouse.

He was the oldest son in the family of Gustav Radke, a local carpenter, and Auguste Friederike Ernestine Radke, née Buhrmann, who in her photographs is a plump smiling woman, a portrait of a kind and caring mother. He had six older sisters and three younger siblings, including one brother. One of his older sisters, Emma, served as schoolmistress at a local school.

It was a close-knit family whose members looked out for each other. Otto helped his family with chores and maintaining their kitchen garden and feeding the rabbits the family raised for food.

The town's German community celebrated its heritage. Its German band had musicians with names such as Meiners, Wendt, Gieske, Landwer, and Plagge. Local businesses displayed signs for Miss Hattie Jukkes Millinery, A. W. Meyer General Merchandise, Arnold Schauble Gasoline Engine, and H.D.S. Grege Hardware & Harness. And Gussie Blume, for a penny, would sing German songs at school.

Young Otto was exposed to all this. But since he was a second-generation German American, he may not have spoken German or identified much with his German heritage.

A century ago, however, the Germans were at war with the rest of Europe, and anti-German feeling was high in the United States. Young Otto's peaceful, storybook boyhood was about to be interrupted.



Left: Men of the 132nd Regiment in the trenches in France, ca. October 1918. Above: Otto's mother, Auguste Friederike Ernestine Radke.



The Radke family home in Barrington, Illinois.

War in Europe Breeds Suspicion in America

World War I, the “war to end all wars,” had begun in 1914, and anti-German sentiment reached into all parts of the United States.

Theodore Roosevelt, still very influential after leaving the presidency six years before and being defeated in a comeback attempt in 1912, added to the fervor.

“There is not room in this country for hyphenated Americanism,” he bellowed in a speech October 12, 1915, in New York City. “Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance.”

It was a short speech, as political speeches go, only several hundred words, but his message still resonates. In 1915 it gave full sanction to the events to come—events that were to have repercussions in communities like the one in which young Otto lived.

Conflict was simmering in Europe, and it only took an assassination in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, as the initial excuse for nations to go to war. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia in July; in August, Russia declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary; and Germany declared war

on France, with France reciprocating. The British empire, including Australia, next signed up for the world’s first global war, while the United States claimed neutrality in 1914 and waited to see what would happen. Ultimately, more than 27 countries became actively involved in the conflict.

In cities and small towns across the American countryside, neighbors debated the pros and cons of the United States entering a European war. War talk was fervent at town watering holes and local gatherings. Citizens fearing what they did not understand began to look askance at neighbors or passers-by who spoke with an accent.

Although the United States hung back from involvement, several events forced its participation. The German U-boat torpedo sinking of the British ship RMS *Lusitania* in 1915 with massive loss of life, including 124 Americans, purported acts of German espionage in the United States, and the infamous Zimmerman Telegram in 1917, in which the Germans invited the Mexicans to make war on the United States, all contributed to war fever.

The United States finally declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, and seized German ships berthed in American ports.

The year 1918 saw the codification of the Alien Enemy Act of 1798. The government was now able to apprehend and intern aliens of enemy ancestry, upon declaration of war or threat of invasion, and the President had blanket authority to prosecute.

German-language newspapers were subsequently shut down or lost so many advertisers that they were forced out of business. Schools of higher education that consistently taught German as the *de rigeur* foreign language were compelled to remove those courses from the curriculum.

Churches that had been founded as German speaking or bilingual were “encouraged,” by the Methodist Synod for one, to discontinue their German services. In a resolution at the 1915 General Meeting of the German Branch of the Methodist Church in St. Louis, delegates responded to the term “hyphenated Americans” by saying that “Whoever has sworn to the Stars and Stripes is an American.”

German American Men Enlist to Prove Loyalty

Ultimately, the controversy and rancor led to the dissolution of German society in the United States.

German American immigrants, much like other ethnic groups who came to the United States, had settled in enclaves where they could enjoy their own language and culture. They joined others at the popular gymnasium clubs, called *Turnverein*, and in *Gersangs*, chorus groups.

After 1914, that all changed, as volunteer watchdog societies reported on such German American gatherings and activities to federal authorities. German Americans became the “face of the enemy” as their businesses were boycotted and many people of German heritage were physically and verbally attacked. Any phrases that sounded German were changed.

The popular hamburger became a “liberty burger,” dachshunds became “liberty hounds,” and sauerkraut was called “lib-

erty cabbage." City and street names were changed from German-sounding designations to more Americanized ones. For example, East Germantown, Indiana, was renamed Pershing, Indiana. Ironically, Gen. John J. Pershing, supreme commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, came from a family that had changed its name from the German *Pfoerschin*.

As a result of this wholesale persecution, German American men, no matter how long they had lived in the country, rushed to prove their loyalty to the United States by enlisting in the military.

Even though most Germans who emigrated were required to sign a document renouncing their German citizenship, many people doubted that the document represented the hearts and minds of Germans who came to the United States. President Wilson, in a 1917 Flag Day speech, fueled the fire of prejudice with the words: "The military masters of Germany . . . have filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators." German Americans who were considered enemy aliens were detained in government-operated and -funded internment facilities across the United States.

Anti-German Sentiment Fuels Acts of Violence

Federal authorities directed state governments to create state councils of defense, ostensibly to prepare the United States against foreign aggressors as the war escalated in Europe.

It did not take long for people to realize that the primary task of the councils would involve investigations of loyalty and patriotism. The super-patriotic American Protection League boasted more than 200,000 untrained volunteers who were authorized to investigate individual loyalty. They judged loyalty through the purchase of war bonds, singing the National Anthem, and declarations of allegiance to the American flag. Woe to a German American citizen

(3)

DECLARATION OF APPLICANT.

I, Otto E. Radke
(See Instruction 1.)

desiring to be enlisted in the National Guard of the United States and of the State of Illinois for the period of three years in service and three years in the reserve, do declare that I am of legal age to enlist and believe myself to be physically qualified to perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier; that I am of good habits and character in all respects and have never been discharged from the United States service (Army, Navy, or Marine Corps), or from the Organized Militia or National Guard or any other service on account of disability or through sentence of either civil or military court, nor discharged from any service, except with good character and for reasons given by me to the recruiting officer prior to enlistment; (1) and that I am, or have made legal declaration of my intention to become, a citizen of the United States and of the State of Illinois. I do further declare that I am not (2) married; and that no one is now solely dependent upon me for support.

Given at CHICAGO ILLINOIS

this 31st day of May 1917

Otto E. Radke
(Signature of applicant.)

Wm M. Johnson
(Signature of witness.)

(1) To be filled out if a recruit.
(2) In the case of married men line out the word "not."

OATH OF ENLISTMENT
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

State of Illinois
City, Town, or Military Post, CHICAGO } ss.

I, Otto E. Radke born in
(See Instruction 1.)
Barrington in the State of ILLINOIS
aged 18 years and 6 months, and by
occupation a Farm W
do hereby acknowledge to have voluntarily (1) — enlisted

Otto E. Radke's oath of enlistment. Although he was 16 years, 6 months old when he enlisted, he said he was 18 years, 6 months.

who voiced doubts about the necessity of America going to war.

Although the American ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard, said, "the great majority of American citizens of German descent have shown themselves splendidly loyal to our flag," he also declared, "if there are any German-Americans here who are so ungrateful for all the benefits they have received that they are still for the Kaiser, there is only one thing to do with them. And that is to hog-tie them, give them back the wooden shoes and the rags they landed in, and ship them back to the Fatherland."

A one-sheet guide issued by the National Americanization Committee entitled "The



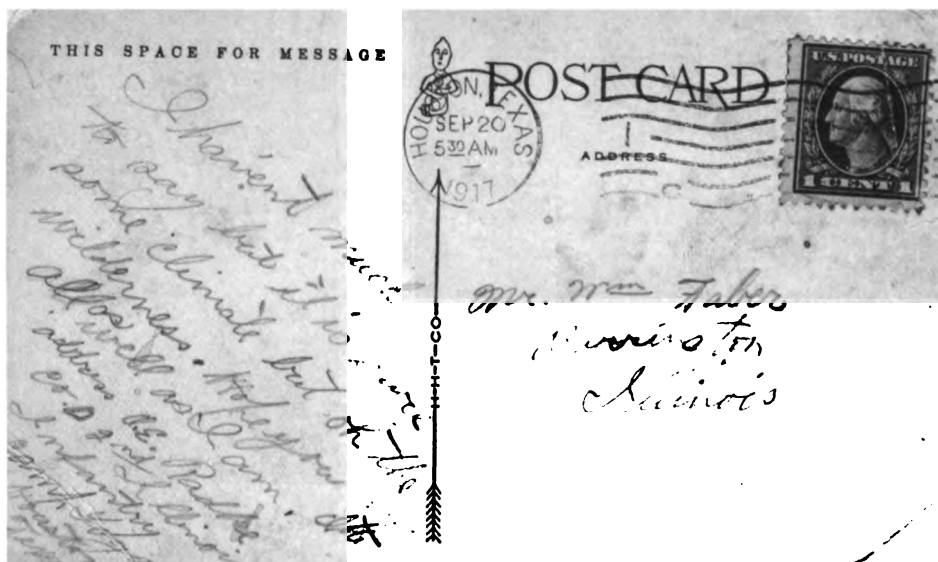
Otto E. Radke (right) and fellow soldiers, undated. He was assigned to the 132nd Infantry, part of the 33rd Infantry Division.

Etiquette of the Stars and Stripes" specifically stated: "These and similar lines [of the Pledge of Allegiance] should be learned by every American child, and those of FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS, TOO."

The similarly private group, the American Defense Society, encouraged the burning of German books. It took a strong-willed person to persist in pride of German descent when faced with these odds stacked against him.

A farmer living in Wisconsin in 1917 said: "many German Americans began to conceal their ethnic identity . . . stopped speaking German [and] quit German American organizations."

In Collinsville, Illinois, in April 1918, a German-born unemployed coalminer, Robert Paul Prager, made a speech containing pro-German comments and references to socialism. Town citizens, over the mayor's protestations, were so incensed that a mob of 300 men and boys lynched Prager. The incident became notorious in the nation's newspapers, which for the most part defended



Otto Radke was reassigned to Camp Logan, Texas, near Houston, where the 33rd Infantry Division was based. In a postcard to his sister dated September 20, 1917, he wrote, "it is sure some climate but oh the wilderness."

the lynching. None of the 300 participants was ever found guilty.

Germans had come to the United States in droves in the mid- to late 1800s to escape religious conflicts, military conscription, and the lingering poor agricultural conditions that beset northern Germany. German immigrants brought to their new country expertise in farming, education, science, and the arts. They enriched their adopted homeland immensely as they assimilated, serving in government and military institutions. German-origin trade names such as Bausch and Lomb, Steinway, Pabst, and Heinz were commonly used every day in America.

Relatively few Germans returned to their European homeland because their home now was America. Nevertheless, as a vision of war encroached on the American psyche, German Americans were suspected of foreign allegiances and worse, espionage.

This atmosphere of distrust pressured young men of German descent to enlist and fight in the war against the country of their ethnic origin. Other Germans who were not yet U.S. citizens joined the military as a means to citizenship.

The Radke and Buhrmann families had emigrated from northern Germany in the 1880s. Gustav Radke was naturalized as an American citizen in 1887, five years after his

arrival at the port of Baltimore, Maryland, and raised a family in Barrington, Illinois.

In his Declaration of Intention, Gustav renounced forever all allegiance to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly to the emperor of Germany. Despite being long-time U.S. citizens, the Radke family suffered taunts and criticism about their patriotism in their community.

The family did not talk much about it, but they worried about this backlash. They had heard the stories of extreme prejudice and had read newspaper articles about violence against German Americans.

Otto Radke, 16, Enlists And Heads for France

The oldest son, Otto Radke, was 16 years, 5 months, and 28 days old when he and his cousin, Harry A. Radke, enlisted in the 132nd Infantry, Illinois National Guard. Otto's mustering-in document bears the date May 31, 1917. He had blue eyes, a fair complexion, brown hair, and he was 5 feet, 9 inches tall. He weighed 157 pounds, was considered muscular, had perfect vision and hearing, and he was overall in good health—and had evidently lied about his age to join up.

Otto's enlistment papers stated in boilerplate: "When an organization is called or

drafted into the service of the United States the enlistment paper of every member thereof . . . will be delivered to the . . . Adjutant General of the Army." Which meant that the National Guard units would be converted to Regular Army. The 132nd would be assigned to and serve with the 33rd Infantry Division in France. The nickname of the 33rd was "Prairie Division," and it was made up of several Illinois National Guard units. In July 1917, the 33rd was federalized.

Otto Radke's military service began in earnest when all Illinois units were mobilized in July 1917 and sent to Camp Logan, Texas, where the 33rd Infantry Division was based.

Initially the 132nd Infantry Regiment had 1,100 voluntary enlistments on its rolls. During the training period, from October 1917 to April 1918, these numbers swelled to 3,500; most of the men were draftees. The nickname of the 132nd was "Queen of Battle."

In Texas, Otto was seeing the vast American West for the first time. A photograph of him in his Army uniform shows a shyly confident young man, standing with his legs crossed nonchalantly, without a care except to portray himself as a cocky, confident teenager. He shared his reaction in a postcard to his sister Alma dated "Sep 20 1917, 5:30am, Houston, Texas": "I haven't much to say but it is sure some climate but oh the wilderness. Hope you are all as well as I am."

The 33rd Division was made up of two infantry brigades and one field artillery brigade, with attached machine gun, infantry, engineer, supply and sanitary trains, and headquarters and signal units. Later, in France, other units would be attached as the need arose, including an ambulance train. Otto was part of the Second Battalion, Company D, of the 132nd Regiment. The 132nd trained at Camp Logan until May 1, 1918, when it went to Camp Upton, New York, then on to Hoboken, New Jersey, where

Right: An Army situation map dated September 26, 1918, shows the position of the 132nd Infantry Regiment, 33rd Infantry Division, in the Bois de Forges west of the Meuse River. The regiment soon marched southeast to St. Mihiel and Verdun.

246-312 GROUPE DES CANEVAS DE TIR.

ST MIHIEL - C

SECRET

TIRAGE DU 22 AOÛT 1918





U.S. forces march forward during the Argonne offensive sometime between September and November 1918.

they boarded a ship and sailed for France. This was a time of camaraderie and forming friendships that would become invaluable once the boys were in the midst of the war.

The ship arrived at Brest, France, on May 30. The 33rd Division fell under American II Corps control. The infantry units moved to Martainville and Huppy Training Areas in Picardy to continue training, under the Fourth British Army, in trench fighting, bayonet use, and artillery practice.

U.S. Troops See Early Action In Battle of Hamel in France

Shortly thereafter, American troops were assigned to the Fourth Australian Infantry

Brigade to attack a section of the German line near the village of Le Hamel. The Battle of Hamel was fought on July 4, 1918, clearly a gesture to the Americans. The 132nd companies A and G, which took part in the battle, numbered about 250 men each. It was an “all-arms” action, the first of its type, engaging artillery, tanks, and a wide array of arms in support of the infantry. Although tanks were new to war, the modern, agile Mark V was put to use at Hamel.

The Australian “Diggers” were impressed with the Americans’ modesty and willingness to learn the operation of tanks and Lewis light machine guns. By 3 a.m. on the morning of July 4, the Illinois troops were issued rum and were in battle position. Hamel was a turning point for Allied victory in the war.

By the end of July 1918, the 33rd infantry troops were engaged in the occupation of the Amiens Sector in France and proceeded thereafter to the Somme Offensive Operation.

The 132nd Regiment rejoined the Australians at Harbonnières in mid-August. They remained in the British sector until they returned to the American front after four days, traveling by train, truck, and then on foot. The troops were happy about the

change because it meant American food would replace the “cheese, hard bread, jam and tea of the British commissary.”

In the following weeks, the 132nd had a variety of assignments, and its members learned more about warfare.

Trench life in the front lines was dangerous, dirty, and squalid. So many men living in one place led to vermin infestation and disease caused by poor sanitary facilities and nearby decomposing bodies of men and animals.

Most often trenches were dug and held for only a short time before troops moved on to the next trench. There were in all some 12,000 miles of Allied trenches dug in France during World War I. Some second-line trenches were set up for the longer term and were five or six feet deep, but these were not the ones facing No Man’s Land. On the front lines, the distance to the enemy front trenches could be as little as 30 yards, and German artillery continually shelled the Allied trenches with mustard gas.

Otto’s Unit Hit Hard By German Artillery

On October 8, 1918, the First and the Second Battalions of the 132nd Regiment crossed



To learn more about

- How the world of artists went to war to design camouflage for troops, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/spring/.

• The collection of film from World War I now in the Archives, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/summer/.

• World War I Gold Star Mothers, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/summer/ and www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/fall/.

the Meuse River at Brabant-sur-Meuse, moving to the north to connect with the 17th French Corps. By 11 a.m. the units were ranged in battle formation on the east bank opposing the German troops. The French and American troops formed a right angle, with the American lines paralleling the river.

Although French troops were to have cleared the area, it became immediately apparent that they had not carried through the assignment. Fire from Consenvoye Woods was intense, and the heroism of individual soldiers of the Second Battalion came into play in pursuing the attack.

Enemy troops were strongly entrenched in the woods when the Second Battalion attacked the next morning at 6 a.m. Advancing against the heavy German artillery and machine-gun fire, Company D was hit hard. Its leader was killed, and his men suffered many casualties.

Throughout the morning advance, enemy fire fiercely harassed Company D, partly due to the 29th Division not protecting its right flank. In spite of the constant rolling barrage from enemy lines, not to mention inaccurate friendly fire and persistent rain, the troops had by nightfall dug in along the southern edge of the Bois de Chaume.

On October 8 and 9, the American forces reported being "flooded with gas." Although the 132nd reached its objective, the troops were driven back again when the Germans retook Bois de Chaume and Bois Plat-Chêne. That night the 132nd soldiers were in "very poor shape" in the trenches below Bois de Chaume. Even so, they were ordered to retake their previously held position. A history of gas warfare published 50 years later described the scene: "Throughout the night of 10-11 October and the following day incessant high explosive, machine gun, and gas fire hampered the [33rd] division as it sought to round up its stragglers, reorganize its units, and set up the defensive line on the edge of the Bois de Chaume."

Unit commanders reported to Col. Joseph Sanborn, the commanding officer of the 131st Infantry, that the situation was untenable. The colonel wrote back to (and then



Otto E. Radke's gravestone in Barrington's Evergreen Cemetery in the Radke plot.

removed) one concerned major: "Stay where you are and hold the line until you hear further from me. You are no worse off than the rest of the troops who are holding on and making no complaints."

From early morning until nightfall, the troops endured incessant shelling, machine-gun fire, gas and airplane attacks, and sniper fire. There was no rest or sleep for the soldiers, and the rainstorm raged unabated, spoiling what food the boys could obtain. They continued to wear their gas masks at all times.

A New "Gold Star Mother" In Barrington, Illinois

Otto Radke, along with his cousin, Harry, died during this action, on October 11, 1918.

While Otto was in the service, his family displayed a blue star in the window of their home. After his death the star was changed to gold, and his mother became a "Gold Star Mother."

(Gold Star Mothers wore an armband displaying a gold star instead of wearing black mourning clothing. President Wilson concurred that a sea of black-clad relatives would demoralize the public.)

Otto had served overseas from May 16, 1918, until his death—148 days later. His

Right: Otto Radke's death in battle in October 1918 was reported in the Barrington Courier. The article noted that he had been in the front-line trenches for about a month, one of several Barrington volunteers in the war.

TWO MORE YOUNG MEN KILLED BY HUN SHELLS

Barrington and Cuba Soldiers Both Die in Action Fighting With Comrades

Another gold star has been added to Barrington's honor flag. The news that Otto E. Radke was killed in action, October 12, which came first through a letter of his soldier companion, Fred Bennett, was confirmed in a telegram to his parents from the War Department late last week. Details are lacking, but it is known from a letter dated October 5th to Dr. R. N. G. Darby of the Hawthorne Farms, for whom he formerly worked, that he had been in the front line trenches about a month. It is understood that John Frey was fighting beside him when he was killed. Other Barrington boys in Company D of the 132d Infantry, formerly the Second Illinois, are Henry Dorwaldt and Herbert Augenstein.

Shortly after the United States entered the war, Otto, who was then only sixteen years and five months old, enlisted. His parents, reluctant, because of his youthful age, to give their consent, were finally prevailed on to do so, as he was determined to go. His regiment went South and for about a year was in training on the Texas border. It May of this year, it, with other regiments of the Prairie Division, went to France where it has since seen much hard fighting.

The decedent was born December 2, 1900, and had lived all his life in Barrington. After going half way through the high school, he quit and went to work and is highly spoken of by those who came in contact with him. He was a member of the young men's Sunday School class at the Baptist Church, taught by George Banks. Besides his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Gustav Radke, he left surviving Alma Gaare of Palatine, Elsie Ertman, Emma Faber, Lillian, Lydia, Frances, Robert and Dorothy Radke.

It is believed he had insured his life in his mother's favor to the maximum amount, furnishing strong evidence of his affection for his parents. In going to the front for his country long before he was subject to conscription, he set a splendid example in patriotism to his fellows.

It is planned that Barrington shall have a memorial service in honor of those of its men who died in service as soon as it is definitely known just how many will not return, and it is believed the community will do all that lies within its power to honor these brave soldiers.

family was completely devastated at losing their son and brother.

The family received a standard-issue memorial citation, signed by General Pershing, by then the supreme allied commander in Europe, which read: "He bravely laid down his life for the cause of his country. His name will ever remain fresh in the hearts of his friends and comrades. The record of his honorable service will be preserved in the archives of the American Expeditionary Forces." His mother and father undoubtedly lamented the prejudice that held sway in the hometown that pushed their boy into the war.

Animosity to German Americans Remained Despite Sacrifices

What Otto Radke might have made of his life will never be known. Being a teenager when he died, he was still deciding the paths he would follow. He might even have stayed in the military, training and advancing to higher rank.

In an ironic twist, considering the taunting the family had endured for their German heritage, the town of Barrington honored Otto as a hero.

His name appears in honor rolls in memorial books such as *Soldiers of the Great War*, *Echoes of a Century 1847–1947*, and the *1929 Illinois Roll of Honor*. A Radke neighbor even painted a large oval portrait of Otto in his infantry uniform, and more than one neighbor told the family that the boy had been a young man of promise.

Otto's body was returned to the United States for burial in Barrington's Evergreen Cemetery in the Radke plot. His war risk insurance policy, mandated by the War Risk Insurance Act of 1914, amounted to \$2,582.00 when it was disbursed to family members. The money remained in his mother's bank account until her death in 1936.

By the end of the war, the 33rd Infantry Division had fought at the Battle of Hamel, St. Mihiel, Chipilly, the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, and at the Somme. The division

suffered a total of 993 casualties and 5,871 wounded. Their total advances on the front line from July to October 1918 were 36 kilometers, or about 23 miles.

The 132nd Infantry Regiment returned to Camp Grant, Illinois, on May 31, 1919, for demobilization. The unit was reactivated in 1941, again as part of the 33rd Infantry Division, to serve in World War II.

The Story of the 132nd Infantry A.E.F., a small booklet written in 1919, provides an honor roll of men killed in action. The entry for Harry A. Radke, Otto Radke's cousin, amalgamates and confuses information on both Radke boys (Otto is not mentioned in the honor roll). The entry reads: "Radke, Harry A., 2058712, Corp. (Corporal), Co. D. Killed in action at Verdun, October 11, 1918, by shell fire, buried—Grave location at Graves Registration Bureau, General Headquarters, American E.F. Next of kin, Mrs. Auguste Radke, mother, Barrington, Illinois" (Cpl. Harry Radke came from Nunda, a village near Barrington, and his mother was not Auguste Radke).

The reference to discontinuing church services in German comes from Joshua Hollingshead, "World War I and the Demise of the German Methodist Church in America" (thesis, McKendree University, Lebanon, IL, 2006). President Wilson's 1917 Flag Day speech, given in Washington, D.C., can be found online at the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library (<http://www2.dataformat.com/HTML/30696.htm>). The quotation from James Gerard, U.S. ambassador to Germany, is online at the Library of Congress's web page on U.S. Participation in the Great War (www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/progress/wwone/loyalty.html).

The quotation from a farmer ("We had to be so careful") comes from "A German Farmer's Recollections of Anti-German Sentiment in World War I" (<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/3/>). The Prager lynching is described in "Extra—Illinoisian Lynched for Disloyalty," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 5, 1918.

Accounts of the battle actions of the 132nd Infantry Regiment during July 4–October 11, 1918, were taken from American, British, and Australian primary sources. Although there were some variations in accounts, the salient details were the same. Quotations describing the night of October 10–11 are in Office of the Chief Chemical Officer, *U.S. Army Chemical Corps Historical Studies: Gas Warfare in World War I; the 33rd Division along the Meuse, October 1918* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Chemical Corps Historical Office, 1958). The quotation about American food replacing British commissary comes from *Illinois in the World War: An Illustrated History*

Twenty-three years passed between World War I—the "War to End All Wars"—and America's entry into World War II. Germany was again the enemy, and German Americans faced distrust and discrimination resurfaced.

And once more, young German Americans like Otto Radke fought and died for their country—the United States of America. ■

© 2014 by Mary J. Manning

NOTE ON SOURCES

of the Thirty-Third Division (Chicago: States Publication Society, 1921).

The Stars and Stripes issues for 1918 and 1919 are available through the Library of Congress (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/spshtml/sashtml/aef.html>).

Many of the materials used in the author's research came from the Col. Robert R. McCormick Research Center, of the First Division Museum in Wheaton, Illinois. In addition to the sources noted above, the following works are noteworthy: William M., Haulsee, et al., *Soldiers of the Great War* (Washington, D.C.: Soldiers Record Publishing Association, 1920); Gregory S. Jacobs, *Camp Grant* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2003); Frank M. McMurry, *The Geography of the Great War* (New York: MacMillan, 1919); *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War: American Expeditionary Forces; Divisions*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, [1920] 1988); 71st Congress, 2nd Session, House Document No. 140, *Pilgrimage for the Mothers and Widows of Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines of the American Forces Now Interred in the Cemeteries of Europe as Provided by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1929* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930); Thomas Ricento, and Barbara Barnaby, *Language and Politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and Realities* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 1998); Joseph B. Sanborn, *The 131st U.S. Infantry in the World War* (Chicago: J.B. Sanborn, 1919); Society of the First Division, *History of the First Division During the World War, 1917–1919* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1931); and *U.S. Immigration and Migration Reference Library* (Detroit: UXL, 2004).

Author



Mary J. Manning serves as reference librarian for the Col. Robert R. McCormick Research Center of the First Division Museum at Cantigny Park in Wheaton, Illinois. She has been active as a volunteer at the Naperville Family History Center and has served on the Board of Directors for the Illinois State Genealogical Society. She has published numerous articles on librarianship, genealogy, and military history.

the key to finding your ancestors,
THE GENEALOGY TOOL KIT
will help you navigate the records of the National Archives

BY JOHN P. DEEBEN



GENEALOGY TOOL KIT

Getting Started on Your Family History at the
NATIONAL ARCHIVES



ORDER FROM THE ARCHIVES SHOP

202.357.5271 / nationalarchivesstore@nara.gov

All the Women Were Valiant

Spanish-American War Volunteers Who Died from Their Service

By Mercedes Graf

During the nearly four months of the Spanish-American War in 1898, more soldiers died from typhoid fever and malaria than as a result of battlefield injuries.

Exposed to typhoid fever and malaria as well were women volunteers who nursed these sick and wounded men in camps, hospitals, and tents; on trains; and aboard hospital ships.

Estimates of the number of women who contracted fevers or became sick while serving on contract varies, but about 10 percent is a generally accepted conservative estimate. Records reveal that of the 1,563 female nurses who contracted with the Army until June 30, 1899, at least 140 women contracted typhoid fever. Roughly two dozen women volunteers died as a result of illnesses contracted in the line of duty.

Any count is an underestimate, however, as many nurses had their contracts annulled when they became ill. Because the women returned home to recover or die, we will never know the actual numbers of deaths that occurred later as a result of their service. This article presents

brief sketches of some of the known women who died while in the service of their country.

U.S. Army Unprepared for War; DAR Presses Need for Nurses

When Congress officially declared war against Spain on April 25, 1898, the United States Army was unprepared.

It had drastically reduced the size of its forces since the end of the Civil War in 1865, and there was a serious shortage of medical personnel. A month earlier, Congress had authorized the employment of contract nurses, for the first time calling for women as well as men. By the end of April, women sent in almost a thousand applications to serve as nurses, but there was no one in the Surgeon General's office with the time to review them.

Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, a highly respected physician in Washington, D.C., presented a plan at an April meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) for a DAR Hospital Corps. The corps would be composed of trained nurses "who would be ready to answer a call from



Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee recommended establishing a corps of trained nurses to serve in the Spanish-American War. Her appointment as acting assistant surgeon in the Army enabled her to select competent applicants from good training schools.

Right: Nurses and recovering soldiers at Camp Thomas in Chickamauga Park, Georgia. Trained nurses contributed significantly in the Spanish-American War, but many of them fell victim to the same tropical diseases that afflicted the soldiers.







Reubena Hyde Walworth was a DAR member who volunteered for war work. She died in service while nursing wounded troops at the Montauk Point, Long Island, quarantine station.

the Surgeon General for service in the Army or Navy."

The DAR rallied behind Dr. McGee's proposal and appointed her as director. McGee emphasized the fact that "the offer which I made thru the D.A.R. differed from all other offers made or contemplated. All others were to supply nurses, while mine was to examine all applicants, from whatever sources, and TO ESTABLISH A UNIFORM STANDARD FOR ALL, recognizing the best graduates from all the good training schools, with favoritism toward none." Surgeon General George Miller Sternberg happily accepted the help.

Until the end of the summer of 1898, the DAR was the principal agency for procuring nurses. All that changed on August 29, when the surgeon general appointed McGee as acting assistant surgeon in the Army and assigned her to the War Department. She was placed in charge, directly under Sternberg, of all matters concerning women Army nurses, and the DAR board was soon dissolved. By July 1, 1899, 1,563 women served as Army nurses. In selecting applicants, McGee preferred nurses who came well endorsed with good hospital records.

Extracts from "Camp Wikoff , Montauk Point, by Kate M. Walsh"

" On arriving at the hospital, we were taken to our sleeping tents, which were of canvas. The weather was 90 degrees in the shade. We had little iron beds, close together. The bed acted as chair, wardrobe, etc. We changed our clothes and went on duty."

"Our white clothing was not suitable, as there was no laundry. We should have had canvas frocks. In two days I was filthy looking and distressed."

" The beds were about a foot apart, wire sticking out all along the sides. Our clothes were torn in ribbons from our bodies, when passing between them, which increased the anguish of our bodies and minds."

" Nurses kept getting sick and some had to be sent away; some dying".

" One convenience hut, without a door for some time. Nurses fainted in this place and had to be carried away. After awhile there was a door and a guard was stationed at this wooden closet in the field. Nurses had been frightened by finding a man in the closet at night, after that it was guarded"

" We were either in dust or mud going to our quarters or to the mess, where we first had our meals with the orderlies; later we had a nurses' dining room. In our sleeping quarters, which was our living room when off duty, we had neither chairs or tables. A few nails in the posts which framed and held up our canvas tents, were to hang our clothes on, other clothing was on the beds or in our suitcases. There was one shallow tin basin for several nurses. The nurse who first claimed it passed it on to another who had spoken for it. All had to be on duty, I think, at 7 AM so there was some hustling in my section. Miss Wheeler, I think Anna, slept in my quarters. She engaged the basin from me and I did the same from her. Bathing my feet every night and morning with alcohol, kept me from being carried out on a stretcher. Each night, I would feel that I could not stand another day; still this constant bathing kept me fit for another. We were sadly in need of tub baths, and fresh clothing. The heat was intense and I perspired freely from long hours of over work, heat and flies, together with my anguish that our dear sick men were not half cared for. "

Conditions for nurses at camp hospitals were harsh and unsanitary. An extract from nurse Kate M. Walsh's observations provides some insights into their lives and work.

McGee also received a number of requests from young girls eager to find romance, but she believed that should not be the criterion.

"The fate of women as Army nurses in [the] U.S. hung then on the character of the women appointed," she wrote. "Their training was of great importance but after all, it was secondary to their character. The doctors don't care a bit what the training school may have been; what they want is a competent, honorable woman."

The DAR's immediate task was to answer all inquiries. The early requirement that applicants be trained nurses was later relaxed when women who were immune to yellow fever were needed in Santiago, Cuba. In addition, prospective Army nurses had to be between 30 and 50 years old, although as soon as demand increased, this criterion was generally ignored. Some of the contract nurses were in their early twenties when they volunteered.

The nurses who volunteered for the Spanish-American War differed widely in age, experience, and background. Among the known women who perished, some were religious sister nurses, trained civilian nurses, one doctor, one Red Cross nurse, foreign-born nurses, and some with little or no experience—all of whom were volunteers.

But typhoid fever did not distinguish among them.

Sister Nurses of Various Orders Answer the Call for Volunteers

About 250 nuns from various orders volunteered to serve during the Spanish-American War, and almost all were experienced nurses. Five sister nurses were known to have died—Mary Ellen Burke (Sr. Anastasia), Anne Larkin (Sr. Mary), Mary Sweeney (Sr. Agnes), Caroline Wolfe (Sr. Caroline),

Subject:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Surgeon General's Office,

In reply refer to No.

Washington. December 12, 1898.

Prof. G.N. Tricoche,
341 East 15th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

It is with much regret that I learn of the death of Miss Tricoche and I beg you will accept my sincere sympathy.

The papers which you sent have been referred to the Auditor of the War Department who will communicate with you duly.

Very respectfully,

Anita McGee
Acting Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A.

Anita McGee's letter of condolence on the death of Margaret Nester Tricoche.

and Elizabeth Flanagan (Sr. Mary Elizabeth). The first four women were Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (also called Sisters of Charity), while Sr. Mary Elizabeth was a Sister of Mercy.

Sr. Anastasia served at hospitals at Camp Wikoff in New York and Huntsville, Alabama, in the summer and fall of 1898. She was only 23 years old when she contracted typhoid fever and was sent to Baltimore, Maryland, to recover. When she died, her father, Miguel F. Burke, wrote to the Mother Superior in Emmitsburg, Maryland: "[It] was a most severe blow to us. So great, in fact, was the shock that it took us some time to fully realize the real purport of the news."

Sr. Mary Larkin was the only sister nurse who died abroad as well as the only nun to die in Puerto Rico. One of the priests wrote that Sr. Mary Larkin's death "produced a great sen-

sation among all the inhabitants. In the first place, the Americans regretted their countrywoman; . . . the native population grieves over her death because she is the first sister buried at Ponce." Her remains were kept in Ponce until February, 20, 1900, when the United States government transferred her body to the little cemetery at St. Joseph's College in Emmitsburg, there to rest near the shrine of the order's founder, Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton.

In September of 1898, Sr. Caroline Wolfe was sent to the Third Division Hospital, Camp Hamilton, in Lexington, Kentucky. When she showed signs of typhoid, she was hospitalized and then sent back to Baltimore when her illness worsened and it became clear that she was going to die. She was still a novice because she had not been a member of the order for five years, but a special exception was given in her case, and she was allowed to



Margaret N. Tricoche was born in France but trained as a nurse in America. After volunteering, she was assigned to the typhoid wards at Camp Shipp in Anniston, Alabama, where she died of the fever on September 19, 1898.

take her final vows on her deathbed on October 15, 1898. She had turned 25 years old the day before she died. Just a week after Sr. Caroline's passing, Sr. Agnes, who had contracted typhoid around the same time in the camp at Huntsville, died on October 23.

Eleven Sisters of Mercy from Baltimore were sent first to Camp Thomas in Chickamauga Park, Georgia, in August 1898, and then to the Third Division Hospital at Camp Hamilton in Lexington, Kentucky, to tend to sick soldiers.

Sr. Nolasco McCollm kept a diary of the dismal conditions she and the other nuns encountered: "There were more than four hundred patients, most of them fever cases, lying in tents, some without flooring." The few male orderlies she saw seemed very ignorant of the cause of typhoid. She watched them carry bedpans out of the tents and dump their contents into a pit, dug near the camp's drinking water supply. "The bedpans were then reused without washing." It was not long before several sisters became exhausted and ill from their intense nursing tasks and labors, and after working around the clock

*List of Nurses sent to Chickamauga Park
August 21st 1898*

1	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
2	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
3	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
4	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
5	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
6	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
7	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
8	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
9	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
10	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
11	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
12	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
13	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
14	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
15	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
16	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
17	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
18	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
19	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
20	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
21	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
22	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
23	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
24	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
25	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
26	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
27	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
28	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
29	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville
30	Anna	Miss Anderson	Anderson St. Louisville

Above: Part of a list of nurses at Chickamauga Park.
Right: The nursing staff at Sternberg General Hospital at Chickamauga Park.



in the fever wards, Sr. Mary Elizabeth went on sick report with typhoid fever on September 30, 1898. She died on November 1 in the hospital, and her remains were sent to the motherhouse in a metal coffin. After her death, the other sisters wrote a poem about her, recalling: "The one who now doth rest in death! For God and country she hath died!"

DAR Members Volunteer; Memorials Honor Victims

Because the DAR was so active in helping with the selection of nurses, some of the women themselves wanted to volunteer. McGee pointed out, however, that "[v]ery few Daughters were trained nurses . . . perhaps as many as five did go as nurses." One of these Daughters—Reubena Hyde Walworth—died in service. Walworth, a member of New York's Saratoga Chapter, graduated from Vassar College in 1896 and started teaching school. When war with Spain seemed imminent, she wanted to help her country's cause and took up "some training" as a nurse at Saratoga Hospital so she could qualify for war work.

After Walworth volunteered, she nursed wounded troops at Montauk Point on Long Island. The Army had established a quarantine station there through which all troops returning from Cuba had to pass. The work of preparing the camp had barely begun when troops began to arrive on August 7. Within 48 hours, nearly 4,300 men arrived, and the nurses were kept busy day and night. One contract nurse, Kate M. Walsh, observed: "On arriving at the hospital, we were taken to our sleeping tents, which were of canvas. The weather was 90 degrees in the shade. . . . Nurses kept getting sick and some had to be sent away, some dying. . . . Each night, I would feel that I could not stand another day. . . . The heat was intense and I perspired freely from long hours of over work, heat and flies, together with my anguish that our dear sick men were not half cared for."

When the camp prepared to close in the late fall, as the worst of the typhoid epidemic was over, Walworth showed signs of the fever herself, although she had rallied the last of her energy to help close the camp's hospital. She was taken to her mother's home in New York City and later to the Presbyterian Hospital, but she died on October 18, 1898, at the age of 31. Her remains were removed to Saratoga, where she was given a full military funeral, and she "was laid to rest draped in the flag of our nation." An inscription on her

tomb, which was erected by the DAR, read: "She served her flag—not as a man, but better still: as only woman can."

DAR sponsors memorialized the death of Clara Hannah Ward of Syracuse, New York. She graduated from Syracuse Hospital for Women and Children and stated that she had "worked continuously since graduation." She signed a contract for the usual \$30 as nurse, reported August 10 at the General Hospital in Fort Myer, Virginia, and remained there through most of October. Ward died on October 28 of typhoid fever after being sent home for treatment. A note appended to her Army Personal Data card testified to her "moral character—her qualifications as an experienced surgical nurse, and her ability to act in any emergency." A few years after her death, the DAR Onondaga Chapter of Syracuse, New York, placed a tablet in Syracuse Hospital "to commemorate the patriotic service of Clara Ward who graduated from this hospital in 1896."

Foreign-Born Nurses Volunteer for Duty

Women from several countries offered their nursing skills during the war, and four of them died in service.

Margaret Nester Tricoche (also referred to as Margaret Nestler Trescacha) was born in



A view inside a section of the Sternberg General Hospital, undated.

Versailles, France, into a patriotic and well-educated family. Her father was a retired major-general in the French army, and her grandfather had been a professor at the Strasbourg Medical School. She wanted to go to medical school but could not, and when the family moved to America, she pursued a nursing career.

Tricoche was still enrolled in nursing school at the New York Infirmary when the Spanish-American War broke out. She completed the term, and when her application was supported by the DAR, she volunteered as a contract nurse. On September 17, she reported for duty at Camp Shipp in Anniston, Alabama—a camp that had been established for only two weeks.

She was immediately detailed to work in the typhoid wards. "Women nurses were much needed here," she wrote in her diary, "owing to the scarcity of trained orderlies." She came down with typhoid fever on September 19 and was sent home on October

19. She died in the New York Infirmary on November 11 and was buried in her nurse's uniform.

Three other volunteers who lost their lives came from Canada, Scotland, and England. Canadian Dorothy Phinney (also referred to as Dorothea) was also the only Red Cross nurse as well as one of two women who died from malaria. She left her home town of Richibucto in New Brunswick, Canada, in July 1895 to train as a nurse at the General Hospital Training School in Lowell, Massachusetts, and at Sloane Maternity in New York City. After completing her training, she served as a head nurse for eight months in the Kings County Hospital in nearby Brooklyn.

When the Spanish-American War broke out, Phinney decided she needed to do something for the war effort. Although she had a heart lesion and felt she did not have long to live, she said: "I want to do all the good I can." After the Red Cross accepted

her services, Phinney went to Tampa and nursed soldiers there for four weeks before moving to Leiter Hospital at Chickamauga. "It's fearful work," she wrote to the doctors and nurses at the Kings County Hospital, "and the heat is killing. But one can stand a whole lot for one's country, and I guess I will be able to pull through."

Unfortunately, Phinney contracted malaria and died on August 9, 1898. She was buried in the Richibucto Protestant Cemetery, and one newspaper account noted that Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, wrote her eulogy. A stone marker emblazoned with both the American and British flags was placed on her grave.

Margaret Greenfield was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1872. She was 26 when she signed her nursing contract on August 22, 1898, and she was detailed to Sternberg General Hospital at Chickamauga Park. A devastating epidemic of typhoid fever made conditions there just as extreme as at Mon-



Namahyoke Curtis was instrumental in recruiting nurses immune to yellow fever, many from the southern states and many of them described as "colored."

tauk Point. Two nurses observed that "every one of the nurses had contracted dysentery and under these fearfully unsanitary conditions, consider how inevitable it was that the majority of the nurses left the Sternberg Hospital Service with an intestinal condition which soon became chronic until the end of their lives." Greenfield remained at the hospital from September 19 to October 12, when she went on sick leave with typhoid fever. She died less than a week later on October 17.

Alice Roberts, born in Liverpool, England, remarked that she was "strong and healthy" when she signed her nursing contract in July 1898. She reported immediately to the General Hospital at Fort McPherson, Georgia, where she remained until April 1, 1899. She signed a new contract on May 31 and then left for duty at the Presidio's General Hospital in San Francisco. Her contract was annulled at own request on October 16 because of illness. A note attached to her Personal Data card stated that "she has a severe cold and bronchitis," and by December, her "health [was] in critical state." She passed away on January 16, 1900, in Iowa at the age of 34 and was buried in Woodland Cemetery in Des Moines.

Immune to Yellow Fever But Still at Risk

In addition to finding contract nurses, Surgeon General Sternberg wanted women nurses who were immune to yellow fever to treat sick soldiers in the camps. Namahyoke Curtis recruited the majority of these nurses, mainly from the southern states and many of them described as "colored." Curtis was certainly up for the job as she herself was under contract to the Army as an immune nurse and was married to Dr. Austin Curtis, superintendent of the Freedman's Hospital in Washington, D.C.

In July and August 1898, most of the immune women went to Santiago, Cuba, in the worst of the epidemics. Two of the volunteers became ill there. Minerva O. Turnbull, who was born about 1873, was listed as a "colored" nurse from New Orleans. She reported at Hospital Santiago de Cuba on August 7 and worked there until September 23, when her contract was annulled "on account of ill health." A note on her Personal Data card states that she died on September 28, 1898, on the train at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, from typhoid fever contracted while in service. Isabella R. Bradford, also from New Orleans, was referred to as a "white immune nurse" and also served at Santiago de Cuba. She died on August 26, a week before Turnbull.

Other Women Who Became Ill Abroad and Died

While other volunteers also became ill in Cuba, Ellen May Tower was the only nurse besides Sr. Mary Larkin who died in Puerto Rico. Tower was born in Byron, Michigan, and completed her nurse's training at Grace Hospital in Detroit in January of 1894.

When the United States declared war on Spain, Tower became the first nurse to volunteer. One of the doctors who examined her prior to her service noted that he found her "a fine subject physically and professionally for a nurse." Tower's first assignment was the General Hospital at Camp Wikoff, but after the hospital was closed, she was sent to San

Juan, Puerto Rico. She went on sick report on November 30, 1898, because of typhoid fever and never recovered. She died on December 9.

More than a month later, her body was brought back to Byron, and Tower was honored with a military funeral—the first woman in Michigan so honored.

Surgeon General Sternberg wanted women nurses who were immune to yellow fever to treat sick soldiers in the camps.

Dr. Irene S. Toland could not volunteer as an Army surgeon because of the constraints of the time, so she became a contract nurse instead. She was born in Artesia, Mississippi, but grew up in Texas. She started to train as a nurse but left to study medicine at the American Medical College in St. Louis, Missouri, where she graduated in 1894.

When war was imminent, Toland, age 41, volunteered her service, although it was difficult to leave behind both her thriving practice and her teaching duties at her alma mater. When a few well-meaning friends tried to change her mind, she countered, "My country needs me and I have made up my mind to answer the call." Because she had had yellow fever as a child, she felt she was immune. She also believed that her ability to speak Spanish was another asset that the Army could use in Cuba.

Toland signed her contract on July 25, 1898, and sailed from New York the same day for Santiago, Cuba. She was made acting chief nurse on the hospital ship *Reina de Los Angeles*. By the end of the month, however, she was taken ill with typhoid fever, and she died aboard the ship on September 27.

A note on her Personal Data card written by an Army contract surgeon stated: "She worked hard, early and late, always ready and willing to



HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC AND
EIGHTH ARMY CORPS,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF SURGEON

Manila, P. I., March 30th., 1900.

~~CONFIDENTIAL.~~

To

The Surgeon General of the Army,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

I have the honor to transmit papers in the case of Contract Nurse Clara L. Maass, who sails April 1st., on the Transport "Sherman" under orders to report to you by letter, after arrival at her home, for annulment of contract.

After the formal request from this nurse for annulment of contract was received at this office, it came to my notice through civilians not connected with the Army in any way, that she had been charged with immorality, and was subsequently forced by the Chief Nurse to ask for annulment of contract: Believing that an official attempt to keep from higher authority a knowledge of so serious an offence as this, was subverse of discipline and might eventually lead to a public scandal, I called on the Commanding Officer of the Hospital for an official report which should be confidential and not of public record; his reply is enclosed.

I am now looking into the matter and will report at a later date the result of my inspection.

I deem it proper to say that in view of the facts in the case, and of other matters connected with the general conduct and discipline of the Contract Nurses, I gave orders that hereafter all com-

administer to the wants of others. . . . She played her part in life well and nobly, and sacrificed it that others might live, and I might add, that through her noble efforts many did live. She died loved by all who knew her, for her zeal and true moral worth, as well as her skill." About a year after her death, friends helped establish the Irene Toland School for girls in the provincial capital of Matanzas, Cuba, in her honor. She is buried in Chappell Hill, Texas.

Lulu Maria Plant, an 1893 graduate of Boston City Hospital, was 33 years old when she volunteered as a contract nurse. In June 1898, Plant started work at the Navy Hospital in Norfolk, Virginia, where she remained until September 16.

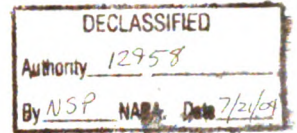
Toward the end of September, Plant signed on as a contract nurse and reported at the Second Division Hospital at Camp Poland in Knoxville, Tennessee. Shortly after Christmas, she sailed to Cienfuegos, Cuba. A nurse serving with her later noted in the October 1899 *Trained Nurse and Hospital Review*: [D]espite the fact that "she took great pains to appear well, it was clear to the other nurses with her that she was very ill and might even die." On April 26 she was placed aboard the ship *Sedgwick* so she could be sent to the States to recover. At the General Hospital in Savannah, Georgia, she received "treatment for acute purulent osteomyelitis and pyre-

Left: Clara Louise Maass is well known for her death as a volunteer in yellow fever experiments. She first served as a nurse at Camp Columbia, in Havana, and then in Manila in the Philippines until the end of March 1900, where her contract was annulled for alleged "immorality." Above: The chief surgeon wrote on March 30, 1900, that her behavior was "subverse of discipline" and might lead to a public scandal.

mia," and died there on May 9. Her remains were shipped to Taunton, Massachusetts. Remarks on her Personal Data card were not flattering to her professional training or her true character: "Scarcity of good nature or philosophy to meet exigencies of soldiering."

Anna H. Campos was born in 1859 and

lived in New Jersey with her parents. It is not known when she married her husband, Carlos Campos, who was a native of Cuba, but the couple had a son whom they also named Carlos. While we do not know why she volunteered, it is likely that the pay of 30 dollars a month was an inducement, as she stated that



she had been working as a dressmaker and had no hospital experience.

Campos was 36 years old when she signed her nursing contract on July 25, 1898, and she reported that she had “always been healthy.” She also noted that she was a widow. Campos was assigned to the General Hospital in Santiago, Cuba, and by November 4 she was listed as a head nurse. There are conflicting reports about her abilities noted on her Personal Data card. A comment made in January 1899 said she was a “[g]ood, practical, intelligent woman, but lacks professional skill,” and her health was rated as “poor.” In March another comment noted: “Poor, untrained nurse. Inclined to interfere with physicians, obeying such orders as suited her pleasure. Sickly. On sick report more than half the time.”

On March 3, however, Campos had her contract annulled at own request. She died on September 2, 1899, in Santiago of malarial dysentery. Her mother believed her daughter annulled her contract “because she had contracted so much of malaria in her system by exposure and overwork.” At the same time, however, it was alleged that Campos had been living with a hospital steward during her illness. McGee conducted an informal investigation, but since

“the matter was kept quiet and no scandal resulted,” the chief surgeon felt there should be “no official criticism.” Satisfied with the outcome, McGee wrote back to Mrs. Long and asked if the family wished burial at Arlington Cemetery. Mrs. Long replied, “Carlos, her son, is very anxious to have his mama placed in Arlington.” Campos was later buried in the National Cemetery, and a plaque was also presented by the Detachment of Co. D., Fifth U.S. Infantry Hospital Corps, U.S. Army and Pack Train, U.S. Army in appreciation of her services in the Spanish-American War.

Clara Maass: Scandal And Personal Sacrifice

Clara Maass is perhaps one of the most well known of the deceased war nurses because she died after volunteering for yellow fever experiments.

Maass was born in East Orange, New Jersey, the first of nine children born to poor German immigrants. On October 1, 1898, when she was 22, Maass volunteered as a contract nurse and noted that she had worked continuously as a nurse since graduation. She served first in Jacksonville, Florida, then in Savannah, Georgia. In January 1899 she left Savannah and reported to the First Division Hospital, Camp Columbia, Havana, Cuba, where she remained until the end of the month, sailed home, and had her contract annulled honorably.

Maass was reappointed on November 20, 1899, for duty in Manila in the Philippines and worked at the First Reserve Hospital there from January 5, 1900, until the end of March. On March 29 she was ordered to the United States for annulment of contract “for cause.” A note appended to her Personal Data card says: “See confidential letters.”

Some writers report that Maass was sent home because she was gravely ill in Manila. Her Personal Data card does not indicate that she reported for sick duty, although she may well have been sick during this time.

Nurses were subject to greater scrutiny than men when it came to matters regarding their character and military behavior.

It was rare for a nurse to be dismissed “for cause,” but nurses were subject to greater scrutiny than men when it came to matters regarding their character and military behavior. The major and surgeon at the Manila hospital offered this explanation to the chief surgeon of the Department of the Pacific and Eighth Army Corps: “If Miss Maas [*sic*] is not married she should have her contract annulled—She confided to the room-mate, Miss Rose Kane, that she was pregnant and said she would have an abortion produced. This she procured through the help of another nurse three days ago and now she is boasting that no one can prove it, which is probably true. This is why Miss McCloud [chief nurse] compelled her to ask for an annulment of contract, but now that the abortion has been had she is attempting to contradict Miss Kane and force Miss McCloud to resign her position.”

On March 30, the surgeon general of the Army was informed by letter that Nurse Maass was under orders to report to him for annulment of contract: “it came to my notice through civilians not connected with the Army in any way, that she had been charged with immorality, and was subsequently forced by the Chief Nurse to ask for annulment of contract: Believing that an official attempt to keep from higher authority a knowledge of so serious an offence as this, was subverse [*sic*] of discipline and might eventually lead to a public scandal, I called on the Commanding Officer of the Hospital for an official report which should be confidential and not of public record.”



To learn more about

- The work of sister nurses in the Spanish American War, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/fall/band-of-angels-1.html.
- The legacy of soldiers, sailors, and marines on the USS *Maine*, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/spring/spanish-american-war-1.html.
- The activities of the First Marine Battalion in the Spanish American War, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/spring/spanish-american-war-marines-1.html.

On May 3, the surgeon general replied: "it is suggested that nurses concerning whom there is unpleasant gossip should be ordered home at the earliest opportunity. It is important that there should be no talk of this kind in regard to the Army Nurses in the Philippines. It is believed that the confederate of Miss Maass, referred to in Major Hall's letter of March 23, should also be sent home at once, if this has not already been done."

In October 1900 Maass took a post as a civilian at the Las Animas Hospital in Cuba since she wanted to continue nursing. When she learned of the experiments to find an immunization against yellow fever, she volunteered. She wrote to her widowed mother that she would send her the 100 dollars she was going to be paid for being a volunteer so it could be used to "pay immediate debts and enable Sophia [her younger sister] to come to Cuba," where she could get a position as a nurse at 50 dollars a month. She also confided that she was planning to marry a New York businessman when she returned home.

But Maass never made it back to the States. On June 4, 1901, she was bitten, taken ill, and had a slight case of the fever. On August 14 she was bitten again as doctors doubted that a mild case created immunity. This time she developed a severe case of yellow fever and died on August 24—the only woman to have participated in the program and the last such experiment made. She was buried in Cuba, but her body was later returned home and interred in Fairmount Cemetery in Newark, New Jersey, in February 1902. Maass was not a member of the United States military at the time she took part in the experiments, but "because of the unusual nature of the case, the United States government recognized her sacrifice by granting a pension to her mother" as noted in a report issued by the Committee on Pensions of the House of Representatives. The pension order referred to her as the "*late hospital nurse*," in a sense obliterating the shadow over her earlier dismissal.



Some Spanish-American War nurses are buried at Arlington National Cemetery, where a large granite marker commemorates the service of all nurses who died in service with the inscription: "In memory of the women who gave their lives as army nurses in 1898."

Deaths After the War Still Tied to Service

There is scanty evidence regarding the deaths of the next four women. McGee announced the loss of the two "army nurses," Lucretia M. Bailey and Emma Cameron, but provided no details. Another report noted simply that Bailey "came from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and served as a nurse at Sternberg at Chickamauga, Georgia." The same report stated that Emma Cameron also came from Philadelphia and served at the general hospital at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Both nurses died within weeks of each other: Cameron on June 16, 1900, and Bailey sometime in July.

Dorothy Helen Cochrane of Howard Lake, Minnesota, served as a nurse in the Philippines. She contracted dengue fever and died on August 12, 1900, and was buried in a little cemetery at Iloilo, in the Philippine Islands. The *Times Democrat* newspaper of Lima, Ohio, wrote in February 1901:

At the funeral, every officer of the Twenty-sixth volunteers and every enlisted man that could be spared from his duties was present. . . . The body

was wrapped in the Stars and Stripes, and at the close of a stormy day it was laid away amid the gloom. A platoon fired three volleys over the grave and the Infantry bugles wailed out "taps" the soldiers' farewell to earth. The regimental band played "Abide with Me," and the brave young girl was left alone with those for whom she had labored in vain.

Katherine Stansberry indicated that her residence was in Chicago, but she completed nurse's training at the Indianapolis Training School for Nurses in 1889. She signed on as a contract nurse in September 1898, and less than a week later, she reported to the Third Division Hospital, Camp Cuba Libre, in Jacksonville, Florida. She was hospitalized with typhoid fever on November 2 and passed away on November 21 at the age of 31. Her remains were sent to Indianapolis, where she was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery. A note on her Personal Data card states: She was "a fine nurse and a noble woman."

Daisy Watling: Pension Denied

More women than is commonly recognized probably became sick, and even died, as a result of volunteering in the Spanish-American War; it is difficult to get exact numbers for those who died after leaving the service.

Daisy was born in Minneapolis and lived in St. Paul until her family moved to St. Louis a few years before the outbreak of war. One unidentified newspaper account contained in her pension record described her as "a quiet and unpretending young woman of about 20, average in stature and of the blond German type. She seems heedless of the dangers and indifferent to the hardships of her profession and is eager to enter the work of military nursing."

She began work as a contract nurse on September 10, 1898, and her Army record shows that "she was strong and healthy at entry into service, with no tendency to dis-

ease." Watling was sent to Jacksonville, Florida, and Savannah, Georgia, and then was transferred to Anniston, Alabama, where she remained until the annulment of her contract on March 4, 1899. Her health had been reported as "fair" in December 1898, but it deteriorated to "poor" in January 1899, after she got a severe cold. By February 3 she began a 20-day sick leave of absence and returned home to St. Louis.

Watling's health did not improve, and she was diagnosed with consumption. When told she must leave St. Louis if she wanted to live three months, she moved to Washington State. As she continued to decline, she filed for a pension, claiming that exhaustion stemming from her duties as a nurse had broken her health. As a result, she was "totally unable to maintain herself by any kind of labor on account of disease of lungs and heart."

The Pension Board rejected Watling's application on the grounds that she had not complied with correct procedures. She had not signed the application in the presence of two witnesses, and she was directed to reapply.

But the case dragged on because the only law granting rights to Army nurses (August 3, 1892) made no provision for nurses who served in any war other than the Civil War. On February 21, 1901, her congressman wrote to the Pension Board, stating "that this lady is dying of consumption contracted while in line of duty" and if anything was to be done in the matter, "it should be done at once." Watling died a year later on February 3, 1902, of tuberculosis at the age of 26. Her claim was rejected, although her congressman refiled on April 4, 1903. She is buried in the Grand Army of the Republic Cemetery, Seattle, Washington.

* * *

Women's acceptance as military nurses was a long and painful process dating back to the Civil War. By the start of the Spanish-American War, women were still volun-

teers, but they were now trained nurses and proved once again that the services of female nurses were superior to those of unmotivated enlisted men.

Still, their efforts came at great cost as they were subject to the same or similar living conditions as the soldiers they tended. Thus, they often became victims themselves,

contracting the same diseases and sometimes even dying. No one could speak to the record of these valiant women better, perhaps, than Clara Barton, who once offered this toast: "To the women who went to the field . . . your cheers for her, comrades! Three cheers for her now!" **P**

© 2014 by Mercedes Graf

NOTE ON SOURCES

The remains of some of these Spanish-American War nurses are buried in Section 21 of Arlington National Cemetery, where a large granite marker, which was erected at the site by the Society of Spanish-American War Nurses, stands with the inscription: "In memory of the women who gave their lives as army nurses in 1898."

Several archival sources are housed at the National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C., regarding contract nurses. Personal Data Cards of Spanish-American War Contract Nurses, 1898–1939 (Records of the Office of the Surgeon General [Army], Record Group [RG] 112, entry 149), contain identifying information such as birthdate, height, weight, nursing school, and marital status. These records sometimes include a history of service with the Army and sometimes cross references to files found in the SGO Doc File (RG 112, entry 26).

For random correspondence regarding various nurses, see Case Files of Candidates Seeking Appointments as Army Nurses, 1898–1917 (RG 112, entry 104); for instance, information on Ellen May Tower's sick report and cause of death and Dr. Irene S. Toland's notes regarding her qualifications.

General information regarding nurses (for example, the number of sisters/nuns and their names) are reported in "Memorandum for the Secretary of War, June 14, 1912," Historical Files of the Army Nurse Corps 1898–1947, entry 103, box 3, RG 112, NAB. "Untitled Manuscript by Anita Newcomb McGee" p. 25 (probably intended as a history of the Army Nurse Corps) is in Anita Newcomb McGee Correspondence/Office Files, entry 230, box 1, RG 112, NAB.

For general information on nurse applicants, see "Testimony of Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee," Conduct of the War Department with Spain, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 725.

For pension information regarding Daisy V. Watling, see Watling's Invalid Pension #1256369. For Clara Maass's pension, see "Pension for Hedwig A. Maass, mother of Clara L. Maass" in Report of the Committee on Pensions

of the House of Representatives, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 1865, dated March 23, 1904 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904).

For information on DAR applicants and assignments, see the *Second Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1897–October 11, 1898* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 87, 236; and *Third Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1898–October 11, 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901).

Information on Sisters of Charity is located at the Daughters of Charity Archives, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

For general information on typhoid, see Walter Reed, V. C. Vaughan, and E. O. Shakespeare, *Report on the Origin and Spread of Typhoid Fever in U.S. Military Camps during the Spanish War of 1898*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 246.

There are many works on Clara L. Maass, but the most notable are Ruth N. Knollmueller, "Historical Perspective: Clara Louise Maass," *Public Health Nursing*, vol. 2, no. 3 (September 1985): 178–179; Eleanor Krohn Herrmann, "Clara Louise Maass: Heroine or Martyr of Public Health?" *Public Health Nursing*, vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1985): 51–52; and John T. Cunningham, *Clara Maass, a Nurse, a Hospital, a Spirit* (Belleville, NY, 1968). Official correspondence regarding her service and break is in Case Files of Applicants, entry 104, Box 502 and in Historical Files, entry 103, box 3, RG 112, NAB.

Author



Mercedes Graf is the author of several articles and books on nurses and women physicians in war, including *Quarantine: The Story of Typhoid Mary. A Woman of Honor: Dr. Mary E. Walker and the Civil War, On the Field of Mercy: Women Medical Volunteers from the Civil War to the First World War, Women Doctors in War* (with co-author Judith Bellafaire), and *To Heal and To Serve: Women Army Doctors in World War Two* (2014).

Be a part of the Foundation's mission to inspire citizens to explore the past and cultivate a deeper understanding of their civic history and civic responsibility. Members of the Foundation for the National Archives help fund cutting-edge exhibits, interactive educational activities, and high-profile public programs.

Join today! www.archivesfoundation.org/membership

PATRON: \$60

- Complimentary subscription to *Prologue*
- Membership card authorizing priority admission to the National Archives Museum through the Special Events entrance
- Advance notice of upcoming programs and activities through the monthly Calendar of Events
- 10-percent discount year-round, plus additional seasonal discounts, at the myArchives Store in Washington, DC, and online at myarchivesstore.org.
- Invitations to members-only tours and events
- National recognition in the Foundation's Annual Report and on the website

FAMILY: \$100

All benefits of the Patron level membership, plus:

- A copy of an educational family publication
- Advance notice of family programs and activities at the National Archives Museum
- Opportunity for you and your children to enroll in members-only activity days in the Boeing Learning Center at the National Archives

BENEFACTOR: \$250

All benefits of the Patron level membership, plus:

- National Archives box for archival storage
- Invitations to exhibition openings
- Reproduction of a significant historical document selected by the Foundation

GUARDIAN: \$500

All benefits of the Benefactor level membership, plus:

- Catalog from a National Archives Museum exhibition
- Invitations to special receptions prior to exhibition openings

FOUNDER: \$1,000

All benefits of the Guardian level membership, plus:

- Signed copy of a book related to programs and exhibitions at the National Archives Museum
- Invitations to a July 4th breakfast and priority seating for ceremonial reading of the Declaration of Independence and viewing of the National Independence Day Parade
- Personalized guided tours of the National Archives Museum

SCHOLAR: \$2,500

All benefits of the Founder level membership, plus:

- Opportunity to attend a private dinner with members of the Board of Directors of the Foundation for the National Archives and National Archives leadership

YOUNG FOUNDERS SOCIETY

Open to young professionals in their 20s-40s. To receive benefits of the Young Founders Society, add \$50 to your choice of membership, or join at the \$50 introductory rate. Receive invitations to special Young Founders Society programs and events, networking opportunities with young professionals in Washington, DC and email updates on upcoming programs and events.

For more information contact the membership office at 202-357-5946 or members@archivesfoundation.org.

FOUNDATION FOR THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

700 Pennsylvania Ave, NW Room G-12 | Washington, DC 20408

Digitized by Google

"P.S.: YOU HAD BETTER REMOVE THE RECORDS"

Early Federal Archives and the Burning of Washington during the War of 1812

BY JESSIE KRATZ

When British troops began to advance toward the United States' new capital of Washington in the summer of 1814, it was clear that government leaders had not prepared an adequate defense for the city and its government buildings.

The British navy already had control of nearby Chesapeake Bay and some 4,500 troops in the port town of Benedict, Maryland—poised for an attack on the capital.

Despite the show of force, the secretary of war, John Armstrong, was convinced the British were more interested in the port of Baltimore than in Washington, which then had only 8,200 residents.

Secretary of State James Monroe felt differently and met with President James Madison to discuss the enemy's intentions. Then Monroe himself rode by horse, accompanied by cavalry, into southern Maryland to scout the situation.

Upon seeing the British advancing toward Washington, Monroe dispatched a note to President Madison. It said that the British were pushing toward the capital, American troops were retreating—and they were outnumbered.

"The enemy are in full march for Washington. Have the materials prepared to destroy the bridges," Monroe wrote. And in a significant postscript, he added: "You had better remove the records."

Monroe's message set off a scramble among government officials to round up all the records they could. The British surely would burn them if they reached the capital.

And so clerks packed such things as the books and papers of the State Department; unpublished secret journals of Congress; George Washington's commission and correspondence; the Articles of Confederation; papers of the Continental Congress; and all the treaties, laws, and correspondence dating back to 1789.

Along with these early records, the clerks also bagged up the Charters of Freedom—the collective term for the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. And so these three documents began a long journey as the War of 1812 raged.

The journey would not end until 1952, when all three were placed together, side by side, in special encasements in the Rotunda of the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C.

Early Federal Papers Faced Many Moves, Poor Storage

Each year, millions of people visit the National Archives Building to view the Charters of Freedom in the Rotunda. Within the Archives' vaults and stacks, millions of other federal records are safely stored, ensuring they will be available to researchers for years to come.

This was not always the case.

Andrew Ellicott's 1794 plan of the proposed location for the city of Washington.



Perpendicular height of the source of Tiber Creek } *F. I. P.⁵*
 above the level of the tide in said Creek } 256.7 ⁵/₈

Perpendicular height of the } *F. I. P.⁵*
 West branch above the tide } 115.7 ²/₈
 in Tiber Creek }



The water of this Creek may be conveyed
 on the high ground where the Capitol stands
 and after watering that part of the city may
 be destined to other useful purposes.

The perpendicular height of the ground
 where the Capitol is to stand is above
 the tide of Tiber Creek, 78 feet.

Lat. Capitol, 38.55. N

Long. 0. 0.

POTOMAC RIVER.

Capitol

EASTERN BRANCH.

Breadth of the S

THE grand Avenues and such Streets as
 public places are from 130 to 160 feet wide and me
 into foot ways walks of trees and a carriage way. The oth
 110 feet wide.

In order to execute this plan MR. ELLICOTT

Meridional line by celestial Observation which passes through the Ar
 Capitol this line he crossed by another due East and West which p
 same Area These lines were accurately measured and made the ba
 whole plan was executed. He ran all the lines by a Transit line or
 the Acute Angles by actual Measurement and left nothing

Poles
 inches



The Taking of the City of Washington by the British Forces under Major General Ross on August 24, 1814. Officials saved the nation's founding documents, but many congressional records, and archives of the Navy, War, and Treasury Departments were lost in fires.

Between the First Continental Congress in 1774 and the establishment of the National Archives in 1934, the government's records lacked a stable and secure storage environment. Early in the nation's history, federal records faced a number of potential calamities, including poor storage conditions, neglect, theft, and fire.

Perhaps the most striking example of the perilous conditions the Charters faced occurred two centuries ago during the War of 1812. The first Congress under the Constitution gave the responsibility to preserve records of the government to the new Department of State.

These early records included the papers of the old Department of Foreign Affairs; the papers of the Confederation and Continental Congresses; George Washington's papers as Commander of the Continental Army; and the Declaration of Independence and Constitution.

The First Congress also charged the Department of State with gathering and preserving many of the important records

the new federal government would create. At the same time, it left each federal department or court responsible for keeping its own archives. In doing so, Congress failed to create a consistent record-keeping policy or a central, safe place for storing the new government's records.

The Residence Act of 1790 created a new home for the federal government, in a yet-to-be-built city along the Potomac River on land donated by Maryland and Virginia. The act, however, scheduled the move to the new capital for 10 years later, in 1800, and forced federal clerks to pack official papers and move them from New York—the prior seat of government—to Philadelphia, the interim seat of government, then later to Washington.

The New Capital, Washington: No Better Place for Records

While in Philadelphia, the State Department moved to several locations around the city, as well as outside of the city to avoid recurring yellow fever epidemics. For each move out of Philadelphia, the department packed

up furniture, books, and papers—including, most likely, the Declaration, Constitution, and the Bill of Rights (newly passed in 1791)—shipped them up the Delaware River, and carted them to Trenton, New Jersey.

When the department moved back to Philadelphia, clerks took the reverse trip. They repeated this process three times, each time putting the nation's most precious historical records in jeopardy.

In May 1800, federal department heads began moving their offices and staffs to the new federal city: Washington. The government loaded its books and papers, including the archives and the Charters of Freedom, onto ships and transported them south to Washington. Unfortunately, the move did not immediately improve the safety and security of federal records.

Early transplants to Washington faced conditions unlike those in Philadelphia or New York City. Architect Pierre L'Enfant created a very ambitious plan for the new city, but by the time the government began moving in, his plan was not even close to being realized.



A 1792 plan for the City of Washington shows locations for the Capitol and the Presidents House and city boundaries. Congress had approved the site for the new seat of government in 1790.

In 1800 Washington bore little resemblance to a city, let alone the majestic seat of empire L'Enfant had envisioned. Many planned buildings remained under construction or altogether unbuilt. The city was barely equipped to house anyone, let alone the federal government and its archives.

Newly arriving government officials expressed their disappointment with the lack of amenities the new city offered.

One member of Congress described his surroundings as “both melancholy and ludicrous . . . a city in ruins.” Another Representative compared L'Enfant's plan with what he actually saw:

The Pennsylvania Avenue, leading, as laid down on paper, from the Capitol to the President's Mansion, was then nearly the whole distance a deep morass, covered with alder bushes, which were cut through the width of the intended avenue during the then ensuing winter.

By June 7, 1800, the Department of State and its archives, including the Charters, lacked a ded-

icated space. For the first few months, State and several other government offices shared the Treasury Department Building, east of the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue, NW.

Luckily, the State Department's move turned out to be very well timed. In January 1801 a fire destroyed a portion of the Treasury Department's records, including both current documents and historical records. Had State not moved out of Treasury's building, the nation's most important early records, including the Charters, likely would have burned.

Packing, Unpacking, Packing Again Around Washington

A few months later, the State Department briefly moved into a house on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 21st and 22nd Streets, NW. The following summer, they packed up their archives and the Charters and moved yet again—this time into a new building west of the Executive Mansion, on the site where the Old Executive Office Building now sits at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue, NW,

and 17th Street, NW. Again, the Department of State shared space with other government offices, including the Department of War and the Department of the Navy.

Though the numerous relocations did not require traveling great distances, conditions in Washington made any move difficult. In dry weather the dirt streets turned to dust bowls; in the rain the roads became rivers of mud.

Getting around Washington on foot or even carriage often became a nightmare—the city had few discernible roads, no street signs, and only a handful of buildings to serve as landmarks. These were not ideal, or even suitable, conditions for transporting and safekeeping the nation's most valuable documents.

With each move within the city, the archives faced the same problems as they had before arriving in Washington—the records had to be packed up and moved, then unpacked and stored again.

Government officials of the era knew that the nation's most precious documents endured inadequate storage conditions. In 1810, Congress investigated the condition of federal archives housed in public buildings.

During the investigation, Secretary of State Robert Smith reported on the “ancient records and papers” in his custody. He described how the records, which he deemed “highly important to the History of the United States,” were housed in trunks and boxes in the cramped attics in their building.

Smith acknowledged his department's inability to properly store the papers and pleaded with Congress to build a fireproof building, remove the papers from his custody, and “to employ a person to arrange the papers in proper order.”

After all departments reported on the condition of their archives, the committee acknowledged the records were in “a state of great disorder and exposure; and in a situation neither safe nor convenient nor honorable to the nation.” They further concluded records had been exposed to fire and robbery, dangers augmented by the lack of security and fireproofing.

No 2-7

There are but two gunboats in tow, and a few
 scattering militiamen.
 5 o'clock 30 or 40 barges are in view
 J. M.

Copy of a Letter from James Monroe to
 the President of the United States.

The enemy are advanced six miles on the
 road to the wood yard, and our troops are
 retiring. Our troops were on the march to
 meet them, but in too small a body to engage.
 General W. proposes to retire, till he can
 collect them in a body. The enemy are
 in full march for Washington. Have
 the materials prepared to destroy the
 bridges.

J. Monroe

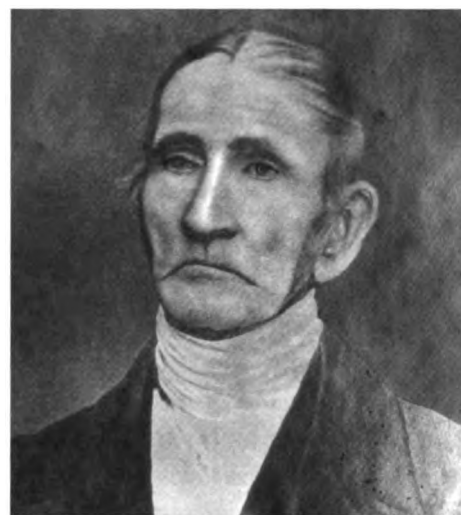
Monday 9 of lock

you had better remove the records
 J. M.

Secretary of State James Monroe observed British forces advancing toward Washington and wrote President James Madison on August 22, 1814, urging him to remove important government records from the city.



James Monroe's warnings that the British forces were marching toward Washington created panic in the city and a rush to save as many federal records as possible.



Stephen Pleasonton (above) and other State Department clerks rescued the Charters of Freedom stored at the department by storing them in coarse linen bags and carting them away.

Ultimately, rather than moving each department's archives to a safe, central place, later that year Congress appropriated funds to construct "as many fire proof rooms as shall be sufficient for the convenient deposit of all the public records of the United States belonging to, or in the custody of the State, War, and Navy Departments."

War of 1812 Poses New Threat To Records: Enemy Capture

With the onset of the War of 1812, the nation's early records faced yet another

threat: destruction by invading forces. At the time the war began, government officials had done little more to safeguard the nation's records and had not yet built the congressionally approved fireproof rooms.

In general, Washington, with a population of 8,200, remained very much a city in progress. The city still offered little in terms of infrastructure, culture, or commerce. Many government officials expressed a desire to move the capital once again, and these complaints came before the city faced a major setback late in the war.

In 1813, the British navy, in control of the Chesapeake Bay, destroyed American warships, burned government supplies, raided port towns, and halted coastal trade.

By the summer of 1814, with 4,500 British troops roughly 40 miles away in Benedict, Maryland, government officials began to take the threat seriously.

In August, Monroe himself visited the front lines, joining Gen. William Winder, whom Madison had recently appointed as commander of the defenses of Washington and Baltimore.

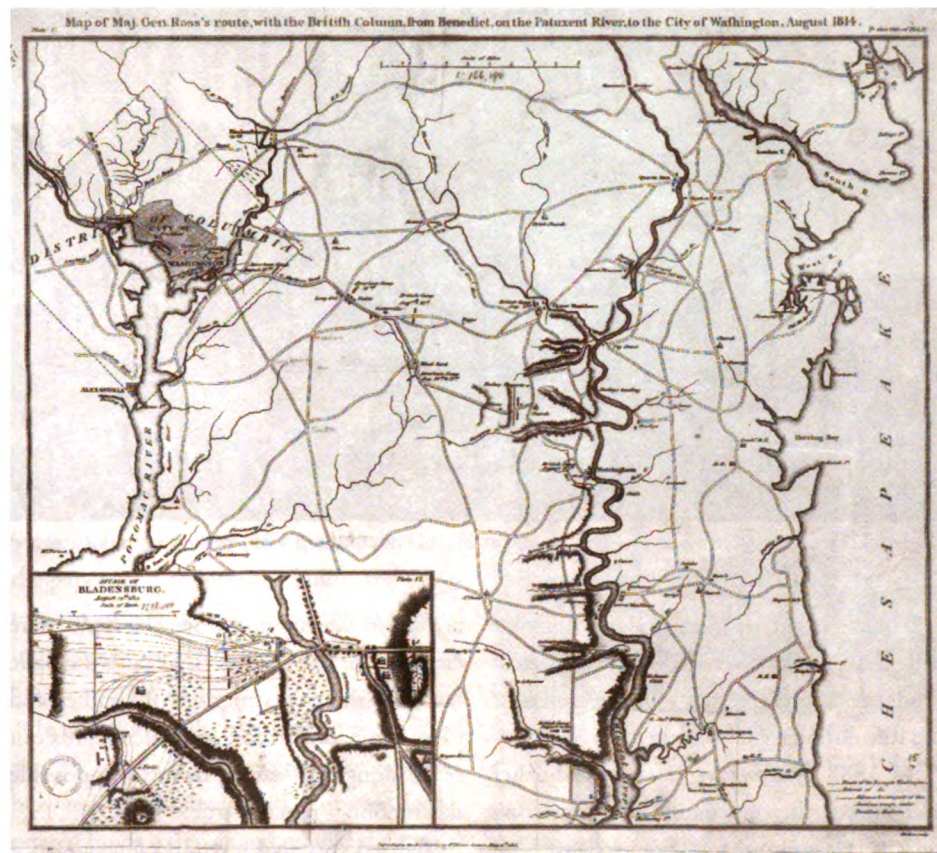
Once Monroe saw where the British were headed, he sent his warning to Madison and said the outnumbered American troops were retreating. Monroe's message sent the citizens of Washington into a frenzy. Local residents fled, taking with them the city's supply of horses, wagons, and carts.

Government agents trying to save as many federal records as possible scrambled to secure any remaining means of transport they could find. Some government clerks even tried using their official positions to impound carts and wagons, but they had little success in persuading residents who were busy removing their personal belongings.

Upon hearing of Monroe's message, State Department clerks John Graham, Stephen Pleasonton, and Josias King took it upon themselves to save the valuable archives—including the Charters of Freedom—stored at State. They bought coarse linen to make bags into which they stuffed the archives and loaded them into carts.

Recollections Years Later Help Tell Story of Records

Few contemporary accounts of the Charters' evacuation from Washington exist, and most of what is known about the events comes to us from recollections recorded years later.



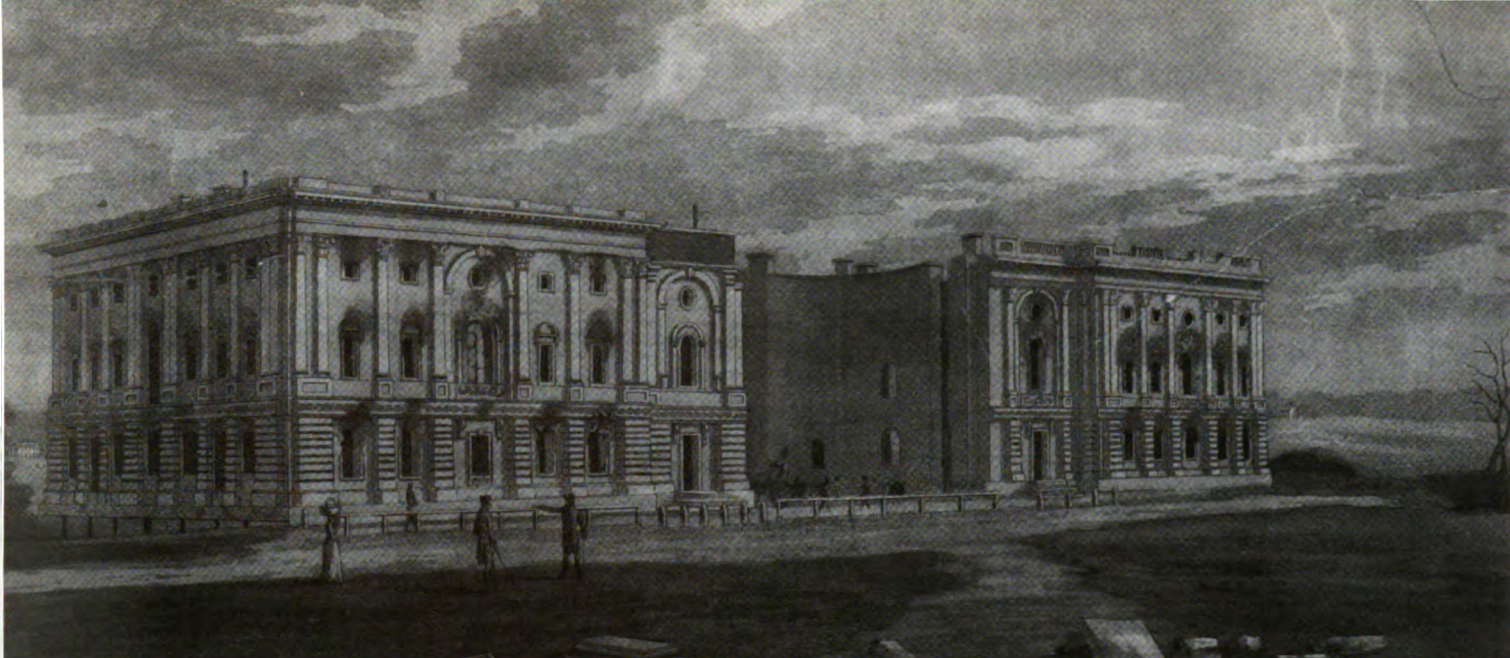
A map shows the route of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross's forces from Benedict, on the Patuxent River, to the City of Washington in August 1818.

Pleasanton recalled, in an account taken 34 years later, that while he transported the documents through a passageway, he ran into Secretary of War Armstrong, who

made a point to inform Pleasanton that he was being foolish because the British were not coming to Washington, so there was no reason for alarm.



A drawing portrays the destruction of Washington by the British, which included the unfinished Capitol, the Executive Mansion, and ships and ammunition at the Navy Yard.



A view of the Capitol after the destruction on August 24, 1814. It consisted solely of the North (Senate) and South (House) wings.

"I replied that we were under a different belief," Pleasanton recalled. "It was part of prudence to preserve the valuable papers of the Revolutionary Government."

An 1883 *Washington Post* article further dramatized the evacuation by reporting "just as [Pleasanton] was about to leave, and with the sound of the British artillery upon capitol hill upon his ears, he passed through the room of Secretary Monroe and saw there the Declaration of Independence and General Washington's first Commission, in frames. Knowing that these would be very valuable acquisitions to the British Museum, he broke the glass, removed them from their frame, rolled them up and mounting his horse, rode off."

It's a good story, but it is clearly embellished given that the British had not yet

arrived in Washington when the clerks were clearing out the records. That said, the basic fact that the clerks managed to gather and carry the nation's most valuable records out of Washington—saving them from possible destruction—remains true.

The clerks first took several document-loaded carts to a vacant gristmill on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, a few miles above Georgetown. The mill, however, sat near a foundry that made munitions for the war. Although the foundry was on the Maryland side of the Potomac, the clerks still feared it might bring the enemy too near their precious cargo.

Pleasanton recounted that he considered "the papers unsafe at the Mill, as, if the British forces got to Washington, they would probably detach a force for the purpose of destroying a foundry for canon and shot in its neighborhood, and would be led by some evil disposed person to destroy the Mill and papers."

They looked for another location.

The next day, August 24, 1814, the clerks obtained wagons from nearby farmers and moved the documents to Leesburg, Virginia, about 35 miles northwest of Washington. There, they locked the valuable documents into a cellar vault of an abandoned house and gave the keys to Leesburg's sheriff for safekeeping.

Congress's papers, lacking anyone with such prudence, were in greater jeopardy. Congressional records had not been transferred to the

Department of State and were still held in the Capitol. By the time the young clerks of the House and Senate offices took action, it was too late to rescue all of the records.

After finally obtaining a cart and oxen, House clerks Samuel Burch and J. T. Frost frantically moved House papers to a secret location in the country nine miles outside of the city. Senate clerk Lewis Machen took a wagonload of documents to his farm in Maryland's Prince George's County, which adjoins the District of Columbia. The following morning, his colleague, John McDonald, shepherded the documents to the town of Brookeville, Maryland, in northern Montgomery County.

In the chaos, the House and Senate clerks knew they had to leave valuable materials behind. Machen noted that he loaded what he considered the most valuable documents, including confidential papers, "one of which I knew to contain the number and positions of the entire American military force," and he believed the documents he loaded in the wagon constituted the only copy of the Senate's history over the past quarter century.

Burch and Frost also salvaged as many of the House's most important papers as they could, but in a letter to Congress they expressed their frustration that more could have been saved: "Everything belonging to the office might have been removed in time,



To learn more about

- The travels of the Charters of Freedom, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/winter/travels-charters.html.
- How the War of 1812 was fought in the South, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2013/spring/norfolk.pdf.
- How to use genealogical records from the War of 1812, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1991/winter/war-of-1812.html.

if carriages could have been procured; but it was altogether impossible to procure them, either for hire, or by force."

British Invade, Destroy Capitol, White House, Other Buildings.

While government clerks evacuated Washington, the British marched, unimpeded, into the city. They found Washington nearly abandoned. Congress had recessed for the summer, and President Madison, after a brief appearance at the front lines, had retreated to Virginia. Most other residents had fled to the countryside.

In the vacant city, British troops vandalized and set fire to the unfinished Capitol building—which consisted of just the North (Senate) and South (House) wings—the Library of Congress, and the Supreme Court. They then marched up Pennsylvania Avenue and burned and looted the Executive Mansion and the nearby government buildings. At the Navy Yard, they torched ships and ammunitions.

The next morning the city was still smoldering—both with fire and 100-degree temperatures. The British had largely spared private property, but a fierce storm had uprooted trees, leveled buildings, and flattened homes. Once the storm subsided, British forces retreated, satisfied the city was sufficiently devastated.

State Department historians credit Monroe, Pleasonton, and their colleagues for saving the nation's irreplaceable archives.

"Imagine," State Department Historian Gaillard Hunt wrote in 1914, "the indelible shame which would have followed if they had been less loyal and resourceful, and Cockburn and Ross [the British commanders] had carried away with them, as trophies of their exploit, the rolls of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States."

President Madison returned to a city in ruins. He lambasted the British forces for wantonly destroying "depositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations as con-

tributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science."

In addition to the loss of many congressional records, archives of the Navy, War, and Treasury Departments went up with the flames that destroyed their buildings.

However, the government had to carry on.

Madison occupied a house formerly occupied by the French minister and never again lived in the White House, staying in private residences for the rest of his term. Congress met in Blodgett's Hotel, one of the few public buildings to survive the British attack.

After spending a few weeks in Leesburg, State Department officials quietly returned the papers and archives, including the Charters, to Washington. The archives moved into a house on G Street, the Department of State's temporary office.

In addition to the extensive physical damage, the attack struck a great psychological blow to the still-growing city. Congress appropriated funds to repair and rebuild the Executive Mansion, the Capitol, and public offices on their present sites rather than start from scratch. To protect their real estate investments, private citizens and businessmen also raised money to temporarily house the government and reconstruct government offices.

Charters Move Around, Receive Little Special Care

Although the British occupation nearly destroyed the Charters of Freedom—and actually destroyed many valuable federal records—Congress did not include provisions for a centralized archives in its plans to rebuild the city.

Over the years, the Charters and other valuable historic documents continued to endure poor storage conditions, lack of suitable space, constant shuffling around the city, and a near-constant threat of fire.

Until 1841, the Department of State and its archives (including the Charters) moved to various locations around Washington. In that year, Secretary of State Daniel Webster transferred some the most valuable historical documents to the commissioner of patents, who



A Marine Honor Guard stands watch at the base of the Jefferson Memorial, where the original Declaration of Independence was placed to commemorate the bicentennial of Jefferson's birth on April 12, 1943.

had just moved into a fireproof building—the new U.S. Patent Office. This same building now holds the Smithsonian American Art Museum and National Portrait Gallery.

The Patent Office displayed the Declaration in a sunlit room for many years. Both the light and smoke from a nearby fireplace caused much of the damage and fading that today's visitors see.

The Declaration briefly moved to Philadelphia in 1876 for exhibit at the Centennial International Exhibition, and when it returned, the State Department hung it in its library until 1894. That year, State Department officials finally recognized its fragile and deteriorated condition and stowed it away in a steel safe. The two other charter documents—the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—had remained out of public display and therefore escaped similar deterioration.

In 1920, a committee appointed by the secretary of state reported that the department lacked sufficient space, security, or fireproofing to safely store the archives. It rec-

commended that some historical documents, including the Declaration and the Constitution be transferred to the Library of Congress.

The following year, the Librarian of Congress happily took over guardianship of the documents and in 1924 placed the Constitution and Declaration of Independence on public display.

Ten years later, Congress created the National Archives to house the federal government's permanently valuable records. The Archives immediately began identifying and locating federal records in storage in various locations in Washington and around the country.

Staff found records in basements, attics, carriage houses, and abandoned buildings. The records had suffered from neglect, vermin, and theft as a result of being housed in unsuitable and unsupervised storage areas.

Even some of the nation's most important documents such as the Bill of Rights were stored in potentially hazardous conditions. The Bill of Rights was not transferred to the Library of Congress with the Declaration and Constitution; it remained with the Department of State in the Old Executive Office Building.

A 1936 *Washington Post* article reported that the Bill of Rights was kept in a "khaki-bound cardboard folder sitting upward with other early papers . . . in an uninspiring green steel cabinet. . . . It would take no expert cracksman to open the cabinet. It could almost be done with a can-opener. Most of the time it is left unguarded."

In 1938 the Department of State transferred the Bill of Rights and the bulk of the historical records in its custody to the National Archives.

The newly appointed Archivist of the United States, R.D.W. Connor, believed that America's other founding documents, including the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and papers of the Confederation Congresses, would also be sent to the new National Archives. In fact, the building's 75-foot-high rotunda was designed specifically to display the Declaration and the Constitution.

Even so, for many years the Librarian of Congress refused to relinquish the documents.

No Permanent Home for Charters Until 1952 at the National Archives

More than a century after the War of 1812, while World War II swept through Europe, the Librarian of Congress made plans to evacuate the priceless documents out of Washington as a precautionary measure. He ordered the Declaration and the Constitution, along with other historically valuable records, sent to the United States Bullion Depository, better known as Fort Knox, Kentucky. The documents remained there for most of the war. (The Declaration was brought back to Washington for a week in 1943 and displayed during the bicentennial of Thomas Jefferson's birth.)

By the 1950s, the Archives had lost patience with its empty shrine to the founding documents.

President Harry Truman's remarks during a Constitution Day ceremony at the Library of Congress opened the door for the Archives to make its move: "I hope that these first 10 amendments will be . . . sealed up and placed alongside the original document."

Archivist Wayne Grover entered secret negotiations with the Librarian of Congress to acquire the Declaration, the Constitution, and papers of the Continental and Confederation Congresses.

In 1952, with great fanfare, the Librarian of Congress agreed to transfer these records to the National Archives. When the Constitution and Declaration arrived on December 13, they joined the Bill of Rights for permanent display in the National Archives Exhibition Hall.

During the dedication ceremony, President Truman observed: "The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are now assembled in one place for display and safekeeping. Here, so far as is humanly possible, they will be protected from disaster and from the ravages of time."

During the renovation of the National Archives Building between 2001 and 2003,

the Charters of Freedom underwent conservation treatment and were sealed in new state-of-the-art encasements.

With the exception of the 2001–2003 period, the three documents have been on continuous display in the Rotunda as a highlight for millions of tourists, school children, and other visitors each year. While some visitors comment on their faded text, it is perhaps more appropriate to marvel at how they have survived their long journey to the Archives. ■

NOTE ON SOURCES

Primary sources consulted include: Records of the Department of State (Record Group 59), Records of the National Archives (RG 64), Records of the U.S. House of Representatives (RG 233), American State Papers, United States Congressional Serial Set, U.S. Statutes at Large, Annals of Congress, *Washington National Intelligencer*, *Washington Evening Star*, *Washington Post*, The American Presidency Project, and Founders Online (www.founders.archives.gov).

For a summary of the burning of Washington, see Anthony Pitch, *The Burning of Washington: The British Invasion of 1814* (Naval Institute Press, 1998). For the early history of the Department of State see Gaillard Hunt, *The Department of State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1914), and *The Buildings of the Department of State* (Department of State Publication 89, Department and Foreign Service Series: 158, 1977).

For the early history of Washington, D.C., see James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community, 1800–1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800–1878* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962); *Washington, City and Capital*, by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937); and *Centennial History of the City of Washington, DC* (Dayton, OH: United Brethren Publishing House, 1892).

Sources relating to the travels of the Charters of Freedom include *The Constitution of the United States Together with an Account of Its Travels Since September 17, 1787*, by David W. Mearns and Verner W. Clapp (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), and *Declaration of Independence: The Adventure of a Document* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1976).

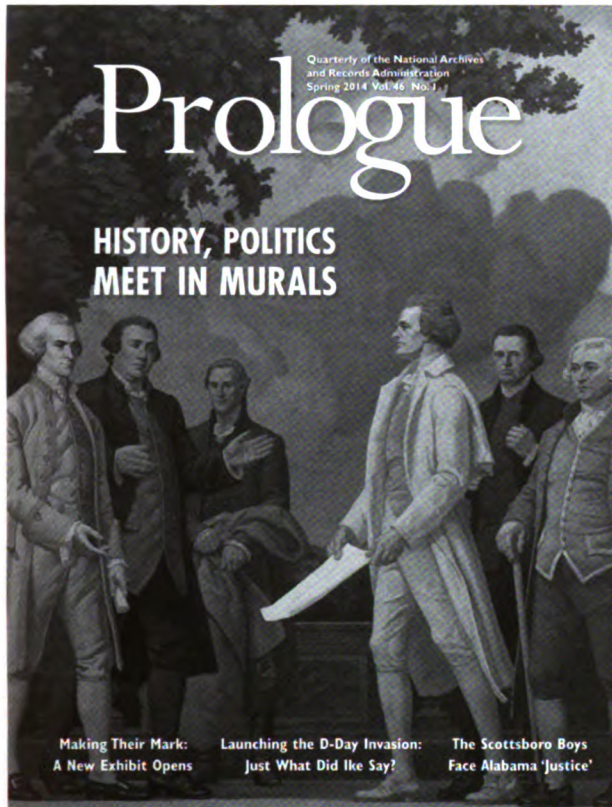


Author

Jessie Kratz is the Historian of the National Archives.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE PAST?

FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS, *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* has been telling readers about the rich resources and programs of the National Archives, its regional facilities, and the presidential libraries.



In every issue you will find thought-provoking and entertaining articles—based on research in the Archives' magnificent holdings of original documents—on American history and on the activities of the agency.

SOME RECENT ARTICLES IN *Prologue* INCLUDE:

- ★ How President Kennedy and his advisers searched for a resolution to the Cuban Missile Crisis—an account by a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian.
- ★ How the artist community played an important role in World War I to protect American troops in Europe.
- ★ The back story behind which Founding Father stood where in depictions of the presentations of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.
- ★ How the lack of justice given to the “Scottsboro Boys” may have been a catalyst for the civil rights movement.

COMING UP: *Prologue* will have articles on the Ford Film Collection that is part of the National Archives' holdings; how a submarine rescued downed pilots (including a future President) in the Pacific in World War II; and the dirty history of prisons in the District of Columbia.

VISIT US ONLINE AT: www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATE IS \$24 (\$30 OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES).

To start your subscription, mail this form to the National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (BCT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001.

Make checks payable to the National Archives Trust Fund. Credit card orders may also call toll free 1-800-234-8861 or 202-357-5482 weekdays, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. eastern time.

Prologue Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration

1 year (4 issues) is \$24. Subscriptions outside the United States are \$30.

Check ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express ☐

Account number Card expires

Signature _____

Name	Address
------	---------

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Please allow up to 10 weeks for delivery of first issue.





The President's Archivist Goes to War

Fred W. Shipman in Italy in 1944

By Greg Bradsher

Fred Shipman stepped off the plane that had brought him from Algiers in North Africa to Naples in southern Italy on April 3, 1944. It had been a long trip from Hyde Park, New York, via Washington, then to Algiers by plane, but he had a lot of work to do.

The next day, he made the courtesy visit to the general in charge of Allied operations in southern Italy, then hurried to find the men who would be essential in helping him carry out his mission.

His job: to survey methods to preserve and use Italian archives in the occupied area. These records could be invaluable to Allied intelligence units and military planners as they plotted their next move against Nazi Germany from the south.

As Shipman began his work in Italy, the Allies were assembling millions of men and thousands of pieces of equipment at a secret location in England for the massive invasion of western Europe on what would be called "D-day." Few knew it was just a few weeks away.

Shipman's journey to Italy and his work there came at the suggestion of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander, and with the approval of Archivist of the United States Solon Buck, as well as someone with more than a casual interest in Shipman and his work—President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt had chosen Shipman to be the first director of his presidential library in Hyde Park, New York, and he and his wife, Eleanor, had grown fond of him. As a result, Shipman had great rapport with Roosevelt, who had a keen interest in things archival.

Shipman, carrying letters of introduction from top U.S. officials—including a personal letter from Roosevelt himself—quickly made contact with the U.S. and British units and individuals who would be essential to his mission.

The President's archivist was far away from the comfortable confines of Hyde Park. He had gone to war.

U.S. Troop Arrival in North Africa

Awakens Archives to Problem

Early in World War II, reports of war damage to archives abroad alarmed American archivists, who were concerned over the possible fate of the records and archives in areas of combat.

Fred W. Shipman was the director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in 1944 when he was asked to travel to wartime Italy to survey methods to preserve and use Italian archives in the occupied area.

The National Archives
The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

January 6, 1944

OK. Fred
Carbon included
by this President
and referred
to his listman
1/6/44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The Allied Force Headquarters ^x has requested the Combined ^{x4774}
Chiefs of Staff to send an archivist to the theater of operations,
which I understand means North Africa, Sicily and the Italian mainland.
In response to this request Dr. Buck has nominated me to be sent to
the theater of operations for a period of three months as archival
adviser to the Sub-Committee on Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives of ^x
the Allied Control Commission for Italy, and to perform other archival
services that may be needed at Allied Headquarters.

^{x283-6} It would be my job to survey the problem relative to records
and archives found in this theater and to organize plans to preserve,
salvage and make available important records for use in the continued
administration and future reconstruction of the area and to preserve
cultural materials. The plans are to be carried out by others. It is
thought that on the basis of experience in this theater, planning for
similar activities in other theaters could be greatly facilitated.

As the request of the Allied Force Headquarters was received
during your recent absence from the country, Dr. Buck put forth my
name tentatively for this assignment with the very definite understanding
that the nomination is subject to your consent and approval. It is
proposed that I should retain my status as Director of the Library
and go as a representative of the Archivist of the United States on
a mission to be performed for and under the direction of Allied Force
Headquarters.

I believe I can leave the affairs of the Library in such
condition that they will not suffer by my absence of a few months,
should you approve of my undertaking this proposed mission.

Fred
Fred W. Shipman ^{x3900}

^{x4675-1}
^{x25}

Shipman informed President Roosevelt in a memo dated January 6, 1944, that Archivist Solon Buck had nomi-
nated Shipman to serve in Sicily and the Italian mainland as an "archival adviser" to "organize plans to preserve
and salvage" records. Roosevelt approved with an "OK."

The many domestic demands on the National Archives, intensified by the war, made it slow to awaken to its opportunities to be of service in protecting archives in war areas. Having only begun operations in 1934, the young agency possessed no previous wartime experience.

In 1942, the first year of U.S. participation in the war, the Archives was concerned mostly

about the protection of its own holdings should Washington, D.C., become a war area.

With Allied forces ready to strike North Africa, however, the National Archives turned its attention to European archival treasures that would be endangered by the activities of both friend and foe in the coming struggle. Some were doubtless already destroyed in preliminary bombing operations.



Shipman (standing) consults with President Roosevelt at Hyde Park, undated.

After the invasion of North Africa in November 1942, the National Archives began to think of the practical importance of records in connection with the government of conquered territory.

Also taking an interest in the fate of European archives and records was Dr. Ernst Posner, professor of archival administration at American University. His suggestive paper, titled "Public Records Under Military Occupation," published by the National Archives, was the spark that, according to Oliver W. Holmes, director of research and records description at the time, "suddenly lit our sluggish imagination and opened our eyes to the importance of protecting records as a military measure."

One of the listeners to Posner's talk was Fred Shipman, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. Shipman, born in 1903, came to Washington in 1929 to work in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress after receiving his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Clark University, pursuing further graduate



studies at Harvard, working at the American Antiquarian Society, and teaching at Boston University.

Shipman was one of the first professionals selected by the first Archivist of the United States, R.D.W. Connor, for the new National Archives in 1935. On March 16, 1936, he was appointed chief of what later became the Division of State Department Archives.

In December 1938, Shipman became involved with Roosevelt's plans to establish a separate institution for his papers and collections. Connor, who was working with the President on the project, selected Shipman to make a survey of President and Mrs. Roosevelt's papers in Washington. After consulting with FDR, on July 16, 1940, Connor named Shipman director of the first presidential library.

FDR, Marshall, Eisenhower Turn Attention to Records Preservation

Posner's paper prompted Shipman to write a memorandum the next day to Roosevelt

in which he stressed the importance of protecting records in war areas, both for their eventual usefulness to military government and for their cultural value. Two days later, Roosevelt read the memorandum at a cabinet meeting and asked that the members issue any orders required to ensure that records in war areas were given necessary protection.

Following up on Roosevelt's interest and concern, on May 8 Army Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall cabled Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander, Allied Forces of the North African Theater of Operations (NATOUSA), and Jacob L. Devers, then Commanding General of U.S. Army Forces in Europe.

Marshall said the great loss suffered in the past because local archives in cities and towns had been destroyed could be avoided if special care was taken to preserve such archives. He informed them that the President wanted every effort possible to be made for their preservation.

Meanwhile, the military was setting up civil affairs organizations to handle civilian functions in occupied areas. Plans were made at Allied Forces Headquarters (AFHQ) in late March 1943 for civil affairs organization and operations, and by April 15 the planning staff was established.

Back in the United States, the secretary of war established a Civil Affairs Division (CAD) within the War Department, on March 1, 1943. The CAD was to formulate and coordinate U.S. military policy concerning the administration and government of captured or liberated countries, to advise and assist the commanders engaged in such occupation or civil affairs activities, and to train and supply personnel for such activities. Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring became the CAD director in April 1943.

Not long after the civil affairs organization began taking shape in North Africa, various cultural institutions called on both the British War Office and the U.S. War Department to assign officers to advise on the preservation of historical and art treasures. The British War Office, in light of

their experiences in North Africa, proposed to take steps in advance for the conservation of monuments in Sicily and Italy. The Americans agreed, and two slots were added in the organization table.

Discussions within the military civil affairs authorities led to the creation in May of the Office of Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments to the Chief of Civil Affairs at the headquarters of Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories (AMGOT). On May 13, Marshall informed Eisenhower by cable that the first American to be appointed to that office was former Harvard professor Capt. Mason Hammond. Hammond was in Palermo by early August, thus becoming the first American "Monuments Man."

Meanwhile, early in July 1943, representatives of the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies on Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas, of which Archivist Buck was a member, visited the National Archives. They asked for the agency's advice and cooperation in developing lists for the armed forces of cultural monuments, treasures, and institutions. Military authorities had already indicated to the committee that such lists would be welcome and highly useful.

Need to Preserve Italian Archives Draws Widespread Support

Most of the information needed was in the National Archives library, and Professor Posner was eager to help. The National Archives furnished overall supervision, materials, typing assistance, and assistance in revision and editing, and Posner began work on a list of Italian archival repositories a few days before the July 10 invasion of Sicily.

During August, Posner prepared a 29-page listing of archival repositories in Italy. At the end of August, Archivist Buck sent a copy of Posner's "Archival Repositories in Italy" to Hilldring, but Hilldring responded that until the War Department received reports on the usefulness of the Italian list, he was not in a position to say whether the National



Hilary Jenkinson of Britain's Public Records Office, also an adviser to the War Office, was appointed to oversee the archives section of the MFA&A.

Archives should prepare similar assembled lists for other countries.

Hilldring said the project should be coordinated with pending studies of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe (the word "Europe" was later replaced with "War Areas"), which came into being with Roosevelt's approval on June 23, 1943. He added that ample general instructions had already been issued to make every effort to preserve local archives and to use the information in them.

Meanwhile, the response to the National Archives' first distribution of the "Archival Repositories in Italy" list to selected government officials was so favorable that it was clear a need was being met.

The Allies, led by Gen. Harold Alexander's 15th Army Group, landed on the mainland of Italy on September 3, 1943. The Italians quickly agreed to an armistice, and Allied government in Italy began when AFHQ dispatched an Allied Military Mission to Brindisi, then the seat of the Italian government.

In November, the Allied Military Mission's duties were transferred to the Allied Con-

trol Commission (ACC) for Italy. Among ACC's functions, through its Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives (MFA&A) subcommission, was supervising the protection and preservation of the monuments, art, and archives of Italy. In late January 1944, the functions and staff of the various military government organizations were merged under ACC, and it was given command over all military government areas in Italy.

As the Italian campaign continued, there was growing interest in the state of Italian archives.

In late October, Eisenhower told the Combined Chiefs of Staff that already the headquarters at Algiers was receiving requests for Italian documents. He indicated that the systematic collection of archives and documents required organized and directed effort by competent archivists. He added:

Suggest if 2 governments desire such collection to be carried out that they make initial designation of 1 archivist with small staff each from United States and United Kingdom. They would be attached to subcommission in education, fine arts and archives of allied control commission. . . . Desirable that they be on hand as soon as possible after occupation of Rome. If suggestion acted upon, request earliest advice to that arrangement may be made.

Within a week, the Combined Chiefs of Staff said they agreed with Eisenhower.

Learning of Eisenhower's October 30 request, the Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, suggested Manuel Sanchez of the Library of Congress for the job. Sanchez was in the Iberian peninsula at the time, collecting library and documentary material, and was dispatched to Eisenhower's staff.

In response to Eisenhower's request for an archivist, Shipman was attached for three months to the ACC Sub-Commission on Fine Arts, Archives, and Monuments. Eisenhower was informed that Shipman "will collaborate with Manuel Sanchez, who has

already been directed to report to you by Librarian of Congress."

Shipman's Trip Interests FDR; Intelligence Units Get Involved

Not long afterward, President Roosevelt interested himself in Shipman's assignment, and on January 20, 1944, Hilldring notified the National Archives that arrangements had been completed with the North African Theater Commander for the attachment of Shipman to the ACC's MFA&A subcommission. Shipman's mission would be to survey the archival collections, propose ways that G-2 (Army Intelligence) and the Office of Naval Intelligence could use the materials, secure the preservation of the archives, and make them available for ACC's use.

Shipman's trip to Italy, would be delayed and not begin to March. While he was waiting the British War Office had decided to send 61-year-old Hilary Jenkinson, of the Public Records Office (PRO) and archives adviser to the War Office, to oversee the archives section of the MFA&A subcommission. Jenkinson, was, according to Holmes, "almost certainly, the most eminent archivist of his generation in the English-speaking world."

Jenkinson had joined the PRO in January 1906. In 1915 he was commissioned as an artillery officer and went to France, where he served until the end of the war. He returned to England and was posted to the War Office. In 1920 he returned to the PRO. At the request of the Carnegie Foundation, in 1922 Jenkinson published *Manual of Archive Administration*.

A revised edition came out in 1937, and Holmes noted that it was then the only systematic treatment of the field in English and it "inevitably became a Bible to which inexperienced directors and untrained staff members [at the National Archives] turned for guidance." Jenkinson was appointed archives adviser to the War Office in 1943 to advise on the protection of archives in occupied enemy territory. After getting settled in

The National Archives
Washington, D. C. 25

R.G. 165
130x2
CAD 0004 Sec. 3

OFFICE OF THE ARCHIVIST

July 27, 1944

Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring, Chief
Civil Affairs Division
War Department General Staff
Pentagon Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear General Hilldring:

In order to assure that adequate attention is given to archives and records in the European theater generally and in the work of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section, SHAEF, in particular, I am venturing to send enclosed a recommendation that two American archivists be despatched to that theater—Mr. Shipman to go on a temporary mission similar to the recent one to Italy and Capt. Asa Thornton to go and remain attached to the MFA&A Section or to some other unit from which he can give continuing attention to these matters.

The enclosed recommendation is prepared in some detail not so much to persuade you and your office of the need but for use in persuading the theater officers of the importance of the subject if they need persuading. Please feel free to use as much or as little of it as you consider to be desirable in your communications with the theater. It seems to me that the case is a clear one, and perhaps it does not need this much argument.

I hope you can find time to read the copy of Colonel Woolley's statement attached so that the British viewpoint will be known to you. Although Colonel Woolley speaks in terms of "four American Archivists," I am recommending only that the two named above be sent at present, with the understanding that more may be needed when the occupation of German territory is imminent.

I believe that the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas will support this request. I have a letter from Mr. MacLeish suggesting the recommendation of an American archivist for the European theater. I am sending him a copy of these recommendations.

Sincerely yours,

Solon J. Buck

Solon J. Buck
Archivist of the United States

IMPORTANT
SEE CORRESPONDENCE
Ltr to Hilldring 23 Aug 44

H

1327
FILE
INITIALS 7/27/44
DATE 8-2-44

Archivist Solon Buck wrote to Maj. Gen. John Hilldring, chief of the Civil Affairs Division, nominating two American archivists, Fred Shipman and Capt. Asa Thornton, to serve in occupied areas with the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section.

at Naples, Jenkinson visited many archival repositories in southern Italy.

On March 30, the chief administrative officer of the Advanced Echelon of AFHQ issued an administrative instruction, titled "Preservation of Property of Historical [and] of Educational Importance in Italy," probably with

input by Jenkinson, stressing the need to protect buildings, monuments, and cultural property as well as to protect archives and records.

"In the case of written papers and books," it said, "it is to be noted that even those which do not appear to be ancient may be of great importance, not only historically but



Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring of the Civil Affairs Division notified the National Archives in January 1944 that arrangements were set with the Allied Control Commission in Italy for Shipman to begin his survey there of archival collections.

as containing information necessary for the practical purposes of war. Casual destruction or dispersal of such collections, wherever found, will not be permitted."

FDR Tells All Commanders To Preserve, Protect Records

Before departing for North Africa, Shipman spent considerable time conferring with Archivist Buck as well as with officers in the War Department familiar with the problems involved in the collection and use of records in the North African Theater of Operations.

Hilldring informed Devers (then Commanding General North African Theater of Operations, U.S. Army, and also Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theater) that Shipman's mission was to survey the problems relative to records and archives in Italy and to advise in the preparation of plans to preserve, salvage, and make available important records for use in the administration of Italy.

Shipman was also authorized to perform special and temporary duties with the MFA&A subcommission of the Allied Control Commission.

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS
Military Government Section.

7 May 1944

REPORT OF FRED W. SHIPMAN
AS ARCHIVAL ADVISOR TO THE A.C.C.

On March 30, I reported to Allied Force Headquarters, Military Government Section as archives advisor to the Subcommittee on Fine Arts, Monuments and Archives of the Allied Control Commission. I spent the next four days discussing my mission with General Devers, General Gmell, General Roderick, Colonel Elmore, Captain Beckman, (U.S.N.) and other officers at A.F.H.Q. whose functions touched upon the subject of my mission. On April 3, I flew from Algiers to Naples with Lieutenant Roland Segalini who was assigned to arrange my affairs and to aid me in my work. As I do not know the Italian language, Lt. Segalini also served as my interpreter.

I reported to Lt. Gen. MacFarlane, Chief Commissioner, Allied Control Commission on April 4, was misdirected to the office of the Subcommittee and went to Salerno only to return to Naples and report to Major Donald, Chief of the Fine Arts, Monuments and Archives Subcommittee of the A.C.C. on April 5.

While in Naples I contacted Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office, London who had been sent out by the British government for the same reason I had been sent out by the United States Government. Mr. Jenkinson had been in the theater six weeks prior to my arrival. The presence of representatives of both countries was concrete evidence of the serious interest in and of the importance of the subject on which we were sent to advise. Naturally we collaborated and what was done or recom-

mended along general lines of policy was jointly sponsored.

I remained in Naples until April 18 working with A.C.C. and G-2 establishing policy and developing procedures to effect plans put forth by Mr. Jenkinson and me. From that date until May 4, I traveled overland through occupied Italy visiting the archival repositories in each Provincial capital and those of Catania and Palermo in Sicily. I reported back to A.F.H.Q. on May 5. There follows a statement of understandings reached at Naples and recommendations I am making as a result of my findings both in Naples and on my tour of occupied Italy.

The most significant and timely use of public and private records (or archives) is their exploitation for aid in carrying on the war effort. Such records are often indispensable to the continued administration of a community or a business and for protecting the civil rights of deserving people. It is obvious that in time of war military necessity must have first consideration. However experience has shown that more care could be exercised in the first stages after combat in protecting records against unnecessary destruction through pillage, billeting of troops and overzealous searches for records of intelligence value. To reduce the loss of valuable records in future operations through any of these causes (which in turn often adversely affect the [intelligence service]) Mr. Jenkinson and I conferred with Major R.J. Cave of Advanced G-2. Jointly we recommended definite steps to be taken. These recommendations were submitted by G-2 to A.F.H.Q. where they were approved.

The recommendations were: G-2 is to protect archives in intelligence centers against populations and troops on same lines as those laid by "P" force for Rome.

The first two pages of Shipman's May 7, 1944, report on his work in occupied Italy and Sicily. He wrote that while records were first invaluable for "carrying out the war effort," they must also be preserved to enable the "continued administration of a community" after hostilities end.

Hilldring asked Devers to help Shipman when he arrived and added that "the President has granted Mr. Shipman a leave of absence for the purpose of carrying out this mission. I have asked Mr. Shipman to submit a report of his findings and recommendations upon his return, and would appreciate any courtesies and assistance which you can give Mr. Shipman in this undertaking."

While Shipman traveled to Italy, General Marshall informed Eisenhower and Devers that, with reference to the invasion of Sicily and subsequent landings on the Italian mainland, "the President directs that special instructions be issued to our Commanders that they make every effort possible to preserve at the time of occupation and thereafter the local archives of all of the towns and seats of Governments occupied. In the past wars a great loss, inconvenience, and trou-

ble has been due to the destruction of such archives in occupied localities. Therefore special care should be taken to preserve at all times local archives in the towns and seats of occupied countries in this War."

Shipman left Washington on March 17, and on March 30 he reported to AFHQ, Military Government Section, at Algiers, as archives adviser to the Fine Arts, Monuments, and Archives subcommission. When Shipman arrived, many thought he had come to inquire into these matters for the President directly. Knowledge of the President's personal interest in the subject created an atmosphere that was of immense help to Shipman, as was a personal letter from the President that he took with him.

When he talked to Devers and other officers, Shipman was surprised to find out that they thought the intention in the original

request for an archivist was for someone to collect books for leading libraries in the country, that is, to do the same kind of work that Manuel Sanchez was then doing in Italy for the Library of Congress.

He explained his own (and Washington's) interpretation of his role, and after several conferences with Devers and others, Shipman's mission was defined as working in close cooperation with the Army and Navy intelligence services; to survey present and projected methods for preserving and using the administrative records and archives of local and national government agencies within the area of occupation; and, on the basis of this survey, to recommend procedures to preserve and make available to the ACC records necessary to the continued administration and future reconstruction of the areas.

Shipman Finally in Naples, Quickly Seeks Out Jenkinson

Shipman then spent the next four days discussing his mission with Devers and other officers at AFHQ whose duties touched upon the subject of his mission.

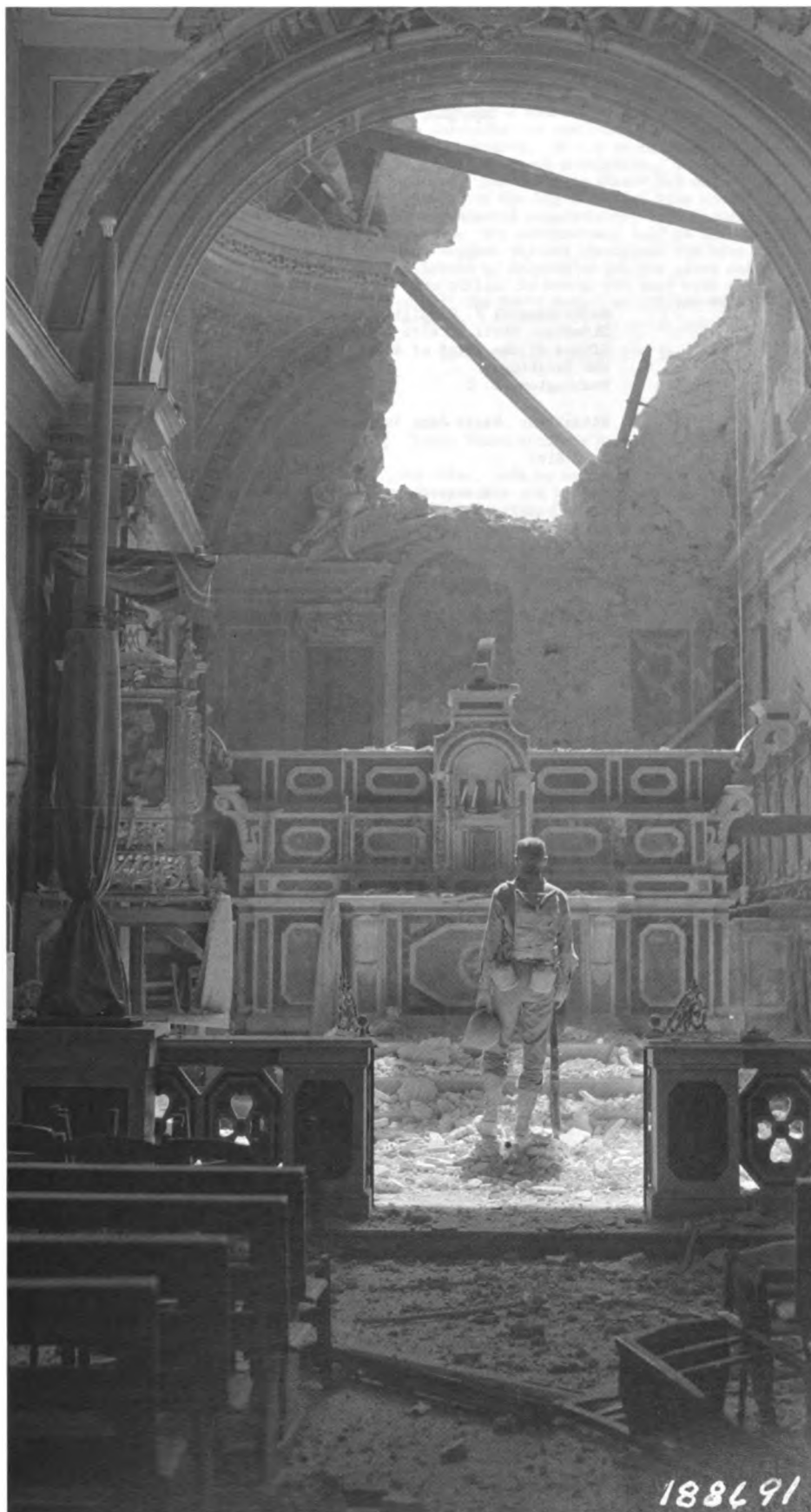
On instructions from Devers, he conferred with Brig. Gen. Thomas E. Roderick, deputy assistant chief of the intelligence staff at AFHQ. Roderick called into their conference a Major Sloane of G-2, who had worked out the current arrangements for handling and preserving certain captured enemy documents of military value. The three reviewed the plans that had been tentatively drawn up for the next anticipated military operation.

At the conclusion of their conference, Shipman was instructed to contact Maj. R. J. Cave, G-2 (Advanced Intelligence) in Naples and to assist him in any way he could to refine the plans they had discussed. Before Shipman left Algiers, Devers gave Shipman a letter of introduction to Lt. Gen. Sir Frank N. Mason-MacFarlane, chief commissioner of the Allied Control Commission in Naples, requesting that Shipman receive assistance in carrying out his mission.

Shipman's arrival in Naples was quickly followed by his courtesy calls on Mason-MacFarlane and to Maj. Ernest T. DeWald, a former professor of art and archaeology at Princeton and chief of the MFA&A sub-commission of the ACC. He also quickly made contact with Jenkinson.

In response to a cable from General Roderick, Major Cave contacted Shipman and invited him to confer with him and his G-2 group. Jenkinson, too, wanted to talk to Cave about archival issues.

The three of them conferred intermittently over 15 days, with Jenkinson and Shipman talking about the value of archives and records for carrying out the war effort and for administrative uses. They developed what seemed to them a satisfactory procedure to protect records in which G-2 was interested.



A damaged church in Acerno, Italy. Shipman and Jenkinson had visited churches, as many held vital local records.

The National Archives
The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
High Post, M. E.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 7, 1944

Major General J. E. Hilldring
Director, Civil Affairs Division
Office of the Chief of Staff
War Department
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Major John Boettiger

Dear Sir:

Enclosed are two additional copies of my report as Temporary Archives Adviser to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Subcommittee of the Allied Control Commission to the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department which I have been requested to supply to your office.

I was pleased to receive your kind letter of July 3.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Fred W. Shipman
Fred W. Shipman
Director

✓ Enclosures

H

FILE
INITIALS *Arch...*
DATE *2-11-52*

On July 7, 1944, Shipman sent copies of his report as "Temporary Archives Adviser" to General Hilldring.

Jointly, Jenkinson and Shipman recommended to Cave definite steps to take to assert central control over the exploitation and protection of documents for intelligence purposes. Their recommendations, which AFHQ approved, included these provisions: G-2 was to protect archives in intelligence centers against populations and troops; G-2 should coordinate all activities of intelligence agencies collecting information; when G-2 was done with the records, they were to hand them over

to the ACC for protection; and if archives of intelligence interest were removed for transmission elsewhere, they should be carefully recorded in registers. They also made recommendations for the ultimate restoration of displaced archives.

Jenkinson and Shipman then turned their attention to records of historical interest and current administrative value to the communities. G-2 was to turn over control of certain records depositories to the ACC when intelligence had completed its work

on them. At no time would the records be without protection.

Jenkinson and Shipman requested that Brigadier Maurice S. Lush be informed of the procedures adopted by G-2 to protect archived records coming into its custody. They recommended that ACC determine in advance the locations of record depositories of historical or administrative importance and place them under guard as soon as possible after troops had occupied an area.

Both Shipman and Jenkinson believed that a leaflet should be prepared in Italian on "first aid" to damaged records. They had a translation done of a portion of a leaflet that Jenkinson had compiled for use in England. Because the greatest danger to records was from uniformed troops, another leaflet was prepared for distribution among them. In simple and direct language, the leaflet set forth the message that records are important in the war effort and should not be unnecessarily damaged or destroyed.

Shipman Seeks U.S. Archivist For Permanent Duty in Italy

Next, Shipman and Jenkinson worked on producing a comprehensive list of Italian archival repositories. The British had not published any such lists, but shortly after he reached Naples, Jenkinson began compiling a rather full, classified list of Italian archival repositories of chiefly older records. Shipman brought to his attention the lists that the Americans had produced, and during the latter part of April, Jenkinson enlarged considerably on a National Archives-produced descriptive list of leading archival repositories in Italy, with special emphasis on the older historical archives. By early May, he finished his list and arranged for its distribution.

Shipman, knowing his assignment was only temporary, believed it was necessary for an American archivist to be permanently attached to the MFA&A subcommittee immediately. Already Jenkinson had arranged for two British captains to

be appointed to the subcommission as archivists.

Because of the limitations on the number of personnel who could be attached to the subcommission, Shipman was hesitant to ask for the appointment of more than one archivist. On April 8 he wrote to Col. Norman E. Fiske, Deputy Executive Commissioner, Allied Control Commission, recommending the assignment of an American archivist to the ACC:

As you know the protection and rehabilitation of Italian public and private archives relating to the current administration of Italy are of the highest importance to the successful prosecution of the war and in the reconstruction of the country after the war. The importance of records of births, marriages, deaths, financial transactions, and police affairs is readily discernable. In the field of Italian National Affairs the important of records as those of the Foreign office take on a world wide significance. In addition, the historical archives of Italy are of value to scholars everywhere in the world who are interested in the history of civilization and what lessons it teaches. Therefore everything should be done to protect these records from loss or destruction.

He recommended that an American archivist, who would give attention to the protection, preservation, and rehabilitation of Italian archives, be appointed and that he be attached to the MFA&A subcommission:

An archivist is concerned with preserving and making available to users the material in his custody. There never has been a time as now when valuable bodies of records in as great quantity were in need of expert attention. Using the techniques of his profession an archivist can do much to protect records and put them in serviceable condition; and

were found to be Papal Bulls, briefs and royal decrees from Naples of the 14th and 15th centuries. These documents are now being listed and deciphered preparatory to having them published. In the archives are also records of the French Commission during the French occupation. The archives are in the Prefettura building. The building itself had not been damaged, but the windows in several of the big rooms had been broken. The archivist sent a request to the provincial commissioner, Col. Nichols, for aid in getting the windows replaced. The commissioner told me that he had requested window glass to repair broken windows throughout the town and the request was approved. He sent trucks to Salerno to get the glass and the trucks were sent back empty. The officer in charge was told that all window glass was being sent to Naples. One day's output at Salerno would fill all of Cocozza's needs, I was told.

Date visited: April 27, 1944

FOGGIA

R. Sezione di Archivio di Stato (Royal State Archives Branch) 1400 to date:

The archives consist of 7,222 vols., 1400 to date, and are administrative. They are in the Palazzo Provinciale and there is a subsection at Lucera. On making inquiry about the archives, I was advised that the archivist, Giuseppe Vessa, was ten miles away at Lucera. I drove out to see him. He told me that on Aug. 19, 1943, the archives at Foggia were badly damaged by bombing and some of the records were destroyed. The archivist had the remaining records placed under seal as soon as the fighting stopped. Since Nov. 1943, he has been trying to get help and was told to apply to the Italian Minister of the Interior who instructed him to make an inventory of the damage. On April 15 he submitted his report with a request for 30,000 lire. He has a building at Lucera which contained a section of the Foggia archives originally and in which there is enough space for the salvaged materials from Foggia. He also has the personnel who are now working without pay. All he wants is transport to get the records from Foggia to Lucera, 10 miles away.

Archivio della Dogana delle Pecore (Archives of the Sheep Toll Office) 1200 to date:

Shepherds have been coming to the Foggia plains from Abruzzo for centuries and a law of 1200 placed a tax on each head of sheep. The records are in the Palazzo Provinciale. They contain much litigation and are exceedingly valuable. Sig. Vessa reported that one third of this collection has been destroyed.

Date visited: April 20, 1944

A page from Shipman's summary report to President Roosevelt in September 1944. He described the conditions he found in his survey of Italian sites—building conditions, the presence or absence of local archivists, the types of records and their conditions, and the resources needed for rehabilitation.

to acquire a body of information of value to the services, as well.

In concluding, he played his biggest hand: "Might I add that the Archivist of the United States, I feel sure, would concur in my recommendations. You are already aware of the President's interest in this subject." He cc'd this communication to the President, the Archivist of the United States, Hilldring, and Devers. He attached a suggested program of work for the archi-

vist, noting that the person would collaborate with G-2 in the work of protecting archives and records from the moment of occupation.

Shipman now planned to take a tour of archival repositories in southern Italy and Sicily. Before doing so he prepared a report, which he probably shared with Jenkinson, describing what the work of the American archivist ought to be:

- collaborate with G-2 in protecting archives and records from the moment

American troops occupied an area,

- be available to give professional assistance to prevent unnecessary loss or destruction of records,
- maintain firsthand information on the fate of records important to the continued administration of a locality, and
- encourage the use of microphotography as a means of supplying copies of important documents.

Jenkinson followed up by writing a memorandum on April 30, on duties of archivists attached to MFA&A subcommission.

Shipman Tours S. Italy, Sicily, Then Heads Back Home

On April 18, Shipman began a tour of southern Italy and Sicily, surveying archival repositories, several of which had been bombed. He talked with archival authorities and generally secured information that formed the basis for a number of recommendations he would later make to AFHQ and to the CAD in Washington. When possible, he talked to officers about the importance for military purposes of the proper protection and handling of modern records.

On May 7 Shipman submitted a summary report of his mission to the military government section of AFHQ. After providing a brief background of what he had done

in Italy, Shipman emphasized that an archivist is a records expert.

"Archival work," he noted, "is a recognized profession and should be in the hands of archivists and not treated as an incidental function."

He stressed the value of Italian archives as aids to intelligence and in civil administration, adding that this applied largely to the modern records—though by no means not entirely. He strongly urged that the archivist maintain good liaison with G-2 advanced intelligence for the greatest damage to records was done in the first day after battle.

Upon returning to the United States on May 14, Shipman provided Archivist Buck with additional information regarding the appointment of an American archivist for Italy.

For the archivist post in Italy, attention was eventually focused on Capt. William D. McCain, formerly an archivist with the National Archives, then historian with the Fifth Army in Italy. Buck wrote to Hilldring on June 1 recommending McCain. He noted that McCain had several years' experience in the National Archives and on recommendation from the National Archives was appointed archivist for the state of Mississippi, where he had established a fine reputation.

While waiting for a response regarding McCain's appointment, Shipman wrote to President Roosevelt on June 20 regarding the disposition of captured enemy records at the end of hostilities as well as the disposition of the records of combined operations. Roosevelt referred it to the secretary of war, who informed the President about what was being done in that regard.

On June 28 Shipman sent Hilldring his report of his visit to southern Italy. He told Hilldring that, as he was writing the report, news had come that the procedures which he had a part in establishing for protecting Italian archives were put into practice within the first 48 hours after the

Allied forces entered Rome. "I need not tell you that this is gratifying to me," he wrote.

Hilldring responded, thanking Shipman for his letter and enclosed reports. "We are very grateful to you for the fine work which you have done in this field," he said. On July 1 Shipman sent a report to President Roosevelt and General Hilldring about his activities in Italy. After discussing his mission, Shipman reported on his activities, observations, and recommendations.

Shipman Returns to Europe, Gets U.S. Archivist for German Records

There were no archivists with MFA&A when those officers went into action in France in June and July of 1944. At the National Archives, Buck and Holmes wanted to avoid the mistake made in the Italian theater, when no American archivist was present to address archives and records issues for a significant period of time.

Again Shipman was drafted to do the promotional work. Capt. Asa Thornton, a former National Archives staff member, was sent with Shipman and permanently assigned to the theater to carry on the contemplated program until reinforcements arrived.

On September 16 Hilldring wrote to G-5 SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) to report that Shipman had been authorized and invited to perform special temporary duty with MFA&A Section of G-5. Shipman's orders had been issued in response to G-5's request for an expert to be sent to the European theater of operations to prepare plans for preserving and using German archives.

"The President," Hilldring noted, "has granted Mr. Shipman a leave of absence for the purpose of carrying out his mission and would appreciate any courtesy and assistance which you could give Mr. Shipman in this undertaking."

To learn more about

- The work of the "Monuments Men" during and after World War II in Europe, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2013/summer/.
- The discovery of Nazi gold in the Merkers Mine, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/spring/.
- How American artists helped defend American troops in World War I, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/spring/.

Thornton left within a week, and Shipman followed him to London on September 19. When Thornton arrived in London, SHAEF assigned him to work with Hilary Jenkinson in making his list of archives of western Germany.

On September 26, Thornton reported back to SHAEF, and the next day SHAEF MFA&A staff met with Shipman to discuss German archives and U.S. archival personnel in Germany. Thornton and Shipman were directed to report next to SHAEF at Versailles.

Before leaving London, Shipman had a chance to discuss archival issues with Maj. Mason Hammond, then acting chief, MFA&A, U.S. Group Control Council. Shipman and Thornton arrived at Versailles on October 3, and for the next two months Shipman provided advice and assistance regarding archival matters. In December 1944, Shipman returned to the United States and his duties with the Roosevelt Library.

Before leaving Europe, Shipman wrote instructions for the U.S. archivists assigned to the MFA&A section SHAEF. He pointed out that their purpose was to protect the enemy archives and records in areas under Allied control from unnecessary damage, loss, or destruction. These materials were of value to military intelligence, essential to military government in administering an area, and important for an understanding and knowledge of Germany through its history.

"The dangers to records have been from pillaging by the populace and troops, the lack of controls over over-zealous Intelligence agents who have indiscriminately taken papers away and exposure to the elements when the building in which records are housed is damaged or destroyed," Shipman wrote.

Shipman recommended that archivists contact combat units to remind them of "the value of records as a weapon of war so that they will not unwittingly destroy

important material." Shipman added that past experience had shown that intelligence officers had done much harm through mis-handling.

"The Archivist," Shipman wrote, "should move about, use his authority and influence to see to it that the instructions regarding the handling of records are obeyed." He added: "No amount of instructing will answer all the questions that will arise. Within the limits of the authority granted him, the Archivist must exercise his own ingenuity and intelligence; that fact should be remembered at all times."

His work in Italy and Germany, in helping to protect archives and modern records for cultural, administrative, and intelligence purposes, was greatly appreciated by intelligence and civil affairs staffs. By demonstrating the importance of having archivists involved in MFA&A work, Shipman's efforts paved the way for archivists like Lester K. Born, Sgt. B. Child, and Seymour J. Pomrenze to play important roles in archival matters in occupied Germany.

After the President's death in April 1945, Shipman took charge of the transfer of White House papers and materials to the Roosevelt Library. He resigned in April 1948 and joined the newly created National Security Resources Board. The following year, he transferred to the Department of State as records management officer, and in 1954 he became librarian of the Department of State, a position he held until he retired on June 30, 1970.

At a retirement luncheon hosted by Archivist of the United States James B. Rhoads, Shipman said, "Any work I did as a member of the National Archives organization was done with great pride and love for my job. To the extent I succeeded in making a contribution, I am happy."

He died in June 1978, fondly remembered by his National Archives colleagues and the military personnel with whom he worked in Europe and the United States. ■

NOTE ON SOURCES

Among NARA's holdings useful for documenting Shipman's activities are File: CAD 000.4 (3-25-43) (1), Security Classified General Correspondence, 1943-July 1949, General Records, Civil Affairs Division, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, RG 165; File: CCAC 314.8 (10-30-43) Sec. 1, Combined Civil Affairs Committee Decimal File 1942-45, Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218; and, Files: AMG 208, AMG 209, AMG 262, and AMG 290, General, Subject File Aug 1943-1945, Monuments, Fine Arts & Archives Section, Operations Branch, G-5 Division, General Staff, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF), Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, RG 331.

Also useful are Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors*, United States Army in World War II, Special Studies (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1992); Hilary Jenkinson and H. E. Bell, for the British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives and Other Material in Enemy Hands, *Italian Archives During the War and at Its Close* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947); The American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, *Report of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1946); Oliver W. Holmes, "The National Archives and the Protection of Records in War Areas," *American Archivist*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (April 1946); Fred W. Shipman, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1882-1945," *American Archivist*, Vol. 8, no. 4 (October 1945).

Author



Greg Bradsher's previous contributions to *Prologue* have included articles on the discovery of Nazi gold in the Merkers Mine (Spring 1999); the story of Fritz Kolbe, 1900-1943 (Spring 2002); Japan's secret "Z Plan" in 1944 (Fall 2005); Founding Father Elbridge Gerry (Spring 2006); the third Archivist of the United States, Wayne Grover (Winter 2009); Operation Blissful, a World War II diversionary attack on an island in the Pacific (Fall 2010); the Nuremberg Laws (Winter 2010); the Homestead Act of 1862 (Winter 2012); and Monuments Men and Nazi Treasures (Summer 2013). Dr. Bradsher is a senior archivist at the National Archives.

THE ARMY in THE WOODS

Records Recount Work of World War I Soldiers In Harvesting Spruce Trees for Airplanes

By Kathleen Crosman

One of the more unusual duty stations for military personnel during World War I, and one that many genealogists might not be aware of, was in the forests and mills of the Pacific Northwest.

Men who had experience in the logging industry found themselves fighting the war not in the trenches in Europe but among the trees and lumberyards of Oregon and Washington.

By the time the United States entered the war in the spring of 1917, the Allies were in desperate need of flawless, lightweight, and strong lumber to build the aircraft needed to overcome the trench warfare stalemate and to battle the Red Baron over the skies of Germany.

In May of 1917, Maj. Charles R. Sligh, a reserve Army officer in charge of procuring wood, was sent to Washington and Oregon to evaluate the lumber situation. In a letter to the chairman of the Aircraft Production Board of the Council of National Defense he reported:

"Every one has been taken aback by the magnitude of the combined demand. France and England each ask for as much as the present total production. Altogether the demand is more than trebled [*sic*]."¹ Sitka spruce, available only in the coastal forests of Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska, was the ideal material. Getting Sitka spruce trees out of the forests and into the airplane factories was not easy. The lumber industry wanted and tried to meet the increased demand without government assistance. By November of 1917, about 2 million feet of spruce was being produced per month, but the U.S. Government was requesting an increase to 10 million feet per month in order to meet the demands of the Allies and its own military for wood to build airplanes.²

However, many stands of Sitka spruce were virtually inaccessible due to lack of logging roads, railroad tracks, and mills. There were also problems with the workforce. Labor groups were gearing up to demand better working conditions and threatening to strike. Given these challenges, it seemed an impossible task to increase lumber production fivefold.

So, the U.S. Army created the Spruce Production Division to unify all the groups involved—timber men, loggers, mill men—to expedite production. This special military command consisted primarily of draftees, some volunteers, and some regular Army troops.

During World War I, men of the Spruce Production Division in Olympic National Forest split spruce logs using wooden wedges with iron band around them—metal was scarce during the war.



Most had prior experience in logging, milling, and associated necessary tasks, such as building railroad lines to transport the logs to the mills.

While many of the Spruce Squadrons worked in the woods, others supplied manpower to privately owned sawmills as well as those built and operated by the Spruce Production Division. The Traffic Section took care of the logistics of shipping the finished lumber to Atlantic ports for shipment overseas, which alone was a monumental task.

As Gerald W. Williams points out, between "November 1917 and October 1918, spruce production jumped from 2,887,623 to 22,145,823 board feet monthly. For the same twelve month period, a total of 143,008,961 board feet of spruce was shipped from the Northwest forests, including two small units from Alaska and California."³ This is a remarkable achievement for a military division in existence for a mere 15 months.

The National Archives at Seattle holds roughly 187 cubic feet of Spruce Production records. They include the correspondence of 150 field squadrons and companies, district offices, the headquarters cantonment at the Vancouver Barracks in Vancouver, Washington, and the Spruce Production Corporation.

The Spruce Production Corporation was chartered in August 1918 in the State of Washington by John E. Morley, Prescott W. Cookingham, and John P. Murphy.⁴ The principal office was in Vancouver, Washington. With the war expected to last longer and with things well organized thanks to the work of the Spruce Production Division, the U.S. government decided to "de-militarize" many of the functions of the division. The real property of the division (railroads, mills, etc.) as well as functions such as traffic management were transferred to the corporation.



An Army truck at work in the Spruce Production Division's logging in the Northwest.

Headquarters Detachment #3
415th Squad on A-30
Aberdeen, Washington.

March 5th 1918.

The material has been used by historians and other researchers interested in the World War I era; in the role of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, a "loyal" labor union established to maintain labor peace; and in the impact of the 1918 flu pandemic.

But the value of these records to genealogists has been limited to those who knew in which unit the research subject had served. Finding that information was complicated by the destruction of millions of military personnel records in the 1973 fire at the Military Personnel Records Center in St. Louis, Missouri. Army records suffered the worst damage, with 80 percent of the files for those discharged from 1912 to 1960 destroyed.

The Archives in Seattle has a complete roster of all military personnel in the Spruce Production Division as of November 1, 1918. While this is merely one span of time, it is at least an entry point that can be used to begin research. The roster is arranged by first letter of the surname and then by unit, and it lists each man's age, rank, duty assignment, and home address.

The National Archives at Seattle hopes to have volunteers enter the information into a searchable database to improve access in the future. The roster by itself provides a certain amount of information. It also serves as an index to the correspondence files for a specific Spruce Production Squadron.

These correspondence files were referred to regularly by the squadron commander and by the squadron clerk. Correspondence between a squadron and headquarters can be found going back and forth many times. In order to keep track of the correspondence, each squadron clerk maintained numbered correspondence files and then tracked the correspondence in one or more correspondence index books.

These index books had subject and name entries with the correspondence number on alpha index pages in the front of the book. In some books there is also a numeric list of the correspondence on blank pages in the back with brief summaries of each memo/letter.

These examples are soldiers whose names showed up in squadron correspondence index books:

- In March 1918, Pvt. Edward Jensen requested a five-day furlough to return to Seattle. He had been required under the compulsory allotment law to provide for his ex-wife, who had deserted and then divorced him. He had recently received information from his wife's mother that she had remar-

In a letter dated April 25, 1918, Pvt. Arlis A. McMillen requested a 30-day furlough to return home to recover from a work injury. He had sliced off a part of his ankle bone and needed to recover.

From Pvt Edward Jensen, Detachment #3 415th Squadron
To G. O. 3rd Detachment 415th Squadron
Subject Request for Furlough.

1. Pvt Jensen requests furlough of five days extending from the ninth day of March until the fourteenth day of March, 1918.

2. Pvt Jensen has been compelled, under the Compulsory Allotment Law, to pay his wife the sum of fifteen dollars per month. Pvt Jensen was deserted by his wife, as nearly as he can remember, on the fifth day of November, 1912. Since that time, according to information received from her mother, the wife has been re-married. As yet he has no definite facts on the case, except the verbal statement of the mother. According to this report she was married in King County, State of Washington.

3. Pvt Jensen requests sufficient time in which to return to Seattle for the purpose of securing, from the County Clerk of King County, this final proof of his exemption from the Compulsory Allotment Law.

Edward Jensen

1st Ind.

Hq 3rd Detachment 415th Squadron, A-30, Aberdeen, Washington, March 6th, 1918.
To G.O. 415th Squadron A-30, Aberdeen, Washington.

In March 1918, Pvt. Edward Jensen requested a five-day furlough to return to Seattle to see if he could secure a court exemption from the Compulsory Allotment Law under which he was required to make payments to his ex-wife.

*1. Arlis A. McMillen
(Apr 25 - 18)
From: (World War I) McMillen {872,707}
To: Commanding Officer 413th Sq. The Division
Subject: Request for furlough.*

No. 1047

1 - I hereby request for 30 day furlough from May 1st to May 30th to visit China. Mo.
2 - One April with while working in the woods. I had the misfortune to cut my ankle with the axe which has disabled me. My ankle bone was chipped off and I have tried to work but find it impossible. I am now down and not to use foot for at least three or four weeks.

3 - I have been in service for 8 months and have the necessary funds for travel.

*(Arlis A. McMillen
Det #13 Squadron).*

1st Ind.
Detachment #2

Approved.

Frederick C. Hanger.

22d Lt. Inf. R. C.

Left: Memos transferring men and their service records to a new command can be a good source for identifying servicemen, such as this April 20, 1918, transfer at Camp 6, at Aberdeen, Washington.

Headquarters 42nd Squadron,
Camp 6, Spruce Production Division Co.,
Aberdeen, Washington,
April 20, 1918.

From The Commanding Officer.

To Lt. Walter J. McMillan, Aberdeen, W.
(Direct)

Subject Transfer of enlisted men.

1. Per SO 99, par 17 W., STD 4500 Portland, Oregon 4/15/18 effective April 15, 1918 I am transferring to your command the following men with their Service Records, property slips, etc., enclosed herewith, which please acknowledge by return mail.

1. Ellis, Frank (871,479)
2. Johnson, Edward R. (871,497)
3. Meyers, Clarence J. (871,510)
4. Rose, Robert R. (871,517)

2. I enclose also some debit slips and abstracts in duplicate showing property to possession of each man contained in par 1. Please sign original of each abstract and some debit slip and return to me, retaining duplicates for your files.

3. Per SO 99, par 25 W., STD 4500 Portland, Oregon 4/15/18 received at this station 4/19/18. I am transferring the following men, with their Service Records, property slips, etc., enclosed herewith, which please acknowledge by return mail.

5. Bicklin, W.C. (871,466)
6. Brown, W.H. (871,469)
7. Calahan, C.H. (871,470)
8. Crimmins, W.H. (871,464)
9. Edwards, Rex H. (871,476)
10. Cooper, Roy (871,475)
11. E. Anderson, W.H. (871,480)
12. Egan, Washington (871,482)
13. Gilette, J.H. (871,484)
14. Johnson, J.H. (871,485)
15. Johnson, J. (871,487)
16. "Jack, Edward (871,488)
17. Harrington, J.P. (871,506)
18. Hoffman, G.H. (871,495)
19. Holt, B.C. (871,494)
20. Judd, H.K. (871,496)
21. Kasper, Isaac (871,499)
22. Leachman, Paul (871,502)
23. Leachman, Paul (871,506)
24. McMillan, W.H. (871,509)
25. McKelison, Charles (871,512)
26. Penick, William (871,513)
27. Penick, William (871,514)
28. Robinson, W.H. (871,516)
29. Sevenson, W.H. (871,519)
30. Whitcomb, B.H. (871,522)
31. Woods, J.H. (871,525)
32. Verrell, J.H. (871,528)

Right: A roster page includes the serviceman's name, organization, rank, present duty, and address. Duties include, unit foreman, tallyman, and even musician.

NAME	ORGANIZATION	RANK	PRESENT DUTY	HOME ADDRESS
Johnson, George	42 Spr. Sq.	27 Pvt	Laborer	Padilla, Calif.
James, Vincent	"	26 "	"	Lehi, Mont.
Jefferson, Charles	"	23 Corp	Member	14th St., Ind.
Jones, Thomas	"	30 1st Lt	Coach	San Francisco, Calif.
Johnson, David A.	"	23 Pvt	Off bearer	Oriskany, Ind.
Johnson, James A.	"	23 Corp	Laborer	Oriskany, Ind.
Johnson, Lawrence A.	"	26 Pvt 1st	Ins. Editor	410 W. 10th, Portland, Ore.
Johnson, James E.	"	23 "	Tallyman	Blount, Ala.
Johnson, Joe E.	"	27 M.A.S.	Unit Foreman	Lake City, Fla.
Johnson, Louis	"	23 Corp	Fire Guard	128 S. 44th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, John	"	23 Pvt 1st	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, David L.	"	23 Pvt	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Jacobson, Joseph F. 2nd	"	27 Sgt	Inspector	Seattle, Wash.
James, Harry	"	23 Pvt	Plat. Mgr.	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Arthur	"	23 Corp	Plat. Mgr.	1102 W. 4th, Tacoma, Wash.
Johnson, John	"	23 Pvt	Ins. Editor	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Robert	"	30 "	Off bearer	548 11th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, John J.	"	27 "	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Nathan	"	24 "	"	Charlottesville, Va.
Joyce, Ray F.	"	24 "	Foreman	Springer, Mo.
Johnson, William E. 2nd	"	27 "	Tallyman	9 W. 4th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, W.C.	"	25 "	Laborer	722 Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
Johnson, Fred	"	25 "	Laborer	124 12th Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Johnson, Raymond J. 2nd	"	25 Sgt	Col. Mgr.	309 17th, Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, John	"	27 "	Laborer	Charlottesville, Va.
Johnson, Harry F.	"	27 "	"	401 W. Spruce, Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Joe 25th Apr.	"	31 "	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Porter	"	26 "	Tallyman	Arundel, Md., Ark.
Johnson, Thomas	"	26 "	Laborer	414 W. 4th, Seattle, Wash.
Jennings, Edwin	"	30 "	"	Route 2, St. Louis, Mo.
Jennings, William E.	"	25 "	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, George F.	"	23 Pvt 1st	Ins. Editor	1821 Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
Johnson, George F.	"	23 Pvt	Tallyman	204 W. 4th, St. Louis, Mo.
Jordan, Sam H.	"	28 "	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Jurie, Albert J.	"	24 Corp	Off bearer	154 11th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Jullian, Lee	"	24 Pvt 1st	Laborer	St. Louis, Mo.
Johnson, Edgar 26th Apr.	"	24 Pvt 1st	Laborer	410 W. 4th, Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Carl	"	24 "	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Ernest H.	"	24 Pvt	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Jordan, Albert H.	"	24 Sgt	Foreman	San Antonio, Tex.
Jordan, Albert	"	23 "	Clerk	Hotel, Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Carl	"	25 "	Ins. Editor	100 W. 4th, Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Andrew C.	"	25 Pvt	Laborer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Sam	"	25 Sgt	Foreman	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Willis 26th Apr.	"	22 Pvt 1st	Ins. Editor	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Albert	"	19 Pvt	Clerk	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, John 27th Apr.	"	21 Pvt	Laborer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Robert F.	"	19 Cook	Cook	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, George	"	24 Pvt	Ins. Editor	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Carl	"	24 "	Laborer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, John E.	"	25 "	Off bearer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Orin F.	"	25 "	Laborer	Seattle, Wash.
Jordan, Carl	"	26 "	Laborer	Seattle, Wash.
Jordan, Floyd	"	27 "	Laborer	Seattle, Wash.
Johnson, Robert F.	"	24 Sgt	Ins. Editor	Seattle, Wash.

ried in King County. If true, he could terminate his allotment. Jensen requested the furlough "for the purpose of securing, from the County Clerk of King County, this final proof of his exemption from the Compulsory Allotment Law."⁵

- Pvt. Arthur W. Anderson requested a furlough in May 1918 to return to Great Falls, Montana, to "straighten out his affairs on his homestead."⁶
- On April 25, 1918, Pvt. Arlis A. McMillen requested a 30-day furlough to return home to recover from a work injury. McMillen was a 26-year-old wood splitter from Edina, Missouri. He had been working in the woods and hit his ankle with his axe. Fortunately, he cut off just a part of the bone on his ankle and only needed to be off his feet for a month.⁷
- Pvt. Raymond L. Renwick was officially attached to the 30th Spruce Squadron based in Vancouver, Washington, but he spent much of 1918 attached to the 42nd Spruce Squadron based in Aberdeen. His particular duty was to drive and maintain the Ford Touring Car assigned to 1st Lt. Donald G. Hugo, the medical reserve corps surgeon for the area.⁸ His heart, however, was elsewhere. Renwick applied repeatedly to take the examination for entrance to the Flying Service, and his local commanders repeatedly recommended him for this opportunity.⁹ Still, nothing came of their attempts.

The best they were able to do was promote him, in November 1918, to private first class.¹⁰

- In early 1918, Dawn L. Diffin, wife of Robert A. Diffin, wrote to headquarters to complain that she had not been getting her husband's allotment money. Robert Diffin had originally been with the 42nd Spruce Squadron but had subsequently been transferred to the Vancouver Barracks. On March 5, the commander of the 42nd responded that: "Diffin had an allotment made out in favor of his wife which was entered on our December Pay Roll which also showed him last paid to October 31, 1917. So he has done all he could. He received no further pay until after we received our January Pay Roll which was toward the end of February. Diffin, I think, has been short of money."¹¹
- On September 13, 1918, Pvt. Major F. Ball requested a discharge on "account of the illness and age of my father which renders him unfit for work; the drafting of my brother-in-law into the service; the illness of my mother and the consequent leaving of the care of seven children (all under the age of ten years) and the farm to my wife, who is strictly dependent upon me for support."¹²

The Spruce Production Division grew from nothing to a maximum size of roughly 30,000 men between November 1917 and November 1918. Given the large number of soldiers who served in the Spruce Production

Division, few are mentioned by name in the correspondence held in our collections. The examples above are of soldiers not only mentioned by name but also listed in the squadron index books by name.

The following soldiers are mentioned by name but not indexed by name. The only way to find this correspondence is to know in which squadron the soldier served.

- In October 1918, squadrons were asked to provide a list of all members of the Jewish faith in their units. The report of the 42nd Squadron contained only the name of Irving Aaron, a 22-year-old private from Virginia, Minnesota.¹³
- Memos listing men being transferred into or out of a unit were not indexed in the squadron index books. On April 20, 1918, a total of 32 men were transferred into the 42nd Spruce Squadron.¹⁴
- Sometimes soldiers were transferred to other squadrons or to the Vancouver Barracks before their pay checks were received at their original squadron. On April 24, 1918, the commander of the 42nd Squadron sent a cover memo with the paychecks for the seven men listed who had been transferred to the Vancouver Barracks.¹⁵
- Periodically, squadron commanders were asked to report the names of men fit for overseas duty. In July

Right: Names of men are recorded on a "Transfer of Clothing Slips" of March 1918 for the 1st Co. Casual Detachment at Vancouver Barracks, Washington.

Below: A view of the camp of the 92nd and 95th Squadrons of the Spruce Production Division at Newport, Oregon, undated.

(85)
1st. Co. Casual Detachment,
Vancouver Barracks, Washington,
March 7th-1918.

From: C. O. 1st. Co. Casual Detachment, A.S.S.C.
To: 455th. Engineering Sq. A.S.S.C.
Subject: Transfer of Clothing Slips.

1. Inclosed Clothing Slips for the following men assigned to your Command per SO 39 Per 19 Hq. Sig. Cps. Cantonment, Feb 6-1918.

- (a) Bitchard, James, B.
- (b) Hall, Harry
- (c) Debolt, Matthew S.Q.
- (d) Venkuren, Harry, J.
- (e) Small, Harry, K.
- (f) Cummings, Harry, S.
- (g) Sullivan, Gustave
- (h) Thurston, Ray

2. Endorse inclosed receipts.

Encls-- 14

Ray P. Tracy
Ed. Lt. F. A. R. C.

1st. Ind.

Hq. 455th Aero Const. Sq. Fysh, Wash. March 12/18 To: C.O. 1st. Co. Casual Detachment, A.S.S.C. Vancouver Wa. (Thru Military Channels)

1. Endorsed receipts attached.

1st. Lieut. Sig. R.C. A.S.



1918, the commander of the 78th Spruce Squadron, based in Astoria, Oregon, sent a list of 13 men physically fit for overseas duty and also noted the names of two men who were not fit for overseas duty.¹⁶

- Standardized forms were used to report the names and pay for all soldiers on duty in the various logging and milling companies.

While even more challenging to use, one other group of records may contain information about a particular soldier a researcher might be looking for. The Spruce Production Division was headquartered in Vancouver, Washington, at Vancouver Barracks. The decimal correspondence of the Vancouver Barracks consists of letters, lists, memorandums, orders, reports, summaries, and telegrams pertaining to its administration and operations and to its interactions with the local community and with the families of soldiers within the division.

While much of the decimal correspondence would not contain information on individual soldiers, the 200 series pertains to personnel matters, including transfers and promotions, reassignments, pay and accounting actions, transportation, and rations and supplies. It also contains letters from soldiers' families on matters such as pay allotments, War Risk Insurance claims, and the general welfare of soldiers. The challenge with this series is that there is no name index. The decimal subject code provides the only guidance.

Searching for your soldier in the Spruce Production Division can be challenging, but the effort can be rewarding—even if you do not find him. The squadron correspondence tells a story of these soldiers' lives in the woods or in the mills—their pay, their drills, their complaints, their requests. The correspondence documents the routines of military operations even in the middle of the forest, the mix-ups that took place in a military organization that was thrown together quickly, and the semicivilian feel of a military unit in which many of the draftees did not go through basic training and were working on civilian tasks.



To learn more about

- The National Archives at Seattle, go to www.archives.gov/seattle/.
- Finding World War I military service records, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/fall/.
- A later federal foray into the woods with the Civilian Conservation Corps, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/fall/.

If your hunt for a World War I veteran leads you to Oregon or Washington, especially if your veteran had a logging or milling background, you should consider looking into these records. **P**

This article was initially published in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 112, no. 1 (Spring 2011), and is reproduced here with permission.

NOTE ON SOURCES

¹ Spruce Production History, Rough Draft, box 1, Records of the Spruce Production Division, Records of the Army Air Forces, Record Group (RG) 18, National Archives at Seattle (NAS).

² Ibid.

³ Gerald W. Williams, "The Spruce Production Division," *Forest History Today* (Spring 1999), available online at www.foresthistory.org/publications/fht/fhtspring1999/fhtspruce.pdf (accessed July 9, 2014).

⁴ Articles of Incorporation, in Corporate Documents, box 1, Records of the Spruce Production Division, RG 18, NAS.

⁵ Correspondence No. 526, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 86, in *ibid*.

⁶ Correspondence No. 1325, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 89, in *ibid*.

⁷ Correspondence No. 1049, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 88, in *ibid*.

⁸ Correspondence No. 1110, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 88, in *ibid*.

⁹ Correspondence Nos. 1111, 1248, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 88, and Correspondence Nos. 341, 392, 30th Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 50, in *ibid*.

¹⁰ Correspondence No. 2166, 30th Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 52, in *ibid*.

¹¹ Correspondence No. 491, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 86, in *ibid*.

¹² Correspondence No. 1680, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 90, in *ibid*.

¹³ Correspondence No. 1753, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 90, in *ibid*.

¹⁴ Correspondence No. 1003, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 88, in *ibid*.

¹⁵ Correspondence No. 1027, 42nd Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 88, in *ibid*.

¹⁶ Correspondence No. 156, 78th Spruce Squadron, Squadron Correspondence, box 165, in *ibid*.

Author



Kathleen Crosman is an archivist with the National Archives at Seattle. She received her MLIS from the University of Washington and her Certificate in Archives and Records Management from Western Washington University.

AN IDEA

Whose Time Had Finally Come

BY KEITH DONOHUE



Todd S. Purdum

July 2, 2014, marks the 50th anniversary of the signing of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. In *An Idea Whose Time Has Come*, Todd S. Purdum tells the story of how one of the most important laws of the 20th century came to be.

At the heart of Purdum's book is the legislative maneuvering of the larger-than-life characters who made its passage possible—from the Kennedy brothers to Lyndon Johnson, from Martin Luther King, Jr., to Senators Hubert Humphrey and Everett Dirksen and dozens of others working tirelessly behind the scenes.

Todd S. Purdum is a contributing editor at *Vanity Fair* and a senior writer at Politico. He spent more than 20 years at the *New York Times*, where he served as diplomatic correspondent, White House correspondent, and Los Angeles bureau chief. A graduate of Princeton University, he lives in Washington, D.C. *An Idea Whose Time Has Come: Two Presidents, Two Parties, and the Battle for the Civil Rights Act of 1964* is his first book.

In addition to the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act, what else drew you to this particular chapter in American history?

At a time when so much attention is focused on the prevailing dysfunction in Washington, it seemed like a good idea to examine an era when government still managed to work in confronting the single most controversial domestic issue of the day. Even a cursory bit of preliminary research persuaded me that the story of the Civil Rights Act would resonate powerfully for today's readers. While I don't belabor the point, the contrast between today's gridlock and the decisive action of 50 years ago is striking.

Who were the unsung heroes of the legislative process?

There were many heroes who are not as well remembered as they should be—including Hubert Humphrey, the bill's Democratic floor leader in the Senate, and Everett Dirksen, the Senate Republican leader whose support was crucial for passage. But two of my favorite figures are Clarence Mitchell, the chief Washington lobbyist for the NAACP, who was such a diligent presence in the corridors of the Capitol that he was known as "the 101st senator" at a time when there were just five black members of Congress, and Representative William McCulloch, the ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee.

McCulloch was a staunch conservative but also a fierce supporter of civil rights. When President Kennedy first proposed the bill in the summer of 1963, McCulloch made a bargain: If the administration would promise to fight for a strong bill, and not water it down in the Senate to avoid a filibuster as had been the usual practice, and if the White House would

promise to give the Republicans equal credit for passing the bill, McCulloch would bring along the Republican caucus in support. That's exactly what happened in the end, and McCulloch's demands had the effect of forcing first Kennedy and then Lyndon Johnson to attempt something that had never before succeeded in American history: Break a civil rights filibuster in the Senate, cut off debate, and pass a bill. And that, too, is just what happened.

Who were the unsung heroes from the grassroots level in the Civil Rights movement?

Again there were many, but one of the most interesting was a young worker for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union named Jane O'Grady. She led a team of monitors who watched the voting in the House, and then rounded up pro-civil rights members to stave off hostile amendments. This effort involved literally running all around Capitol Hill, to members' offices and other locations, making sure friendly forces would show up. And literally hundreds and hundreds of volunteers from interfaith religious organizations, who lobbied members (especially in the Midwest and Great Plains states, where there were not large black constituencies) to support the bill. These groups made their case on moral grounds, but they applied their lobbying tactics with pinpoint political precision, and the effort really paid off. Clergymen and seminarians held round-the-clock prayer vigils at the Lincoln Memorial; there were daily services in a church on Capitol Hill; and so on. The bill's Southern opponents publicly said that they could fight the bill on political and legal grounds, but were unable to counter the moral arguments and appeal of the religious groups.

You mentioned the work of the Kennedy Library staff in helping you open the John Douglas oral history files, as well as the papers related to President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy. What did you discover there?

There were a number of great nuggets, including Douglas's recounting how President Kennedy asked who was really running the March on Washington, only to be told the answer was a bit unclear. "Well, I'll run it then," Kennedy replied. The papers of the President and attorney general include some of the vituperative correspondence they received from opponents of the bill, together with their own handwritten suggestions for what the President should include in his June 11 speech announcing the bill.

JFK's careful editing of Ted Sorensen's draft of that speech is also a wonderful window into the way his mind worked, and an example of his political skill in bleeding the speech of needlessly provocative language, announcing that "a great change" was at hand, for example, instead of a "social revolution."

What led to LBJ's evolution on civil rights?

I think Johnson's views on race had been steadily evolving for years, and by the time he became Vice President and was freed from the narrower political obligations of being a politician from Texas, he took a larger view of the whole question. The ongoing demonstrations throughout the South in 1963 hardened his conviction that national action—in the form of a strong new law—was urgently needed. But he also had firm and well-considered views of how such a bill should be presented, strategically speaking, and of the homework that would be needed if it were to have any chance of succeeding, and of the political risks that even success would entail. His worries on both fronts were more than borne out in time.

Through the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the National Archives has been supporting the Presidential Recordings Project at the University of Virginia's Miller Center. They have been transcribing and annotating transcripts of secret White House tape recordings of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. You called them the "single most vivid record of those two vivid presidencies." What was it like hearing those voices from 50 years ago?

The tapes, although they were made in grave violation of privacy (most of those being recorded had no idea that a machine was capturing their innermost thoughts) are a truly priceless historical resource. A listener can hear the fear, anger, exasperation, excitement in Kennedy's and Johnson's voices, and

can be absolutely confident that the words on the tape are, verbatim, what those men said at the time. The recordings provide a wonderful window into the hard work and grinding realities of the presidency, and it is a shame that we will never again have anything like them to support the historical record.

What was the biggest surprise in your research?

I knew the bill was a bipartisan effort, but I did not really understand that it had passed with such overwhelming bipartisan support—73 to 27 in the Senate, with 27 out of 33 Republican votes in favor. It would be hard to imagine almost anything passing the Senate by that margin today, much less a bill on such a bitterly contested issue.

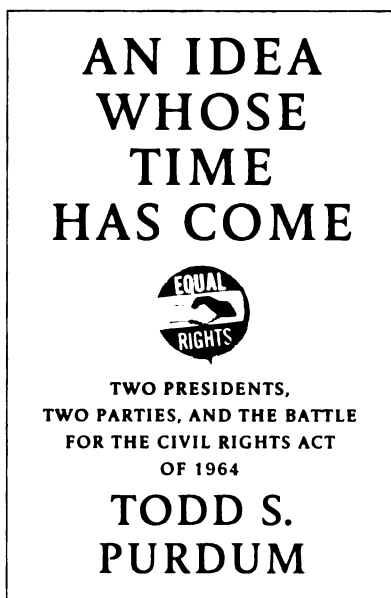
With its wonderful cast of characters—both heroes and antagonists—your book reads like a Dickensian novel. Who were your favorite characters?

Johnson and Kennedy are fascinating, of course, but it's impossible not to be a bit entranced by a figure like Everett Dirksen, who was the single most colorful senator of his day. He was a marvelous orator, known as "The Wizard of Ooze," and he kept his vocal chords lubricated with a daily gargle of Pond's cold cream and water—which he swallowed. The rest of his diet consisted of cigarettes, Sanka, Maalox, and bourbon, and he drank all day long. But he was also a workhorse, with a keen legal staff, and the back-room negotiations in his office (where he kept a full bar) proved to be the crucial breakthrough in passing the bill.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been called one of the most important legislative accomplishments of the 20th century, and such

a bipartisan act seems impossible now. Aside from the political differences, what else has changed in the culture of Congress?

The structural realities of American politics itself have changed. In the 1960s, when it came to civil rights, there were not two parties in Congress but, really, three—the Republicans, the Northern Democrats, and the Southern Democratic stand-patters. Bipartisan cooperation was not only necessary but possible, in part because the Republicans still took seriously their heritage as the party of Lincoln. And while the partisan difference (and intra-party feuds) were real and intense, civility and cooperation still ruled the day. Members knew each other—and each other's families—and they held each other in a mutual regard and respect that seems inconceivable today. It's easy to over-romanticize the past—which had its own problems—but I do think a loss of basic civility is one of the great tragedies of our time.



EVENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

For up-to-date event information, consult our Calendar of Events. The free Calendar is available from National Archives and Records Administration, Calendar of Events (SCM, Room G-1), 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408, or on the web at www.archives.gov/calendar/.

Permanent exhibit: "The Public Vaults." National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Permanent exhibit: "Records of Rights." Rubenstein Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Continuing exhibit: "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures." Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through September 11. Featured document: Senate's early draft of the Bill of Rights. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through September 16. The 1964 Civil Rights Act. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through November 3. Featured Document Display: Bicentennial Commemoration of the Burning of Washington and Battle of Baltimore. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

ABILENE, KANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "World War II Remembered: Leaders, Battles & Heroes." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

Continuing exhibit: "Be Ye Men of Valour: Allies of World War II." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

Through September 1. Exhibit: "Forbidden Art." Works of prisoners of Auschwitz. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

September 11. Lecture: "The Invisible Soldiers: How America Outsourced Our Security." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

October 11. Performance: "On the Air"—A tribute to Bob Hope and radio stars of the 1940s with a performance by Tony Orlando. \$10 admission. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Continuing exhibit: "The Remarkable Life and Times of Gerald and Betty Ford." Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Through September 21. Exhibit: "Kongo Across the Waters." Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

September 17. Author lecture: "Death of a King: The Real Story of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Final Year." Tavis Smiley. Tickets required. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

September 22. Author lecture: "Thirteen Days in September: Carter, Begin, and Sadat at Camp

David," Lawrence Wright. Tickets required. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

September 30. Author lecture: "The Men Who United the States," Simon Winchester. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 8. Author lecture: "The Great New Orleans Kidnapping," Michael Ross. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Sixty from the 60s." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "Civil Rights." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "On the Ball: A Collection of Head of State Signatures." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: Civil War objects from the Museum Collection. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

August 27. Celebration of LBJ's birthday. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

September 9. Author lecture: *Monday, Monday*, Elizabeth Crook. Request free tickets. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Continuing exhibit: "Superman's Mission for President Kennedy." 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "To the Brink: JFK and the Cuban Missile Crisis." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "In Her Voice: Jacqueline Kennedy, The White House Years." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "Freedom 7 Space Capsule." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "Presidential Getaway—JFK on Cape Cod." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Offshore Drilling: The Promise of Discovery." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

August 22. Summer Film Series: "Remember the Titans." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

August 26. Library Issues Forum: "Rigs to Reefs," with Dr. Quenton Dokken. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

DALLAS, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "The Art of Leadership: A President's Personal Diplomacy." George W. Bush Library. 214-346-1557.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

Continuing exhibit: "Growing Up Grand." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

Continuing exhibit: "Taking the Seas: The Rise of the U.S. Aircraft Carrier." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

HYDE PARK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: "See America . . . Then and Now." Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

Continuing exhibit: "Read My Pins: The Madeleine Albright Collection." Henry A. Wallace Center. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

September 4. Discussion: A Conversation with Madeleine Albright. Call for reservation. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

September 13. Constitution Day Display. A facsimile and signing book. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

October 4–12. Exhibit: National Archives Week, A behind-the-scenes view of Presidential Library operations. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Continuing exhibit: Exhibit: "Spies, Lies, and Paranoia: Americans in Fear." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

Continuing exhibit: "Truman: The Presidential Years." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

September 13. "Talkin' Truman: To Boldly Go Where No Visitor has Gone Before." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Continuing exhibit: "State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8010.

August 20. Lecture: "Female in the Fatherland: Imagery of Women and Girls in Nazi Propaganda." At the National World War I Museum. 816-268-8010.

August 28. Program/Discussion: "Who's Afraid of Virginia Minor?: Women Suffrage on the Prairie." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8010.

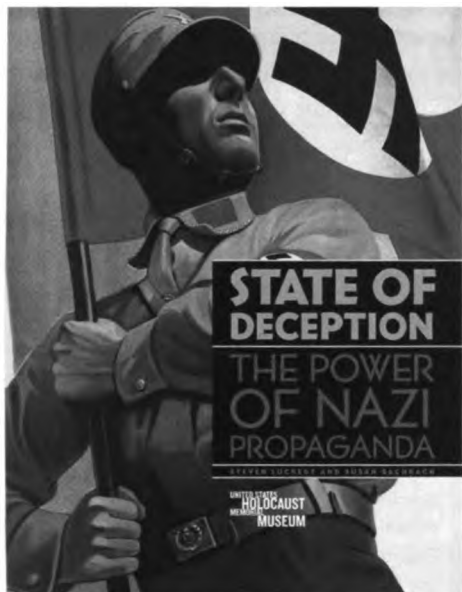


The Madeleine Albright Collection at the Roosevelt Library

September 2. Exhibit opening: "Say It With Snap!: Motivating Workers By Design, 1923-1929." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

September 3. Lecture: "World War I Posters and Visual Culture." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

September 10. Lecture: "Power of Film Images and the Holocaust." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.



"The Power of Nazi Propaganda" exhibit at the National Archives at Kansas City

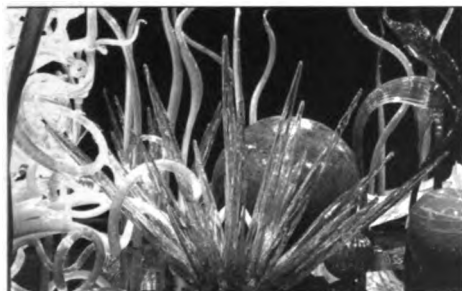
September 16. Citizen Archivist Event. Reservations required. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

October 1. Lecture: "State Control and State Engagement with the News Media: From the Nazis to Edward Snowden." At the National World War I Museum. 816-268-8000.

October 22. Lecture: "Trial of the Propagandists: Accessories to Genocide." At the National World War I Museum. 816-268-8000.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "Artwork of Dale Chihuly." Clinton Library. 501-374-4242.



The glasswork of Dale Chihuly at the Clinton Library

MORROW, GEORGIA

September 20. Symposium: "Valley of the Dams: The Impact and Legacy of the Tennessee Valley Authority." National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

October 18. National History Day Research Roundup: An Open Invitation to NHD Scholars. National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: "New York on the Record: Markings and Signatures." National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

Ongoing: Educational programs in the Learning Center. Contact newyork.archives@nara.gov for details. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

SIMI VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: "Baseball! Celebrating Our Great American Pastime." Reagan Library, 800-410-8354.

Continuing exhibit: "The Berlin Wall." Reagan Library, 800-410-8354.

WEST BRANCH, IOWA

Continuing exhibit: "America's First Ladies." Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

Continuing exhibit: "Three Hats: The Civil Rights." Photography of Matt Herron. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

September 1. Laura Ingalls Wilder Remembered. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

September 17. Naturalization Ceremony. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

September 27. Author lecture: *The True Mary Todd Lincoln*, Betty Boles Ellison. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

November 11. Veteran's Day author lecture: *Origins of World War I*, Mark DePue. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

YORBA LINDA, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: "Involuntary Memories." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

Continuing exhibit: "Play Ball! Presidents and Baseball." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

Continuing exhibit: "Farewell, Mr. President." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

Continuing exhibit: "Watergate." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

GENEALOGY EVENTS WASHINGTON, D.C.

Genealogy workshops are conducted throughout the year. For up-to-date information, consult the monthly Calendar of Events and www.archives.gov/research/genealogy/events/.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

September 5. "What Can I Find in Federal Court Records?" National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

September 20. "Introduction to Hispanic Records." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

October 3. "Public Land Records at the National Archives." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

October 21-23. "Citizen Archivist." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

November 7. "Finding Your World War I Relative." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

November 15. "Getting Back to Basics: A Beginner's Guide to Researching Military Records." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

September 6. "Exploring Fold3.com." Call to register. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8010.

September 16 and 17. Citizen Archivist Event. Reservations required. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

September 5, October 3. "Genealogy Roundtable." Call to register. National Archives at Philadelphia. 215-606-0100.

September 17. "Maps and Genealogy." Call to register. National Archives at Philadelphia. 215-606-0100.

October 15. "Using Records of the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center." Call to register. National Archives at Philadelphia. 215-606-0100.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

September 11, October 9. Brick Wall Genealogy Discussion Group. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

NARA Closes Facility in Anchorage, Consolidating in Philadelphia, Fort Worth

As part of ongoing budget adjustments, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has closed its facility in Anchorage, Alaska, and is consolidating its two facilities in both Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Fort Worth, Texas—for an annual savings of about \$1.3 million.

The Anchorage facility closed June 21, and most of the nearly 30 million pages of archival holdings and 18.8 million pages of records center holdings are being moved to NARA's Seattle office. The Archives is planning to digitize records from Anchorage and is asking for recommendations from the public for which records should be digitized first.

To make recommendations, go to the NARAtions blog on the Alaska records at <http://blogs.archives.gov/online-public-access/?p=9237> or send an email to digitization@nara.gov.

In Philadelphia, two facilities are being consolidated to a single site. The “city center” Market Street facility closed on July 7, and the staff and the less than 12.5 million pages of archival records stored there are being moved to the Townsend Road facility.

In fiscal year 2016, the smaller, “storefront” facility at Montgomery Plaza in Fort Worth will close, and NARA activities will be consolidated to a single site, a combined records center and archives at John Burgess Drive, also in Fort Worth.

“The National Archives budget is devoted primarily to personnel and facilities, both of which are essential to our mission,” Archivist David S. Ferriero said. “I recognize these cuts will be painful; however, we are committed to continuing to provide the best service to our customers and best working conditions for our staff nationwide.”

ISOO Releases 2013 Report to President

The Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO), in its fiscal year (FY) 2013 report to the President, says that the number of persons granted original classification authority continues to decrease and is now at its lowest recorded level. It now stands at 2,269, down from 2,326 the year before.

ISOO also said that for FY 2013, agencies reported 58,794 original classification decisions, down 73,477 in FY 2012, and 80,124,389 derivative classification decisions, down from 95,180,243 in FY 2012. ISOO also reported that it conducted on-site reviews of five agency declassification programs, with all agencies receiving a passing score.

Under automatic, systematic, and discretionary declassification review, agencies reviewed 59,332,029 pages and declassified 27,524,342 pages of historically valuable records, both numbers up from 44,921,864 pages and 19,850,541 pages, respectively, in FY 2012.

Under mandatory declassification review, the numbers were also up. Agencies reviewed 1,122,502 pages and declassified 943,035 pages in their entirety, declassified 150,857 pages in part, and retained classification of 28,610 pages in their entirety.

The 2013 ISOO report combines what had, in prior years, been reported separately: information on government-wide security classification activities among departments and agencies, the agencies' cost estimates associated with those activities, and an update on the Controlled Unclassified Information program. The combined report is online at www.archives.gov/isoo/reports.

More Previously Restricted Clinton Records Released

The William J. Clinton Presidential Library on July 18 released approximately 1,000 pages of previously restricted materials, the sixth such release this year.

Under the Presidential Records Act, “previously restricted” documents may be withheld for 12 years after the end of a President's administration. The documents in this release concerned either appointment to federal office or confidential advice between the President and his advisers or among those advisers.

The documents can be viewed in the research room at the Clinton Library in Little Rock, Arkansas, or online at www.clintonlibrary.gov/previouslyrestricteddocs.html.

Carter Library Launches New Digital Library

The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and

Museum launched its online Digital Library this summer with approximately 89,000 pages of digitized textual records from the Presidential “Handwriting” Files of the Office of Staff Secretary. These documents, previously only available in physical form, have been digitized and placed online at www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/digital_library/.

The Presidential Files of the Staff Secretary Office consist primarily of the daily contents of the President's outbox, filed chronologically according to the date when each item left the Oval Office.

PICTURE CREDITS

Front cover, inside front cover, back cover, pp. 6, 40 (bottom right), 43, Library of Congress; pp. 8 (top), 9, 10, 11 (top), Records of the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital, Record Group (RG) 42; p. 8 (bottom), Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston; p. 11 (bottom), Records of the National Park Service, RG 79; p. 14, McCormick Research Center; pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, author's collection; p. 19, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces (World War I), RG 120; p. 20, 111-SC-320534; pp. 24 (left), 28 (right), 29, National Library of Medicine (NLM); pp. 24–25, 86-G-7U-1; p. 26 (left), Find a Grave; pp. 26 (right), 27 (left), 28 (left), 31, Records of the Office of the Surgeon General (Army), RG 112; p. 27 (right), 2nd DAR Report, 1900; p. 30, *negroartist.com*; p. 31 (left), *The Army Medical Department, 1865–1917*, via Wikipedia; 33, Wikipedia (photo by Tim1965); pp. 36–37, Records of the National Capital Planning Commission, RG 328; p. 38, 148-GW-478; p. 39, Records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, RG 23; p. 40 (left), Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; p. 40 (top right), 148-GW-912B; p. 41 (top), 77-WDMC-50; p. 41 (bottom), 111-SC-96969; p. 42, 66-G-21C(31); pp. 46–47, 48–49, 55, 66, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; p. 50, National Archives of the United Kingdom; pp. 51 (left), 52, 54, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, RG 165; p. 51 (right), 111-SC-128252; p. 53, 111-SC-188691; pp. 58–59, 62 (bottom), National Archives at Seattle, Records of the Forest Service, RG 95; pp. 60, 61, 62 (top), Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18; p. 64, author; p. 65, Henry Holt and Co.; p. 67 (top), National Archives at Kansas City; p. 67 (bottom), William J. Clinton Library; p. 70, Foundation for the National Archives; p. 71, photos by Pepe Gomez; p. 72, S1026008, Records of the Army Staff, National Archives at St. Louis.

Records on the Road

National Archives documents and artifacts are on display in museums across the country—and not just in our own archives and presidential libraries. Starting this quarter, this space will highlight selected documents that are out on loan to museums and other institutions.

Emancipation Proclamation to visit Reno in October

The Emancipation Proclamation will be the closing highlight for the Nevada Museum of Art's exhibition "The 36th Star Nevada's Journey from Territory to State." The Reno exhibition opened on August 2 with various Nevada statehood documents on loan from the National Archives; the Proclamation will be on display from October 31 to November 2, 2014. For more information, see www.nevadaart.org/exhibitions/detail?eid=286.

800th Anniversary of Magna Carta

Next March, the Delaware ratification of the Bill of Rights will be shown at the British Library in London alongside four original Magna Carta parchments for the Great Charter's 800th birthday. The exhibition opens March 13, 2015, and runs through September 1, 2015. This will be the first time this national treasure has traveled outside the United States. For more information about the British Library's Magna Carta exhibition, see <http://pressandpolicy.bl.uk/Press-Releases/> (March 7, 2014).

Other Loans

FBI Model of Dealey Plaza, 1964. Sixth Floor Museum, Dallas, Texas. Indefinitely.

Watergate break-in tools, ca. 1972. Gerald R. Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, Michigan. May 14, 2013–May 2015.

"Pumpkin Papers" film canisters, ca. 1948. Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, "Spies, Lies and Paranoia." March 15, 2014–October 26, 2014.

Records relating to the history of Congress, rotated every six months. Capitol Visitor Center, Washington, D.C., "E Pluribus Unum."

Records relating to American constitutional history, including 1838 report of sick and wounded Cherokee on the Trail of Tears. National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, "The Story of We the People." July 1, 2014–June 30, 2015.

Naval Limitation Treaty of 1929 and other documents. Gerald R. Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, Michigan. July 14, 2014–April 30, 2015.

Two letters from former slaves who escaped to Nova Scotia during the War of 1812. Maritime Museum of Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, "Prize and Prejudice: Nova Scotia's War of 1812." July 22, 2014–July 9, 2015.

1794 Treaty with the Six Nations signed by George Washington. National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C., "Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indians." September 21, 2014–January 1, 2018.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Fair Housing). Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. September 25, 2014–March 24, 2015.

1803 Louisiana Purchase Treaty and nine related documents. Missouri History Museum, St. Louis. Louisiana Purchase, October 25, 2014–April 19, 2015.

1816 letter from Andrew Jackson to Secretary of War on Indian matters and judge's opinion in a case against Jackson. Historic New Orleans Collection, "Andrew Jackson: Hero of New Orleans." November 4, 2014–March 29, 2015.

Documents from the Presidential Libraries

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt re group of children waiting for departure to USA June 7, 1941, and a photograph. New-York Historical Society Museum & Library, "I Live. Send Help." June 13, 2014–September 21, 2014.

Harry S. Truman Library

American and Norwegian flags that flew over Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki raft. Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo, Norway. Through October 10, 2014.

John F. Kennedy Library

Pillbox hat worn by Jacqueline Kennedy. Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. "Halston and Warhol." May 18, 2014–August 24, 2014.

Lyndon B. Johnson Library

Two bill-signing pens. National Park Service, Lyndon Johnson National Historical Park, Stonewall, Texas.

George Bush Library

Cowboy boots and Stetson hat. Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. June 16, 2014–June 30, 2015.

William J. Clinton Library

Vintage bicycle. The Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas, "Different Spokes." May 10, 2014–February 2016.

Something for Everyone

I can still hear the “huzzahs” for our Founding Fathers and the “boos” for King George III during the reading of the Declaration of Independence at our annual July 4th celebration on the steps of the National Archives. What a gorgeous morning!

Each year, the Foundation is proud to partner with the Archives to host our national birthday party as we welcome thousands of visitors to begin their holiday at the home of the Charters of Freedom.

This year we also took a moment to thank John Hancock for its 10th year sponsoring this great event, as well as the fourth year of sponsorship by the law firm Dykema.

This continuing support from the Foundation’s loyal corporate donors, along with generous contributions from foundations and individuals throughout the year, is vital to our success. And just as the Archives offers a huge variety of records to pique every interest, so the Foundation offers many opportunities for engagement, whether it be through financial donations, in-kind support, or participation in public programs, exhibits, and events.



Like John Hancock and Dykema, many of our donors are longtime supporters who focus on one event or project. AT&T, Toyota, and Mars, Incorporated, to name a few, have provided recent support for the National Archives Museum’s exhibition fund, sponsoring “Making Their Mark,” currently showing in the Lawrence F. O’Brien Gallery in Washington; “Featured Documents” in the East Rotunda Gallery; and “What’s Cooking, Uncle Sam?” which begins a national tour this fall.

Other supporters, like Texas Instruments, the Hearst Foundations, Capital One, and American Heritage Chocolate have contributed to the Archives’ educational programming, supporting National History Day activities, “Primarily Teaching” workshops for history and civics teachers, the DocsTeach website, and the National Archives Sleepover.

Still others, like Natixis Global Asset Management and the William G. McGowan Charitable Fund, Inc., support public programs in the William G. McGowan Theater, such as the “Jazz at the National Archives” series this spring and summer and the McGowan Communications Forum planned for the fall.

In addition to our generous financial supporters, we also have many Foundation members and supporters who serve as our ambassadors, coming to special events and helping us to spread the word about the Archives and our Foundation—like chef José Andrés, who continues his support of the “What’s Cooking?” exhibit and gave a shout out to the Archives when he listed it among his five “Top Spots” in Washington in a recent magazine article, and American Heritage Chocolate, which has sent its chocolate historians and its delicious chocolate to a variety of events at the Archives, including July 4th.

Whether your interest is in exhibitions, public programs, educational activities, research, or online initiatives, whether you are offering major ongoing financial support, a targeted one-time donation, a yearly membership starting at \$60, or your time and ideas, we welcome your support. Please join us!

A'Lelia Bundles

A'Lelia Bundles
Chairwoman
Foundation for the National Archives

Foundation Elects Four Members to Board of Directors

The Foundation is pleased to announce the election of four new members to its Board of Directors: James W. Cicconi, Jon Meacham, Steven W. Caple, and Linda Watters.

“I’m excited to welcome our new board members,” said A'Lelia Bundles, Chair of the Foundation’s board. “All leaders in their respective fields, they bring talent, experience, and great passion for history and civics education. I know they will help us as we continue promoting and supporting the National Archives and its important exhibitions, public programs, and educational initiatives.”



Jim Cicconi, senior executive vice president for external and legislative affairs at AT&T, is responsible for his company’s public policy organization and is chair of the AT&T Foundation. Previously, Mr. Cicconi served as general counsel and executive vice president for law and government affairs at AT&T Corp. He also served in the White House under two Presidents, including two years as deputy chief of staff to President George H.W. Bush and four years as a special assistant to President Ronald Reagan and to White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III.



Jon Meacham, in addition to serving as executive editor and executive vice president of Random House, is a contributing editor to *Time* magazine, a former editor of *Newsweek*, and has written for the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, among other publications. He is an accomplished author, most recently of *Thomas Jefferson: The Art of Power*, and received the Pulitzer Prize for his 2008 biography of Andrew Jackson, *American Lion*. He is also the author of the *New York Times* best-sellers *Franklin and Winston* and *American Gospel*.



Steven W. Caple is president of Unity Hunt, Inc., which manages the holdings of the Lamar Hunt family. Mr. Caple focuses on developing and implementing the company’s strategic initiatives and oversees its accounting, finance, investment, legal, operating, and tax functions. Previously, he served as president of VFT Capital, a private investment firm, and as president of Novo Networks, a public telecommunications company. Earlier in his career, Mr. Caple held legal and management positions with GTE Corp., Chancellor Media, and Marcus Cable.



Linda Watters is vice president of government relations for John Hancock Financial and a longtime supporter of the National Archives. Formerly, Ms. Watters was a managing director for financial risk management with KPMG in Chicago. From 2003 to 2007, she served as the commissioner in the Office of Financial and Insurance Services for the State of Michigan. She was the founder, president, and CEO of Detroit Commerce Bank from 1998 to 2003.



Left: A crowd gathers for the reading of the Declaration of Independence at the National Archives on July 4. Right: Mauryanne Remondini of John Hancock, John Hancock reenactor, Stephen Zimmerman of Dykema, and Linda Watters of John Hancock enjoy the Promise of America breakfast.

John Hancock, Dykema Sponsor July 4th Celebration at the National Archives

The Foundation was pleased to support the National Archives' annual July 4th celebration, which welcomed thousands of people to celebrate the nation's birth at the home of the Declaration of Independence.

The annual Independence Day celebration, which included patriotic music, a dramatic reading of the Declaration from the National Archives steps, and free family activities, was presented in partnership with the Foundation through the generous support of lead sponsor John Hancock, who sponsored the event for the 10th year in a row, as well as the national law firm Dykema.

The program featured historical reenactors "Thomas Jefferson," "John Adams," "Benjamin Franklin," "Gen. George Washington," "Abigail Adams," and "Pvt. Ned Hector" reading the colonists' grievances against King George III, and leading the crowd in "huzzahs" as the names of the signers were read aloud. Musical entertainment was provided by the U.S. Army Third Infantry "The Old Guard" Fife and Drum Corps and the United States Navy Band, which led the National Anthem; and Christopher Ullman, four-time international whistling champion, who performed a

stirring whistled rendition of "America the Beautiful."

The public program followed the Foundation's annual Promise of America Breakfast and a private program and tours for Foundation supporters and their guests. The Archivist and the Foundation's Board joined Foundation Chair A'Lelia Bundles, Executive Director Patrick M. Madden, John Hancock's Vice President of Government Relations Linda Watters, and Dykema's DC Office Managing Member Paul Laurenza and his wife, Ann Maria, to participate in the breakfast program.

Other special guests included U.S. Rep. John Larson (D-Connecticut) and family; Smithsonian Board of Regents Chair John McCarter; Kevin Gover, director of the National Museum for the American Indian; U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth; and Foundation Board members Cokie Roberts, Mary Lynn Kotz, and Lucinda Robb.

Representatives from American Heritage Chocolate were also on hand during the breakfast and throughout the day to provide colonial-era chocolate demonstrations and tastings in the Archives' Visitor Orientation Plaza.

Toyota Supports Featured Documents Exhibit

The Foundation for the National Archives has received a \$100,000 donation from Toyota to support the National Archives Museum's display of rarely exhibited records, including the House passage of the Bill of Rights, the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, and 200-year-old documents from the War of 1812.

The donation was given in honor of businessman and philanthropist David M. Rubenstein, a generous supporter of the Archives and the Foundation, who helped fund the creation of a new permanent exhibition gallery and the "Record of Rights" exhibit, which opened at the museum last fall.

"It is with a deep sense of honor that Toyota makes this donation to the Foundation for the National Archives in recognition of our nation's rich history," said Jim Lentz, CEO of Toyota's North American Region. "We are proud to help preserve treasured documents marking major milestones in American history."

"Toyota's generosity is a stirring gesture to David Rubenstein's philanthropy while recognizing the vital importance of the National Archives," said the Foundation's Executive Director Patrick M. Madden. "These are one-of-a-kind historic

documents that range from light-hearted to monumental acts. Each one still resonates in our country's consciousness today."

Toyota's donation supports the Foundation's exhibition fund and will help the Archives prepare and display more than 10 records in the "Featured Document" exhibit in the museum's East Rotunda Gallery through the summer and fall. The rotating exhibit, located near displays of the original Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, is seen by more than a million visitors each year.

The featured documents include the G.I. Bill of Rights of 1944, which provided World War II veterans with grants for school and college tuition, low-interest mortgages, and unemployment benefits; the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of 1964, in which Congress gave President Lyndon Johnson the authority to increase U.S. involvement in the war between North and South Vietnam; the House Passage of the Bill of Rights; and records commemorating the 1814 attack on Baltimore and Fort McHenry and the burning of Washington during the War of 1812.

A PLEA FOR AID

Every day, staff in the in the preservation laboratory at the National Archives at St. Louis work on damaged military personnel files that survived the 1973 fire at the National Personnel Records Center. One day the folder of 1st Lt. James Vurgaropulos, a World War II pilot, came to the work bench.

Inside that folder was a special sort of record—a piece of silk backed by linen, bearing the image of the Chinese Nationalist flag and columns of Chinese characters. The cloth measures 8 inches wide and 9½ inches tall and shows water damage from the aftermath of the fire.

Vurgaropulos's unit, the 75th Fighter Squadron of the 23rd Fighter Group of the U.S. Army Air Force, was fighting the Japanese in China. He and other soldiers operating in foreign lands carried such "blood chits" to help them in case they were stranded in a place where they did not know the language and needed help.

The message written on the cloth announces that the bearer has come to China to help the war effort

and asks for assistance and medical care. Vurgaropulos, however, was killed when his plane crashed in Hunan Province on June 29, 1944. Villagers found his body and buried him. After the war, they showed an Army search team the burial site, and the pilot's blood chit became one piece of evidence in the quest to identify him.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Administration
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20408-0001
202-357-5400
and

8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-4001
301-837-2000

National Archives at Atlanta
5780 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, GA 30260-3806
770-968-2100

Atlanta Federal Records Center
4712 Southpark Boulevard
Ellenwood, GA 30294-3595
404-736-2820

National Archives at Boston and
Boston Federal Records Center
380 Trapelo Road
Waltham, MA 02452-6399
866-406-2379

National Archives at Chicago and
Chicago Federal Records Center
7358 South Pulaski Road
Chicago, IL 60629-5898
773-948-9001

Dayton Federal Records Center
3150 Springboro Road
Dayton, OH 45439-1883
937-425-0600

Dayton-Kingsridge Federal Records Center
8801 Kingsridge Drive
Dayton, OH 45458-1617
937-425-0601

National Archives at Denver and
Denver Federal Records Center
17101 Huron Street
Broomfield, CO 80023-8909
303-407-5740

National Archives at Fort Worth and
Fort Worth Federal Records Center
1400 John Burgess Drive
Fort Worth, TX 76140-6222
817-551-2000

National Archives at Fort Worth (microfilm)
2600 West Seventh Street, Ste. 162
Fort Worth, TX 76107-2244
817-831-5620

National Archives at Kansas City
400 West Pershing Road
Kansas City, MO 64108-4306
816-268-8000

Kansas City Federal Records Center
8600 NE Underground Drive, Pillar 300-g
Kansas City, MO 64161-9742
816-994-1700

Lee's Summit Federal Records Center
200 Space Center Drive
Lee's Summit, MO 64064-1182
816-288-8100

Lenexa Federal Records Center
17501 West 98th Street, Ste. 3150
Lenexa, KS 66219-1735
913-825-7600

National Archives at New York City
One Bowling Green
New York, NY 10004-1415
866-840-1752

National Archives at Philadelphia and
Federal Records Center
14700 Townsend Road
Philadelphia, PA 19154-1096
215-305-2000

Pittsfield Federal Records Center
10 Conte Drive
Pittsfield, MA 01201-8230
413-236-3610

National Archives at Riverside and
Riverside Federal Records Center
23123 Cajalco Road
Perris, CA 92572-7298
951-956-2000

National Archives at San Francisco and
San Francisco Federal Records Center
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, CA 94066-2350
650-238-3500

National Archives at Seattle and
Seattle Federal Records Center
6125 Sand Point Way, NE
Seattle, WA 98115-7999
206-336-5115

National Archives at St. Louis and
National Personnel Records Center (Military)
1 Archives Drive
St. Louis, MO 63138-1002
314-801-0800

National Personnel Records Center (Civilian)
1411 Boulder Boulevard
Valmeyer, IL 62295-2603
618-935-3005

Washington National Records Center
4205 Suitland Road
Suitland, MD 20746-8001
301-778-1600

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library
210 Parkside Drive
P.O. Box 488
West Branch, IA 52358-0488
319-643-5301
www.hoover.archives.gov

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538-1999
845-486-7770 / 800-337-8474
www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu

Harry S. Truman Library
500 West U.S. Highway 24
Independence, MO 64050-1798
816-268-8200 / 800-833-1225
www.trumanlibrary.org

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
200 Southeast Fourth Street
Abilene, KS 67410-2900
785-263-6700 / 877-746-4453
www.eisenhower.archives.gov

John F. Kennedy Library
Columbia Point
Boston, MA 02125-3398
617-514-1600 / 866-JFK-1960
www.jfklibrary.org

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, TX 78705-5702
512-721-0200
www.lbjlibrary.org

Richard Nixon Library
18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Yorba Linda, CA 92886-3903
714-983-9120
www.nixonlibrary.gov

Richard Nixon Library-College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001
301-837-3290

Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114
734-205-0555
www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov

Gerald R. Ford Museum
303 Pearl Street, NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5353
616-254-0400

Jimmy Carter Library
441 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307-1498
404-865-7100
www.jimmycarterlibrary.org

Ronald Reagan Library
40 Presidential Drive
Simi Valley, CA 93065-0600
805-577-4000 / 800-410-8354
www.reagan.utexas.edu

George Bush Library
1000 George Bush Drive
College Station, TX 77845-3906
979-691-4000
bushlibrary.tamu.edu

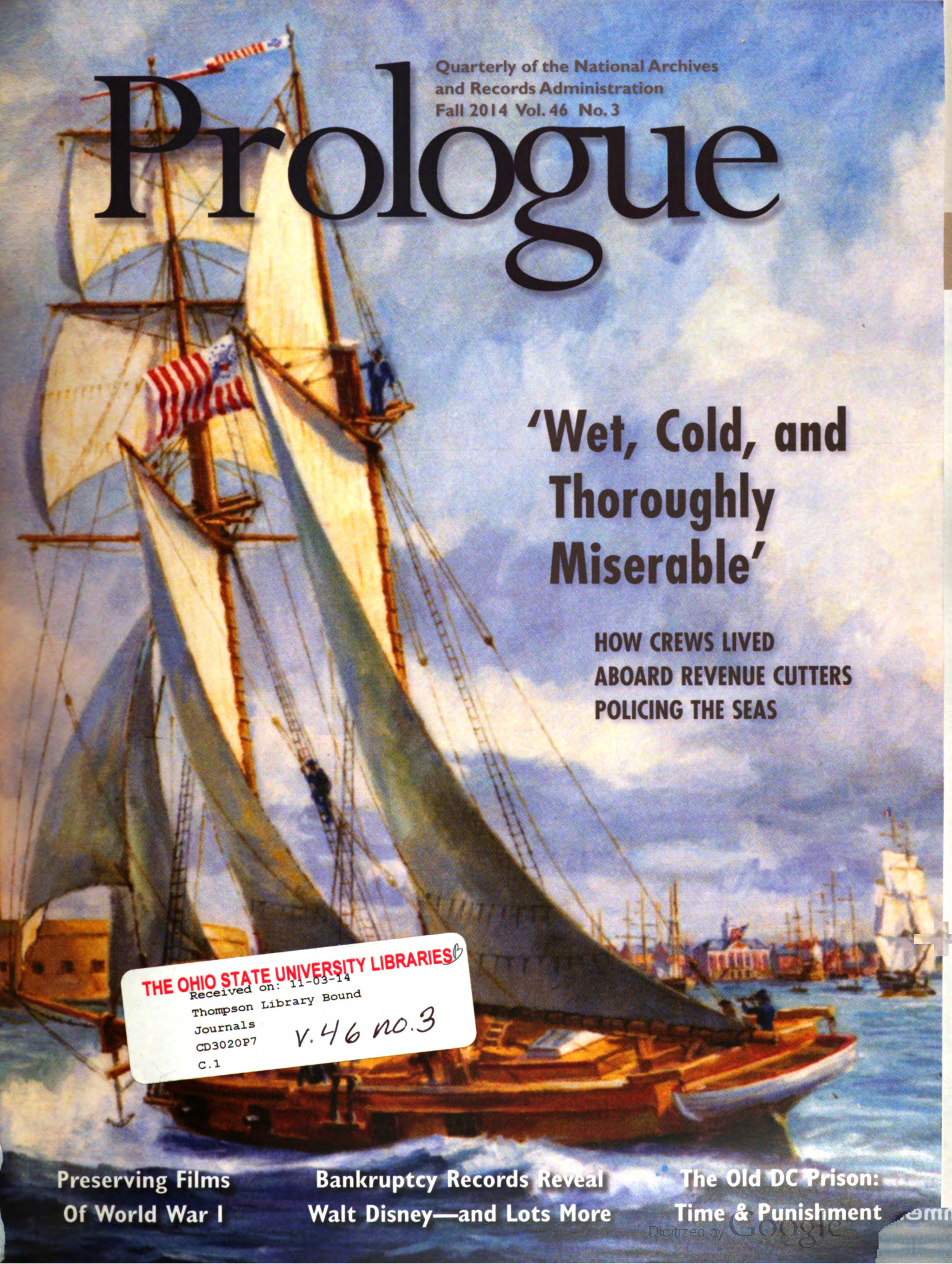
William J. Clinton Library
1200 President Clinton Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201-1749
501-374-4242
www.clintonlibrary.gov

George W. Bush Library
2943 SMU Boulevard
Dallas, TX 75205-2563
214-346-1557
www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu





A VIEW OF THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES
after the Conflagration of the 24.th August 1846.



Quarterly of the National Archives
and Records Administration
Fall 2014 Vol. 46 No. 3

Prologue

'Wet, Cold, and Thoroughly Miserable'

HOW CREWS LIVED
ABOARD REVENUE CUTTERS
POLICING THE SEAS

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Received on: 11-03-14

Thompson Library Bound

Journals

CD3020F7

C.1

V. 46 no. 3

Preserving Films
Of World War I

Bankruptcy Records Reveal
Walt Disney—and Lots More

The Old DC Prison:
Time & Punishment

Digitized by Google

Cutter: Woodcut

To J. M. Maudslayi

May 27	for	Chair Mattress		15 40
		Carriage do		20
	"	1 Feather Pillow 3 lbs 65 ^c		1 90
	"	1 Chair Pillow		1 50
	"	4 Sheets	1 25	5
	"	4 Pillows Cases	3 7 ^c	15
	"	1 Double Comfortable		3 00
	"	1 Rose Blankets		5
	"	4 Towels	3 7 ^c	15
	"	1 Looking Glass		4
	"	20 yd 3 ply Carpet	18 8	37 00
	"	36 yd Binding	4 ^c	14
	"	1 Hank of Thread		" 10
28	"	Making 4 Carpets		4
	"	Carriage do		" 20
June 5	"	10 yd Damask for Curtains	75 ^c	7 50
	"	3 Strap Rods & Eyes for do		1
	"	28 yd Silk Binding for Curtains	20	5 60
	"	Pine fixtures & Tacks		.. 30
	"	Cutting & Making Curtains		2 70
				99.70

Recd from J. M. Maudslayi June 30th 1840 of
 J. M. Maudslayi, Collector, the above sum of
 Ninety nine, 70 Cents in full of the above
 bill, & have signed duplicate receipts

Prologue

Fall 2014 Vol. 46 No. 3

QUARTERLY of the NATIONAL ARCHIVES and RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



NATIONAL
ARCHIVES

ARCHIVIST of the
UNITED STATES
David S. Ferriero

CHIEF STRATEGY and
COMMUNICATIONS
OFFICER
Donna Garland

DIRECTOR of
COMMUNICATIONS
Chris Isleib

EDITOR of
PUBLICATIONS
James Worsham

MANAGING
EDITOR
Mary C. Ryan

SENIOR
EDITOR
Benjamin Guterman

CONTRIBUTING
EDITORS
John Deeben
Keith Donohue
Meg Hacker
Hilary Parkinson

ART DIRECTORS
Rania Hassan
Brian Barth

PHOTO
RESEARCHER
Theresa Roy

SUBSCRIBER
SERVICES
Sandra Tucker

Editorial Policy. *Prologue* is published quarterly by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Its primary purpose is to bring to public attention the resources and programs of NARA, the regional archives, and the presidential libraries. Accordingly, *Prologue* in the main publishes material based, in whole or in part, on the holdings and programs of these institutions. In keeping with the nonpartisan character of NARA, *Prologue* will not accept articles that are politically partisan or that deal with contemporary political issues.

Articles are selected for publication by the editor in consultation with experts. The editor reserves the right to make changes in articles accepted for publication and will consult the author should substantive questions arise. Published articles do not necessarily represent the views of NARA or of any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Prospective authors are encouraged to discuss their work with the editor prior to submission. Articles may be submitted as either an e-mail attachment or as hard copy. The *Prologue* office uses MS Word but can accept any common word-processing format. Correspondence regarding contributions and all other editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001; prologue@nara.gov.

Subscriptions and Reprints. U.S. subscription rates are \$24 for one year; rates for subscribers outside the United States are \$30. Single issues of the current volume are available for \$6 each (add \$3 shipping for orders up to \$50). Send a check or money order to National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (NAT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent within six months of its publication date. Microfilm copies of *Prologue* are available from ProQuest Information and Learning, P.O. Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346. *Prologue*'s web site is at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration (ISSN 0033-1031) is published quarterly by the National Archives Trust Fund Board, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Periodicals postage paid at College Park, MD, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, NPAC/Room 400, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001. INDEXED in Acad. Abstr., Amer. Hist. & Life. Bibl. Cart., Hist. Abst. (Pts. A & B), Hum. Ind., Mag. Art. Sum., U.S. Govt. Per. Ind., Writ. Am. Hist., & Winter *Prologue*.

Printed in the United States of America.

EDITOR'S NOTE

QUEEN VICTORIA OCCUPIED THE BRITISH throne for 63 years and seven months, longer than any other British monarch. She has an era named for her, and countless other things, such as train stations, cities, an adjective, and many a baby girl.

Victoria ascended the throne under unusual circumstances. On June 20, 1837, her uncle, William IV, died. Victoria had just turned 18 the month before, and so could rule without a regency.



The young queen also wanted the United States to know that she was on the throne now and we had to deal with her. So she sent a "your good friend" letter to the President of the United States, Martin Van

Buren, who had been in office only a few months.

That letter is in the National Archives and is reproduced in this issue in our "Pieces of History" feature on page 72.

You may want to make this feature a regular read, for these pieces are some of the most interesting in American history.

Chosen by Managing Editor Mary Ryan, they have included pieces of history such as FDR's dog Fala's "Barkers for Britain" tag, a Guadalcanal "Record of Events" journal scarred by shrapnel, one of Bess Truman's many hats, a telegram noting the death of a World War I hero pigeon, and Humphrey Bogart's yacht registration. And there's some interesting stuff to come.

There's a lot of good reading and interesting history between here and page 72, so take your time.

Join us on our blog at <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue> and on our website at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

JAMES WORSHAM

MEETING *Our Customers' Needs*

BY DAVID S. FERRIERO



Previously in this space, I wrote about what we will be doing in the coming years in pursuit of one of our four strategic goals: Make Access Happen.

We're doing it at more than 40 facilities nationwide, in print and online, with our exhibits and loans of important documents, on our web site, and through our vigorous social media activities. But we can, and will, do more.

We plan to build on our successes with our customers and enhance those connections. To that end, we will be pursuing our second goal, Connect with Customers.

We want to engage our customers in what we do and be an example of open government. That way, we can respond to your needs sooner and more effectively . . .

Some specifics:

We're working on an integrated researcher registration system for all our research rooms nationwide. It will provide more efficient means for researcher registration and badge access control to *all* NARA locations having research rooms.

When this system comes online, now scheduled for mid-2015, you can register at any NARA location and have access to all archival and presidential library research rooms nationwide.

We're going to update our nationwide telephone system. In the next year, we plan to provide general information and public access to federal records by connecting callers to the appropriate office and/or staff, regardless of where staff is located, and do so within a reasonable time period.

We also want to increase public participation in our work. For example, we're digitizing film from World Wars I and II, then asking our citizen archivist community to do transcriptions. They have also been helpful in preparing documents for scanning.

We are also beginning our efforts to identify an enterprise customer relationship system, which will provide an

automated system for responding to customer requests for all locations. It's important that customers have a seamless, consistent experience across all NARA offices, regardless of where they are when they need us.

To connect with more customers, we're going to expand our national traveling exhibit program. We will take records on the road so people unable to visit us in Washington can see them. Already, we loan some important documents to institutions all around the country.

Through our Office of the Federal Register, we are taking steps to allow citizens to get involved earlier with federal agencies in the rulemaking process. At the same time, we're helping the agencies better handle citizen comments on proposed regulations.

Since our customers also include other federal agencies and Congress, we're improving service to them, which also improves service to the public.

For example, we continue to help agencies with managing records and emails in accordance with directives and guidance we have issued in the past year or so.

For another one of our customers, Congress, we have created a new Internet portal for congressional staff and researchers that will provide a streamlined system for them to search records held by our Center for Legislative Archives.

At our National Personnel Records Center, we're adding staff to reduce a big backlog of records requests from veterans. And we've taken over medal verification requests for the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard—as we now do for the Army and Air Force.

We hope these steps, among many others, will get citizens involved in what we do, allow us to meet their needs—and learn from them.

We plan to continue building long-term, positive, effective relationships and provide a consistent customer experience across programs, platforms, and locations. We will be a model of open, participatory government responsive to the needs of its citizens.

*Join the Archivist at his own blog at
<http://blogs.archives.gov/aotus>
and visit NARA's website at www.archives.gov.*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Ferriero".

Archivist of the United States

Fall 2014

Volume 46 Issue No. 3

Features

6 When an Act of Congress Wasn't Enough

Bryan Meals remembers a family tragedy and the rejection of a plea for help from President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

12 Mission: Lifeguard

Nathaniel Patch documents the work of U.S. submarines in the Pacific as lifeguards for downed pilots, including one very famous one.

22 Tribute for a Black Patriot

Robert Scott Davis tells of efforts to secure a pension for a black soldier who fought in the American Revolution.

30 Saving the Moving Images of World War I

Criss Kovac reveals the Archives' plan to preserve film from the Great War that began a century ago this year.

36 Wet, Cold, and Thoroughly Miserable

William Wells writes of the not-very-luxurious life aboard U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (now part of the Coast Guard) vessels in the 1800s.

48 Time and Punishment

Alison Gavin recalls life in Washington, D.C.'s old prison, where now stands our nation's symbol of equal justice under law.



In every issue

2 From the Archivist

The Archivist sees a stronger connection ahead between the Archives and its customers.

58 Genealogy Notes

Jake Ersland finds a genealogy gold mine—and a famous mouse's creator—in bankruptcy records.

64 Authors on the Record

A. J. Baime focuses on Ford Motor Co. in describing how U.S. industry responded to wartime needs in the 1940s.

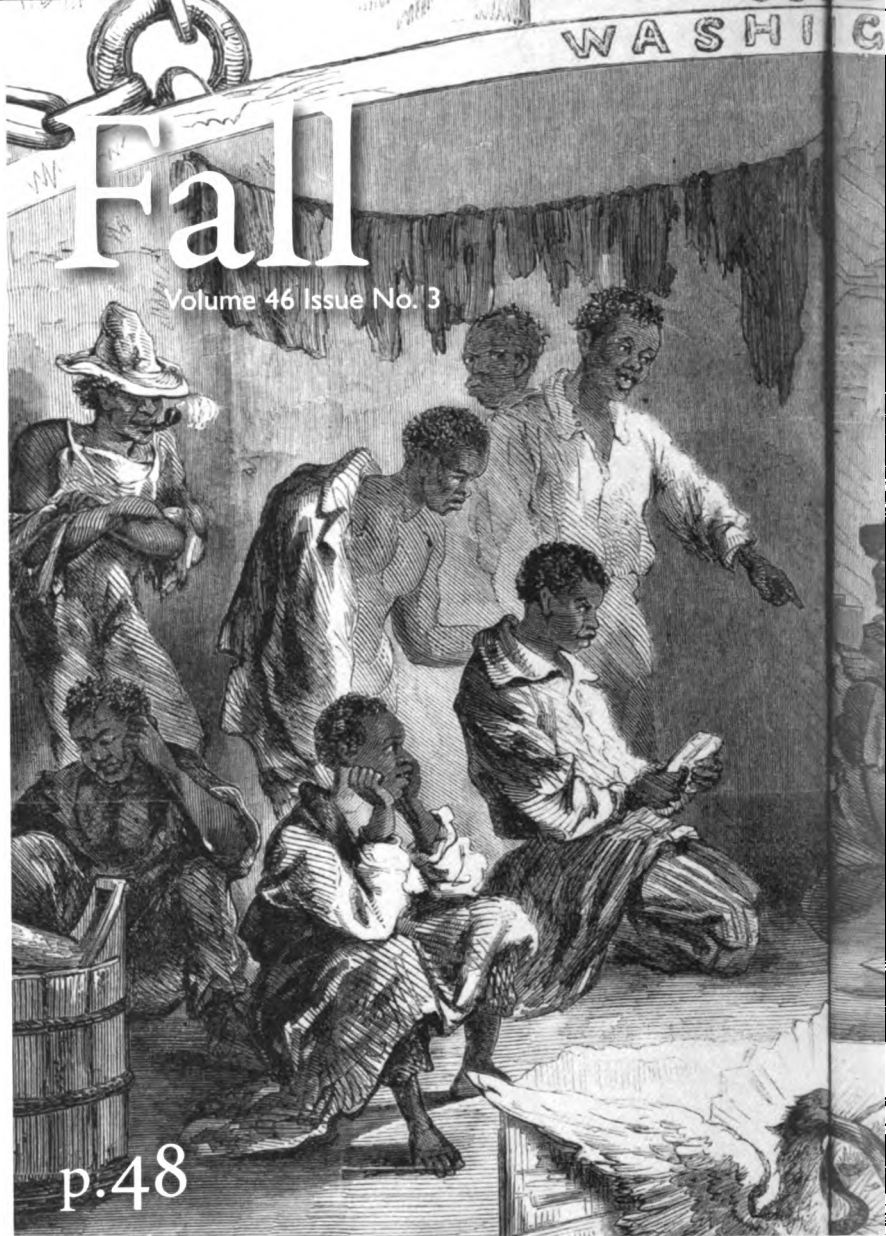
66 Events / News & Notices

70 Foundation for the National Archives

The Foundation honors "Monuments Men" historian and author Robert Edsel with its Records of Achievement award.

72 Pieces of History

In President Martin Van Buren's mail: A note from "Your Good Friend" Queen Victoria.



**To subscribe or view online
articles, go to**

www.archives.gov/publications/prologue

Front cover: The Revenue Cutter *McLane* enforced federal tariff laws in Charleston Harbor during the Nullification Crisis of 1832–1833. An article on page 36 explores the difficult working and living conditions on board revenue cutters in the antebellum period.

Inside front cover: An 1840 accounting of purchases by New Haven Collector William H. Ellis for the Revenue Cutter *Wolcott* reveals some of the luxuries enjoyed by ships' captains, including such items as one three-pound feather pillow, a pair of rose blankets, and damask-style fabric for bunk curtains.

Back cover: A section of a plan from the Quartermaster General's records indicates how the Union Army used the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., during the Civil War.

Connect *with the* National Archives at the **Virtual Genealogy Fair**

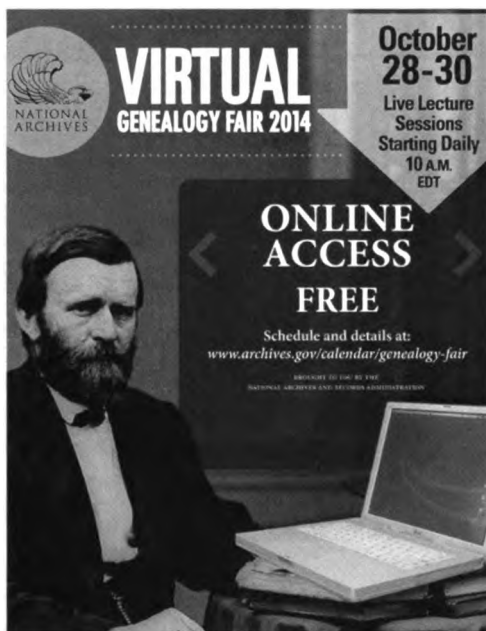
OCTOBER 28–30, 2014

Join us from near and far on October 28, 29, and 30 as we present speakers and topics for genealogy research at the National Archives.

Speakers will include genealogy experts from National Archives

locations across the nation and U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services.

The live lecture sessions will feature tips and techniques for using federal records and are designed for experienced genealogists and novices alike. To find out more information, and to join the Virtual Genealogy Fair, visit www.archives.gov/calendar/genealogy-fair/.



The National Archives on the Web:

visit www.archives.gov/social-media

Subscribe



Prologue
on Zinio



Prologue
on Scribd



RSS Feeds

Interact



Blogs



Facebook



Tumblr



Twitter



Google+



Instagram



Pinterest

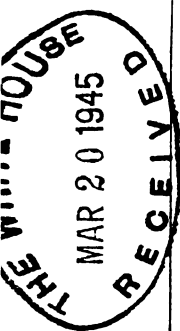
Access



Archival
Videos



Archival
Photos



Seventy-ninth Congress of the United States of America;
At the First Session

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday, the third
day of January, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five

AN ACT

For the relief of the estates of Robert C. Meals and Mrs. Bessie Mae Morgret, Mrs. Margaret J. Meals, Donald Meals (a minor), and Betty Wrightstone (a minor).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the estate of Robert C. Meals, the sum of \$5,742; to the estate of Bessie Mae Morgret,

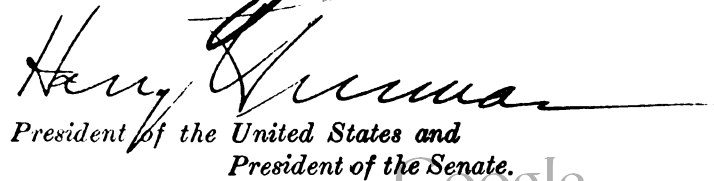
WHEN AN ACT OF CONGRESS WASN'T ENOUGH

One of FDR's Last Vetoes and the Family Behind It

BY BRYAN K. MEALS

Mrs. Margaret Meals, Donald Meals, and Betty Wrightstone, and in damage to personal property: *Provided*, That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.


Speaker of the House of Representatives.


Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate.

I have always known about “the wreck.” It was the darkest day in my family’s history when my grandfather and great grandmother were killed and my father, grandmother, and cousin were severely injured. I knew it in the way schoolchildren know about the Civil War or Prohibition. It was a part of my family’s story, but it was in the past.

As I grew into adulthood and began charting my own course in life, however, it suddenly became much more. I recently discovered that my family’s greatest tragedy is a part of American history. The loss of my two ancestors was only the beginning of an interesting story that eventually involved Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, Vice President Harry S. Truman and, most importantly, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and one of his last vetoes of a piece of legislation.

This is the story.

November 25, 1939, started out as any other day for a private in the Pennsylvania National Guard assigned to Company B, 103rd Quartermaster Regiment, but it was a day that would tragically and forever change my family.

The Meals family—Donald, my father, who was nine years old at the time; his mother, Margaret; his father, Robert; his grandmother Bessie Morgret; and his cousin Betty Wrightstone—were driving west to Carlisle from Shiremanstown, Pennsylvania, at about 7:30 p.m. to visit friends.

At the same time, the private was driving a U.S. Army 1½-ton cargo truck, heading in the opposite direction on the same road. As the two vehicles crested a hill, the guardsman inexplicably crossed the center line of the two-lane road and was completely in the opposite lane as he slammed into my grandfather’s car.

The crash was horrific. The Meals’s vehicle left 78 feet of skid marks behind it, as my grandfather tried in vain to avoid the impact and save his family. He pulled as far



to the right as he could before the truck plowed into him. There were no skid marks behind the Army truck, leading investigators to conclude the soldier did little, if anything, to avoid the collision. Both vehicles were totaled. The private told police that he had no recollection of the accident.

My small family became significantly smaller that fateful night. Robert Meals and Bessie Morgret were both killed, although Robert was not killed instantly.

Robert remained conscious for several hours after the impact, as rescue workers tried to untangle the mass of metal and humanity. He sustained a skull fracture, numerous large lacerations to his head, several broken bones, and internal injuries.

Bessie Morgret’s skull was crushed, and she was nearly decapitated. Margaret Meals had a badly fractured jaw, which left a large scar on her face. She was unable to eat for several weeks. Betty Wrightstone suffered a broken wrist and several lacerations.

Donald sustained a severe concussion, a puncture wound to his neck, a fractured skull, and several lacerations and

Opposite: The resolution awarding compensation to the Meals family, signed by Speaker Sam Rayburn and Vice President Harry Truman, passed both houses of Congress on January 3, 1945. Above: The Meals family, from left: Margaret, Donald (age nine), and Robert, the author’s grandfather. Robert died from an automobile accident involving an army vehicle in November 1939, but a bill to compensate the family met with a presidential veto.

brush burns to his arms and legs. He also suffered long-lasting neurological and psychiatric problems as a result of the accident; fortunately, these did not adversely affect his life in the long term.

The private who caused the fatal crash was eventually charged with and tried on two charges of involuntary manslaughter in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In the prosecution's case, the district attorney introduced an admission from the soldier that he had had a drink of alcohol just before the accident, and he produced eyewitness testimony from a fellow soldier that Robert Meals had tried unsuccessfully to avoid the crash. Another driver testified that only one of the Army truck's headlights was working at the time of impact.

The defense introduced testimony that the private may have been overcome by fumes at the time of the collision, as a result of gasoline he had spilled on his clothes while repairing a truck before the accident.

The guardsman also testified that he had no recollection of ever seeing the other car and no explanation for how he came to be on the wrong side of the road. After hearing the evidence, the jury convicted the driver, and he was sentenced to a mere six months in jail.

The family looked to the federal government to compensate them for their losses. Representative John C. Kunkel, a Harrisburg Republican, introduced H.R. 6335 in the 1941-1943 Congress, which would have awarded compensation to my family as a result of the accident. Soon after it was introduced and referred to the Committee on Claims in the House of Representatives, Kunkel received a letter from the committee chair, Dan R. McGehee, invoking Rule 14 of the committee, which prohibited consideration of any claims for injuries caused by members of the National Guard. After citing the rule and noting that the operation of the National Guard is primarily a state function,

he acknowledged that the committee had recommended paying some claims arising out of National Guard activities in the past, but that only one claim had ever been approved by Congress, and that was after a presidential veto.

He suggested that Kunkel advise the family to seek compensation from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, although he acknowledged that he did not know if Pennsylvania had ever enacted legislation to pay claims arising from National Guard activities.

Undaunted by the chairman's rebuke, Kunkel pressed forward with the legislation. As part of its consideration, the committee sought input from the War Department. Secretary of War Stimson recommended against paying the claim. Although he was overseeing America's efforts in the largest war in the history of mankind, the secretary took time to pen several letters to the committee and its members addressing the claim.

News of the crash involving the Meals family was reported in the *Harrisburg-Patriot News* on November 25, 1939. At issue was the government's liability, as the truck driver was a private in the Pennsylvania National Guard driving an Army truck.

**TRIPLE PROBE IN
2 CRASH DEATHS
NOW UNDER WAY**

CARLISLE, Nov. 27.—A triple investigation was under way today into the deaths of two Shiremanstown residents, killed when their automobile and a Pennsylvania National Guard truck collided near the crest of a hill on the Trindle road, three miles east of Carlisle, on Saturday night at 7.30.

Killed instantly in the crash was Mrs. Bessie Morgret, 54, East Main street, who was nearly decapitated, when thrown through the roof of the automobile. Her son-in-law, Robert Meals, 36, driver of the car, died in the Carlisle Hospital four hours after the accident of a fractured skull and internal injuries.

Besides these victims, four persons were injured, two of them seriously, in the crash. In the Carlisle Hospital are Donald Meals, 9, son of the dead man, who suffered a fractured skull; Betty Wrightstone, 13, of 5 Railroad avenue, Shiremanstown, possible fracture of the skull, fractures of the left leg and right arm, and Mrs. Margaret Meals, 31, wife of Robert, lacerations of the left knee and thigh. The condition of Donald Meals and the Wrightstone girl was reported serious today.

Under guard at the Carlisle Army Post Hospital is Priv. Ralph Mitzel, 27, of 440 South Court avenue, York, driver of the National Guard truck. He suffered a slight brain concussion and a bruised right ankle. His condition is reported satisfactory.

Coroner Haegle said tire marks on the highway indicated that Meals applied his brakes and swerved to the right to avoid the oncoming truck. Skid marks appeared on the highway for a distance of seventy-five feet east of the scene of the collision, the coroner said.

Mrs. Morgret, widow of Stillwell Morgret and member of the Shiremanstown United Brethren Church, is survived by three daughters, Mrs. Wrightstone, mother of the injured girl, and Miss Pearl Morgret, of Shiremanstown, and Mrs. Meals; one son, Carroll Morgret, of Mechanicsburg; her father, R. R. Eshelman, of Shiremanstown; two brothers, George K. Eshelman, Carlisle, and Frank Eshelman and a sister, Mrs. John Nester, of Shiremanstown.

Funeral services for Mrs. Morgret will be held at 2 o'clock Wednesday afternoon from her home with added rites from the Shiremanstown United Brethren Church. Burial will be in Slate Hill Cemetery. Officiating will be the Rev. R. A. Strausbaugh, Shiremanstown, and the Rev. J. F. Snyder, of Boiling Springs. Friends may call at the residence tomorrow evening from 7 to 9 o'clock.

Services for Meals will be held at 10 a. m. Wednesday from the Myers funeral home, Mechanicsburg, with further rites in the Shiremanstown United Brethren Church. Burial will be in St. John's Cemetery, near Shiremanstown. The Rev. Mr. Strausbaugh will officiate. Friends may call at the funeral home tomorrow evening.

Meals, assistant superintendent of the Shiremanstown United Brethren Sunday School, and a member of the Men's Chorus of his church, is survived by his widow and son; one brother, Melvin, of Dillsburg, R. D., and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Meals, of Mechanicsburg.

November 25, 1939

Conditions of Four Crash Victims Improved

MRS. ROBERT MEALS
DONALD MEALS

—Photo of Mrs. Meals by S. W. Kuhnert

CARLISLE, Nov. 28.—Improvement was reported at Carlisle Hospital today in the conditions of four victims of an automobile-truck collision in Trindle road last Saturday night in which a man and woman were killed. Mrs. Robert Meals, 31, of East Main street, Shiremanstown, who suffered a broken jaw, a leg injury and numerous contusions, was reported somewhat improved. Her husband died in the accident. Her son, Donald, 9, who suffered a fractured skull, was in an improved condition. Slight improvement also was noted in the condition of Betty Wrightstone, 13, of Shiremanstown, niece of Mrs. Meals, whose skull and leg were fractured. These three are patients at the Carlisle Hospital. Under guard at the Carlisle Army Post hospital is Ralph Mitzel, 27, of York, driver of the Pennsylvania National Guard truck which figured in the accident. He is suffering from a concussion, a sprained ankle and brush burns.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

DECEMBER 3 (legislative day, NOVEMBER 30), 1942

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Claims

AN ACT

For the relief of the estates of Robert C. Meals and Mrs. Bessie Mae Morgret, Mrs. Margaret J. Meals, Donald Meals (a minor), and Betty Wrightstone (a minor).

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed
 4 to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise
 5 appropriated, to the estate of Robert C. Meals, the sum of
 6 \$5,742; to the estate of Mrs. Bessie Mae Morgret, the sum
 7 of \$4,000; to the legal guardian of Donald Meals, the sum
 8 of \$2,616.50; to Mrs. Margaret Meals, the sum of \$2,996.94;
 9 to the legal guardian of Betty Wrightstone, the sum of
 10 \$4,043.50.

Above: House bill 6335, dated December 3, 1942, was introduced in the 1941-1943 Congress by Representative John C. Kunkel to award compensation to the Meals family. Below: A section of House Report 52, dated January 27, 1943, enumerates the damages and costs incurred by the Meals family as a result of the accident.

*Estate of Robert C. Meals versus Ralph Mitzel (Pennsylvania National Guard)—
 injuries and damages May 21, 1941*

Expenses:	
Carlisle Hospital.....	\$5. 00
Cemetery lot.....	50. 00
S. Harper Myers, undertaker.....	450. 00
L. A. Bender, letters of administration.....	5. 00
Tombstone.....	250. 00
Total.....	780. 00

Loss of car:	
1934 Terraplane automobile purchased 1 year before the acci- dent, totally demolished.....	225. 00
Towing expenses.....	7. 50
Total.....	232. 50

Dependents: Wife, Margaret J. Meals, age 31. Son, Donald Meals, age 9.

Past health: Prior to his death, deceased was always in good health. He was 34 years of age, worked regularly and supported his family, and was the assistant superintendent of the Sunday school. This man had a life expectancy of 34 years.

Injuries resulting in death: This man was not killed instantly; in fact, he remained conscious and lived for several hours. He sustained a fracture of the skull; laceration in center of forehead about 2 inches long, above bridge of nose and extending over left eye; broken nose with debridement of skin; two deep lacerations under chin exposing bony structure; deep lacerations through right side of mouth; a 6-inch laceration of right arm; multiple abrasions of both hands; compound fractures of right leg, nearly torn off below the knee; abrasions of left knee; fracture of left leg at knee joint; internal injuries with marked hemorrhages. Pain and suffering.

Employment: Deceased had been employed at Appleby Bros. for 5 years, and was earning \$22.50 per week. There were chances of advancement in his position. He paid all of the household expenses and supported his family. Whatever money his wife earned was her own. At least \$15 out of his salary was contributed each week to his family. Since he had a life expectancy of 34 years, and \$780 out of his salary was used each year for his family (not taking into consideration the advances that he was bound to receive in his salary), their loss would be.....

15, 000. 00

15, 992. 50

In his first letter on July 25, 1942, Secretary Stimson chronicled the facts of the accident and explained that it was possible that the guardsman had been overcome by gas fumes spilled on his uniform. He noted that my grandfather was not negligent and that the cause of the accident was unquestionably the Army truck driving in the wrong lane. Nevertheless, he declined to support the relief legislation because "the Federal Government was in no way responsible for the accident." He maintained his position in other letters sent to the committee while the legislation was pending.

On October 7, 1942, the Committee on Claims met to debate Kunkel's relief legislation. Representative William Pittenger of Minnesota was the proponent of the bill at the committee hearing. First, he stated the War Department's objection that the soldier had not yet been officially sworn into service in the United States Army. He then pointedly noted that the truck involved in the accident was owned by the War Department; the driver was under orders of the War Department; he was acting pursuant to the authority of the War Department; and he was ordered to do what he was doing by the War Department. In the words of one committee member, the War Department's position denying responsibility for the claim would not "hold water." After a brief debate, the members voted the bill out of committee. The House approved the bill, but Congress adjourned before the Senate could consider it.

After the newly elected 1943-1945 Congress was sworn in, Kunkel refiled the identical bill with the committee on January 19, 1943. The full House passed the new bill, redesignated as H.R. 946, on February 19, 1943. More than a year later, on May 3, 1944, the chair of the Committee on Claims, Representative McGehee, sent a letter to a man named Walter R. Lee in Mississippi, who had attended a meeting of colonels in the War Department.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

COPY

May 3, 1944.

Mr. Walter R. Lee,
3525 North State St.,
Jackson, Mississippi.

Re: H.R. 1270, "For the
relief of the estates
of Robert C. Meals and
Mrs. Bessie Mae Morgret.

Dear Walter:

Congressman Pittenger called today with reference to the above mentioned bill introduced by Congressman Kunkle, January 18, 1943 and same passed the House February 19, 1943.

The Congressman states that you were in the meeting held with several Colonels in the War Department along with he and Congressman Kunkle, which was for the purpose of trying to get some of the objectionable points straighten out and to secure a "supplemental report" from the War department. He said (Pittenger) you knew the names of the Colonel's with whom the meeting was held and wants me to find out those names as soon as possible.

Please furnish me with the "names" at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

DWM

D. W. McGehee,

According to the chairman, the purpose of the meeting was to try to get "some of the objectionable points straighten[ed] out" in the original committee report on the Meals relief bill and for the War Department to secure a "supplemental report." Unfortunately, the claims file did not contain any "supplemental report," nor did it contain any explanation of the cryptic reference to these "objectionable points."

Finally, on January 3, 1945, the resolution awarding compensation to the Meals family passed both houses of Congress. Soon thereafter, Speaker Sam Rayburn and Vice President Harry Truman (in his role as president of the Senate) signed the legislation formally providing a total of \$19,398.94 to

the victims of the crash. After nearly six long years of fighting, it looked like my family would finally be compensated for its losses. But the bill still had one high hurdle to overcome: it had to be approved by the President.

The bill's long journey came to its end on the President's desk. President Roosevelt vetoed the legislation on March 26, 1945, just 17 days before he died. Though it is unclear whom the President consulted in deciding whether to sign the legislation, his veto message echoed the previous words of Secretary Stimson.

After noting the specific dollar amounts to be provided to each member of my family, Roosevelt wrote, "the evidence in this case

The relief bill for the Meals family was discussed in the War Department in 1944 in an effort to get "some of the objectionable points straighten[ed] out" for a supplemental report. In a letter to Walter R. Lee, Representative McGehee sought the names of the officers at the meeting.

clearly establishes that the proximate cause of the accident was the negligence of the driver of the Army truck in operating his vehicle on the left, or wrong, side of the road. There appears to have been no negligence on the part of Mr. Meals or any of his passengers."

After noting that the driver of the truck was a member of the Pennsylvania National Guard and had not yet been sworn into service in the United States Army, President Roosevelt concluded that there was "no legal or moral obligation devolving upon the United States to compensate the claimants in this case for the damages sustained by them; and I feel constrained, therefore, to withhold my approval from the bill."

This veto is recorded in the Senate's records as Item No. 1770. (Though Roosevelt vetoed one additional private bill three days later, his veto of the Meals relief bill is listed in the Senate record as his last.)

After being rebuffed by the President of the United States, my family took his implicit advice and sought recompense from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Senator George N. Wade, a Cumberland County Republican, introduced a bill in the Pennsylvania Senate, noting that it was the only means available to provide funds for the family.

The Pennsylvania legislature had previously appropriated a total of \$25,000 to pay any claims made against the state as a result of injuries suffered by the negligence of National Guardsmen. After the bill was introduced, the State Board of Finance and Revenue heard the petition filed by my grandmother, Margaret Meals. This was the first claim for

To learn more about

- Franklin D. Roosevelt, go to www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu.
- The National Archives as a custodian of the records of Congress, go to www.archives.gov/legislative/ccl.
- Using congressional records for genealogical research, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2009/spring/congressional-serial-set.html.

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H. R. 946, "An Act For the relief of the estates of Robert C. Meals and Mrs. Bessie Mae Morgret, Mrs. Margaret J. Meals, Donald Meals (a minor), and Betty Wrightstone (a minor)."

The bill would authorize the payment of \$5,742 to the estate of Robert C. Meals, the sum of \$4,000 to the estate of Mrs. Bessie Mae Morgret, the sum of \$2,996.94 to Mrs. Margaret J. Meals, the sum of \$2,616.50 to the legal guardian of Donald Meals, a minor, and the sum of \$4,043.50 to the legal guardian of Betty Wrightstone, a minor, all on account of an accident involving an Army truck operated in the service of the Pennsylvania State Guard.

The evidence in this case clearly establishes that the proximate cause of the accident was the negligence of the driver of the Army truck

It was for this reason that I withheld approval of a similar bill for the relief of Anthony Borsellino (H. R. 6845, 76th Congress).

While every sympathy should be extended to the families of the unfortunate victims of the accident to which the proposed enactment relates, there is, in view of the circumstances above set forth, no legal or moral obligation devolving upon the United States to compensate the claimants in this case for the damages sustained by them; and I feel constrained, therefore, to withhold my approval from the bill.

The White House,
March 26, 1945.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

President Roosevelt vetoed the Meals relief bill on March 26, 1945, writing that the U.S. government had "no legal or moral obligation" to compensate the claimants.

compensation heard by the board for losses resulting from an accident with a member of the Pennsylvania National Guard. In addition to hearing from the surviving witnesses, the board also heard testimony from Dr. Edward Haegele, the local coroner.

There was no opposition to the petition. In fact, Adjutant General Robert M. Wail, who was sitting on the board at the time of the petition and was the head of the Pennsylvania National Guard, recommended that the board award the entire \$25,000 appropriation

to the family, which it ultimately did. As it turned out, the veto by President Roosevelt resulted in a net gain to the family of approximately \$5,000. Needless to say, the money was small consolation to my father, who had lost his father and grandmother, and to my grandmother, who had lost both her husband and mother in an instant.

Though they each sustained grievous injuries in the accident, my grandmother and father went on to lead happy and productive lives. Mrs. Meals survived her second and third husbands and lived to be 97 years old, never leaving the small town of Shiremanstown, Pennsylvania. After the death of her third

husband, she lived alone in the house she and her second husband had built in 1954 until just before she passed away.

Donald, my father, went on to serve honorably in the United States Navy during the Korean War. Following his military service, he worked for the Navy as a civilian for the next 30 years in Norfolk, Virginia. Ever the patriot, my father passed away on July 4, 2011, at the age of 80.

Donald had three children: a daughter who lived only three days in 1963; a younger son, Robert, who has two daughters, Jennifer and Nicole; and me. **P**

© 2014 by Bryan K. Meals

NOTE ON SOURCES

The National Archives Claims file holds the correspondence dated May 3, 1944, from Rep. D. W. McGehee to Walter R. Lee; from McGehee to Rep. John C. Kunkel on February 2, 1942; from Secretary of War Henry Stimson to McGehee on July 25, 1942; from Stimson to McGehee on November 4, 1943; and from Jack H. Ewing, Clerk of the Committee on Claims, to Stimson on May 15, 1943.

The National Archives also holds the transcript of Committee on Claims debate of H.R. 6335 dated October 7, 1942; the committee report of H.R. 1270, 78th Congress, 1st session, Report No. 52; and the veto message from the President returning without approval H.R. 946.

Roosevelt issued one more veto message before he died, three days after he vetoed H.R. 946, but that message is curiously listed as Item No. 1669 in the record.

Ironically, the Foreign Claims Act, which President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself had signed, provided compensation to citizens of foreign countries who were injured by actions of United States military.

Other sources include various newspaper articles chronicling the claim filed with the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.



Author

Bryan K. Meals is an attorney in Norfolk, Virginia, and lives with his wife, Cameron, and two Labrador Retrievers in Portsmouth, Virginia.

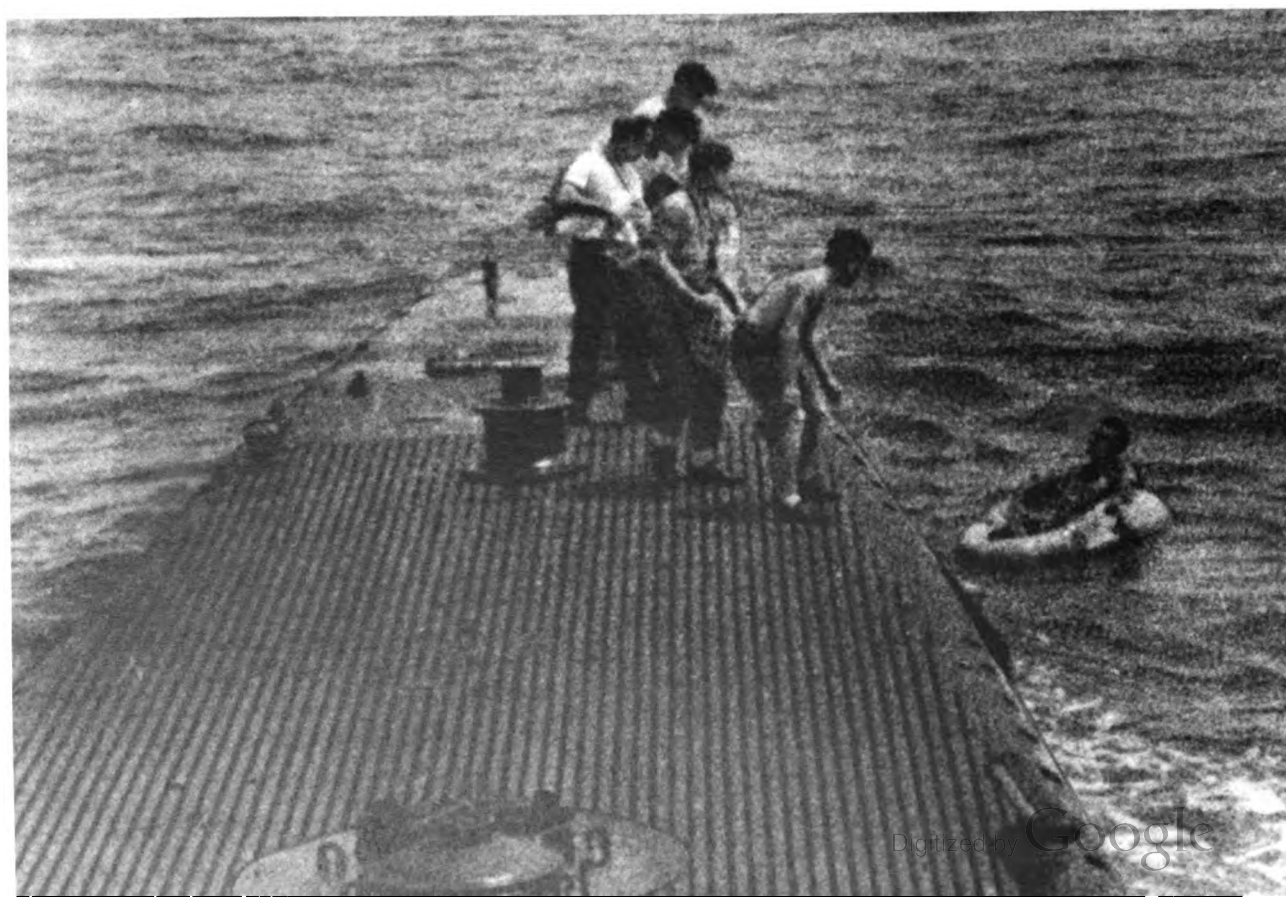
He is a graduate of the College of William and Mary and the University of Virginia School of Law.



MISSION: LIFE GUARD

American Submarines in the Pacific
Recovered Downed Pilots

by NATHANIEL S. PATCH



On the morning of September 2, 1944, the submarine USS *Finback* was floating on the surface of the Pacific Ocean—on lifeguard duty for any downed pilots of carrier-based fighters attacking Japanese bases on Bonin and Volcano Island.

The day before, the *Finback* had rescued three naval aviators—a torpedo bomber crew—from the choppy central Pacific waters near the island of Tobiishi Bana during the strikes on Iwo Jima.

As dawn broke, the submarine's radar picked up the incoming wave of American planes heading towards Chichi Jima.

A short time later, the *Finback* was contacted by two F6F Hellcat fighters, their submarine combat air patrol escorts, which submariners affectionately referred to as "chickens."

The *Finback* and the Hellcats were starting another day of lifeguard duty to look for and rescue "zoomies," the submariners' term for downed pilots. The Hellcats would help guide the *Finback* to the downed pilots and help keep Japanese fighters away while the *Finback* made the rescue.

At around 9:30 a.m., the *Finback* received a report that Japanese antiaircraft defense had shot down a torpedo bomber between the northeastern end of Minami Jima and the southern tip of Chichi Jima. The four diesel engines of the *Finback* roared to life, and the boat headed out to recover the crew of the plane.

To stay out of the range of Japanese shore batteries the *Finback* maintained a distance of seven and a half miles away from shore. It took slightly more than two hours to get to the site where a crew member had bailed out. The crew of the *Finback* managed to fish out the pilot, Lt. (jg) George Herbert Walker Bush of Torpedo Squadron 51 from the USS *San Jacinto*. Bush told his rescuers he had not seen the parachutes of his crew and thought that they either jumped while the plane was over Chichi Jima or went down with the plane.

Lt. Comdr. Robert R. Williams, the boat's commanding officer, started the *Finback* on a search pattern to look for Bush's crew members on the chance that they had jumped out over water.

Rescuing a Downed Pilot Under Japanese Fire

The search, however, was cut short by another report that came in at 12:36 p.m. of a yellow rubber raft spotted

near Haha Jima. Aircraft in the area confirmed the location of the raft, and a plane circled overhead to mark the location. The situation for the downed pilot looked grim; the raft was a mile and a half from shore, and the Japanese were firing at it.

Williams expressed his feelings about the stranded pilot's situation in the war patrol report: "Spirits of all hands went to 300 feet." This rescue would need to be creative because the shore batteries threatened to hit the *Finback* on the surface if she tried to pick up the survivor there. The solution was to approach the raft submerged. But then how would they get the aviator?

It took three hours to locate the raft and approach it. The *Finback* submerged to 55 feet, and with the periscope up, she "roared" past the raft to let the pilot know that a submarine had arrived to get him. Then the *Finback* went into reverse and tried to meet up with the raft.

About a half-hour later, but almost four hours after the initial report, the pilot hooked his arms around the periscope. The *Finback* started away from the island at two-thirds speed, but when Williams looked through the periscope he saw the pilot, "with one arm around the periscope and the other around the life raft with a bailing bucket bringing up the rear."

The submarine came to a stop so the pilot could get back into his raft, and then tried again. Going at two-thirds speed continued to fill the raft with water and dump the pilot. Once the pilot was again back in his raft, the *Finback* raised to 38 feet to keep the pilot out of the water, giving him more of the periscope shear to hold on to but not overly expose the submarine to Japanese guns.

When the *Finback* and the life raft were five miles from shore, the submarine surfaced, and the crew helped the rattled and waterlogged pilot aboard. Ens. James W. Beckman was the pilot of a Hellcat from the USS *Enterprise*. He was the last aviator rescued on this operation

Opposite, top: Rescued pilots and the crew and officers of the *Finback*. Lt. (jg) George Herbert Walker Bush is second from the left in the front row. *Bottom:* The crew of the *Finback* rescues a downed pilot, Lieutenant Bush of Torpedo Squadron 51 on September 2, 1944.

The next day, the *Finback* was released from lifeguard duty to continue her war patrol around the area. The carrier task force rendezvoused near Saipan before sailing on to participate in the invasion of the Palaus.

Beckman, Bush, and the others remained on the *Finback* as "guests" while she tracked and attacked convoys, endured depth charges from Japanese escort ships, and sank two ships (an oiler and small cargo ship). The five ended their stay on the *Finback* on Midway Island on September 29, after 29 days aboard the submarine (and crossing the international date line).

Lifeguard Rescue Mission Dangerous for Submarines

The stories of the lifeguard rescue of the future President of the United States and the others highlight a little-known mission of the U.S. submarine fleet during World War II: rescuing downed pilots.

This duty, of course, was in addition to the primary mission of U.S. submarines in the Pacific, which was to attack and sink Japanese ships and constrict the flow of resources, including troops, necessary for Japan to continue to fight. They also conducted missions

to resupply guerrillas in the Philippines, deliver Marine raiders and Army scouts behind enemy lines, and conduct photographic reconnaissance of enemy outposts.

The primary mission of the submarines was hazardous enough, and the lifeguard missions posed their own hazards—placing many sailors in harm's way to save a downed pilot. Submarine crews had to come up with creative means to bring back the pilots.

During World War II, U.S. submarines rescued 504 airmen from all services. These pilots and aircrews were highly trained and had hours of combat experience, and rescuing them made it possible to return these experienced air crews to their duties and continue the fight.

The commander of submarine forces in the Pacific, Rear Adm. Charles Lockwood, described lifeguard missions in Submarine Tactical Information Bulletin No. 8: "It is realized that this duty seldom gives a submarine the opportunity to perform its major mission of sinking enemy ships. It is further realized that the duty is arduous and dangerous."

As practical and clearly useful as rescuing pilots from the ocean, the origins of lifeguard missions began as an afterthought to another type of mission, which was to help guide Army Air Force bombers to Japanese-held islands across the wide-open Pacific.

First Lifeguard Mission

Involved Bombing of Wake Island

The story of submarine lifeguard missions began in December 1942 with the planned bombing of Wake Island. The U.S. military was not prepared to recapture Wake Island, but they were not going to stand by and let the Japanese use it as an airbase to project their airpower into the Central Pacific either.

The *Finback's* report records the rescue of Lt. George Herbert Walker Bush and, nine miles away, the towing by periscope and rescue of another pilot near Haha Jima while under fire from the Japanese.

DECLASSIFIED

U.S.S. FINBACK (SS230)

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

0645 Two F6F's overhead as escort. Headed east for island. Closed to 9 miles and maintained this position.

0933 Received word of plane down 9 miles NE of MINAMI JIMA. Started around southern end of CHICHI JIMA, maintaining minimum range of 7½ miles to island.

1156 Picked up Lt.(jg) George H.W. BUSH, File No. 173464, USNR, pilot of plane T-3 of VT-51, U.S.S. SAN JACINTO, who stated that he failed to see his crew's parachutes and believed they had jumped when plane was still over CHICHI JIMA, or they had gone down with plane. Commenced search of area on chance they had jumped over water.

1236 Received word of rubber boat seen from air. Position given was in hills of HAHA JIMA but started south anyway, asking for jigs, repetitions, and conformations, until we heard one plane state he was circling over the boat. An unknown plane on the circuit was heard to mention a spot "west of HAHA". This was at least as good as any dope we had, so headed for a position about 9 miles west of HAHA JIMA. This seemed to make our cover feel better, although they tried to con us through the island a few times. Plane reported that the raft, about 1½ miles from beach, was being shelled. Spirits of all hands went to 300 feet.

1505 Dived to 55 feet with planes in sight zooming a spot in water 1 mile WSW of MEGANE IWA.

1530 Sighted rubber boat.

1550 Roared by the rubber boat, backing full and still making 4 knots. We must have misjudged his mast-head height a bit. We twisted around and started stalking him.

1620 Pilot hooked on and we headed out away from beach. Tried to make two-thirds speed, but the pilot had one arm around the periscope and the other around the life raft with a bailing bucket bringing up the rear. Stopped to see if he would get in the boat. This took about 10 minutes, during which a discussion developed below concerning the precedence of simultaneous orders to blow, pump, and flood. Finally got way on towing pilot in his boat. Two-thirds speed filled the boat, and there he was in the water again. Finally came up to 38 feet to keep him out of the water until at range of 5 miles from beach, played up and opened the hatch.

SECRET

U. S. NAVAL OPERATING BASE
MIDWAY ISLAND

December 10, 1942.

From: The Commandant, Naval Operating Base, Midway.
To: The Commander Hawaiian Sea Frontier.
Subject: Army operations from this base.

1. Colonel Matheny, U.S. Army Air Force, of the Bomber Command, during a recent visit to Midway intimated that on or about December 22nd there would be a large scale air attack on Wake Island with Midway serving as the base of operations.

2. There appears to be no problems connected with this operation which this base cannot handle except the guarding of the flight with surface craft. It is strongly recommended that two submarines be stationed in the vicinity of Wake Island on approximately the Midway bearing and that the pilots of the flights be notified of the positions so that in case of damage by antiaircraft or enemy aircraft the damaged planes could land and the personnel will be picked up by these vessels. It is further recommended that two destroyers be stationed about 450 miles from Midway twenty-five miles on each side of the Wake bearing and that they be directed to transmit M.O. for the returning flight. This will permit the aircraft to obtain a fix on the return flight. It is planned to station small craft at Kure and fifty miles southeast of Midway with distinctive illuminations so that the returning craft will have a target nearly one hundred miles to aim at. In my opinion the navigational problems will probably be the greatest difficulty since there will only be a small margin of excess fuel available to the planes. The vessels in question should be ordered out here for instruction or else operate directly under their own organization as long as their services are available to the planes.

H. M. MARTIN.

Adm. Chester Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific, coordinated with Brig. Gen. Howard Ramey, Seventh Air Force, to plan the attack on Wake Island on the night of December 22-23, 1942—the first anniversary of the fall of Wake Island to the Japanese.

Flying over the open ocean using a magnetic compass and a map is risky because, unlike flying over land, the bombers have no roads or other landmarks to help guide them to their target. Being a fraction of a degree off from the correct bearing could put a bomber several miles away from the target.

A solution to the problem was to have the Navy guide the Army bombers across the ocean to the target. The USS *Wilson*, an American destroyer, was stationed about halfway between Midway Island, where the bombers of the 307th Bombardment Group took off, and Wake Island. Three submarines, USS *Finback*, USS *Triton*, and USS *Pike*, were stationed on the north, south, and east points around Wake Island to provide navigational aid. Three of the bombers

had Navy radar receivers so that they could follow the signals that were transmitted from the submarines.

Since Midway Island naval air facilities were going to be made available to the 307th Bombardment Group to launch the attack on Wake Island, the commandant of the Naval Operating Base, Capt. H. M. Martin, shared his thoughts on the mission. In his letter dated December 10, 1942, to the commander of the Hawaiian Sea Frontier, he wrote:

It is strongly recommended that two submarines be stationed in the vicinity of Wake Island on approximately the Midway bearing and that the pilots of the flights be notified of the positions so that in case of damage by antiaircraft or enemy aircraft the damaged planes could land and the personnel will be picked up by these vessels.

This was at its core the basic concept of the lifeguard mission. In Operational Order 49-42 dated December 17, 1942, both the orders for the destroyer and the submarines on station included "rescuing personnel as

Capt. H. M. Martin described the basic concept of the submarines' lifeguard mission in his December 10, 1942 memo, recommending that two submarines stand by at Wake Island to potentially rescue airmen downed by enemy fire.

necessary," but the primary mission was being a navigational aide to the bombers.

The mission was successful. Wake Island was bombed with 24 B-24s, and although there were searchlights and antiaircraft fire ranging from light machine-guns to five-inch antiaircraft fire, all the bombers returned home.

Although the submarines were unneeded, this action marked the beginning of what would evolve into an independent submarine mission to lifeguard downed aviators.

During spring 1943, the Army Air Force conducted several bombing raids on Wake Island and the Gilbert Islands in which submarines guided the bombers in with radar and were stationed in the area to help any bomber crews in need of assistance. Fortunately, the submarines were not needed as lifeguards during these missions, but the submarines and the Air Force still needed to work on coordinating their efforts. The *Tarpon* actually showed up a day late due to a misunderstanding of the orders. The officers on deck witnessed what they thought were American B-24 Liberators flying over and did not realize their mistake until they returned to Pearl Harbor. The commanding officer wrote in his report, "It is rather ironical that planes we assumed were Liberators on April 20 off Nauru were actually Jap heavy bombers—and we were up there on the surface cheering them on!"

An Admiral Asks a Favor: Could We Borrow a Submarine?

In early 1943, several events changed the course of the war, the submarine force, and aviators.

In January 1943, the submarine force in the Pacific got a new commander, Rear Adm. Charles Lockwood, an innovative and "gung ho" officer.

Under Lockwood, a number of pro-submarine initiatives were started, including encouraging the improvement of torpedoes; radical changes to submarine doctrine, strategy, and tactics, making them more aggressive; and new missions like photographic reconnaissance and lifeguard duties.

At the same time, American industry was producing a plethora of new destroyers, cruisers, aircraft carriers, amphibious ships, and submarines, all of which were all pouring into the Pacific. With this dramatic rise in material and men, the Allies could take the offensive and begin to dive into the Central Pacific, beginning with the Gilbert and Marshall island groups.

In the late summer, preliminary attacks on the Gilberts were being planned to soften the islands prior to their invasion, and two other attacks on Marcus and Wake Islands were being planned to give new pilots some experience while harassing the enemy. The first strike was to be on Marcus Island in September 1943.

Prior to the attack, in August, Lockwood received a call from Rear Adm. Charles A. Pownall, commander of the carrier strike group that would be conducting these air strikes. Lockwood and his force operations officer, Capt. Richard Voge, went to Pownall's office and were met not only by Pownall but also a group of eager pilots. The odd encounter continued to develop when Pownall explained about the upcoming mission to Marcus Island and asked Lockwood if he could have one of his submarines on surface near the target area to retrieve any pilots and crew who were shot down. Lockwood was at first concerned about having a submarine on the surface in the middle of an ongoing air battle. His concerns: Japanese planes could attack it, friendly planes might mistake it for an enemy, or it might be close enough to be shelled.

Pownall explained that a submarine on station in the target area would provide



Rear Adm. Charles Lockwood (right), commander of submarine forces in the Pacific, talks with rescued airmen near Truk Island. Lockwood improved submarine capabilities and initiated more aggressive strategies and tactics.

not only care for the pilots who did get shot down, but it would also provide a boost in their morale to know that somebody was out there to get them if they needed help. Lockwood finally agreed to proceed with the operation. It was an insurance policy for pilots and crew to think that they could be recovered rather than be on a one-way suicide mission or, if they survived the crash, be left to the fate of the sea.

Because a submarine's war patrol was longer than any air strike, submarines were pulled off their designated offensive patrol against Japanese shipping for the period of the air strike. The first two missions, the air strikes on Marcus Island and Tarawa Island in September 1943, were covered by the USS *Snook* and the USS *Steelhead*. Fortunately, their services were not needed.

The air strikes on Wake Island took place on October 6–7, 1943, commanded by Adm. A. E. Montgomery of Task Force 14. The USS *Skate* was assigned to lifeguard station on this attack. It would not only be the first successful mission, but it would also be the first to have growing pains.

First Rescues And First Blood

The *Skate* was on her first war patrol, arriving at Wake Island on October 4 to reconnoiter the island and make weather reports for the arriving task force. Through the next couple of days before the strike, the *Skate* witnessed several incoming and outgoing Japanese bombers. The island was manned, and the Japanese were well armed and fighting with zeal.

In the early hours of October 6, the American air strike began. Without any instructions on how to conduct a lifeguarding mission, the *Skate* remained on the surface in opposition to normal submarine doctrine, which was to submerge in the presence of enemy aircraft.

The *Skate* witnessed many dogfights and large amounts of antiaircraft fire. The lookouts in the watch stations on the conning tower were watching the skies for American "zoomies."



The hand-cranked Gibson Girl radio was provided on most life rafts. At 30 to 40 pounds, it had a balloon or kite to raise the antenna and could transmit 30 to 300 miles depending on weather conditions.

In addition to the reward offered by the *Lexington*, the *Skate's* commander, E. B. McKinney, was awarded the Navy Cross. An officer and two sailors received the Silver Star for exposing themselves to enemy fire on the deck and in the water as they rescued the aviators.

The next lifeguard mission came under heavy enemy attack. The USS *Plunger* and the USS *Nautilus* were assigned in November 1943 to an air strike on Mili, a Japanese air base in the Gilbert Islands important to overall U.S. strategy in the Pacific. The *Nautilus* was badly damaged after being shelled by a "friendly" destroyer. The *Plunger* did rescue one aviator, but while trying to rescue him, a Japanese Zero attacked while there were a dozen men on the bridge, including the rescue party. The executive officer and five other sailors were wounded.

Communications Problems: Developing a Secret Code

Lifeguarding was proving to be a risky business, and communication and protection were key problems. In early lifeguarding missions, the submarine surfaced, and lookouts searched the skies for falling airplanes, or radiomen listened to chatter between planes and aircraft carriers or for radio beacons from pilots' life rafts.

Crews needed to process a lot of information to locate a downed flyer in a large ocean. And while sorting this information, the submarine had to navigate her way through attacks from enemy and sometimes friendly elements.

From the beginning, naval aviators had several devices to help them be located in a life raft.

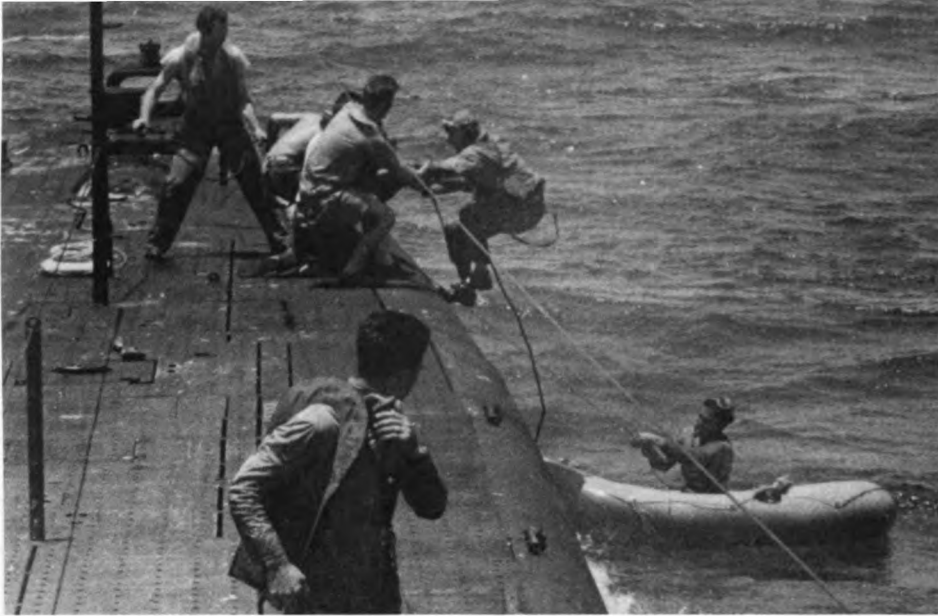
Most life rafts came equipped with a hand-cranked radio transmitter named the Gibson Girl. It weighed 30 to 40 pounds,

A plane crashed, and the *Skate* was responding to it at around 5:45 a.m. when a Japanese Zero strafed the submarine. The commander cleared the bridge and called for a crash dive. Not until they were below was it discovered that Lt. (jg) Willis E. Maxson had been wounded. He received medical treatment, and the crew of the submarine continued with their mission. The *Skate* was bombed and strafed again with minor damage to the submarine, but no one was rescued the first day.

The next day seemed to be a continuation of the first, with attacks and dogfights. At 11:28 a.m., there was a report of three aviators in the water, and the *Skate* went to their rescue. Two were saved.

In the following days, October 8 to 10, the *Skate* stayed on station around Wake looking for more aviators and rescued four more. During that time, in the early morning of October 8, Maxson died from his wounds.

The balance of lives saved versus lives lost could have been questioned. A casualty on a submarine is significant, especially with a group as closely knit as their crew. But the elation of the rescue of several aviators was received with great gratitude on the part of the USS *Lexington*, the home of the "zoomies." In a dispatch to the *Skate*, the *Lexington* offered, "Anything on the *Lexington* is yours for the asking. If it's too big to carry away, we will cut it up into small parts."



Crew of the submarine USS *Tang* rescue downed pilots near Truk Island in late April 1944. Navy fighters strafed Japanese positions, enabling the vessel to surface and rescue 22 pilots in life rafts. Below: Rescued pilots and crew and officers of the *Tang*.



and it had a balloon or kite to raise the antenna, which gave the radio transmitter a range of 30 to 300 miles depending on weather conditions.

Toward the end of the war, battery-powered radios were being considered, but because of the difference in battery life in transmitting (3 hours) and receiving (13 hours), the Navy still considered the Gibson Girl more reliable because "the energy for the transmission is furnished by 'elbow grease.'"

Another device was referred to as "corner reflectors." They were simply two-foot squares of wire mesh bent in half at a right angle. Because rafts are low to the water and made from rubber, they are difficult to pick up on surface radar. The two-foot metal extension provided a reflective surface for radar waves to bounce off and allow the raft to show up on radar of nearby surface ships.

Yet another device was the lowest technology of all: a light reflector of some type—a mirror, a piece of metal, or glass. Basically, a "zoomie" could use anything shiny to attract the attention of a passing plane or ship.

Toward the end of the war, some new technology was used to help locate downed pilots. The Navy began to use Identification Friend or Foe (IFF) transponders in aircraft to distinguish Allied planes from the enemy's. The instruments that receive these transmissions could also be used to locate pilots if they stayed near their aircraft and if the aircraft stayed above water for a while.

Another device, named "Walter," first developed by the British, was a three-pound radar transmitter with a battery life of 18 hours. At the end of the war, Walter was still used only on a trial basis because of its transmission range. Airborne radar could pick up the transmissions from 20 miles, while surface radar could pick up the transmissions from only 5 or 6 miles.

For the next major operation after the Gilberts, the Navy worked a communication scheme so the pilot or crew of the plane did not have to make lengthy encryptions

to transmit their coordinates while crashing. It was easier to transmit in plain English, but to do this would give the pilot's position away to the enemy.

Air Support Is More Vital To Subs' Lifeguard Mission

In January 1944, during the planning for the Marshall Islands campaign, a series of navigation points were determined and given code names using the names of cartoon characters. All the pilot had to do was transmit how many miles he was off a point, the point's code name, and what bearing off that point.

For example, "14 Papa Bugs 135" would mean 14 miles off of Point Papa Bugs at bearing 135 degrees. This became known as the Reference Point method. This method later had to be refined because the Japanese began to figure out the purpose of the transmissions, and they started to call submarines on red herrings.

In later engagements, the cartoon characters chosen to name reference points had to include an "L" sound. The change made it easier to detect who was making the call because it is difficult for a native Japanese speaker to make a proper English "L" sound.

The Reference Point method solved many of the communications issues between crashing pilots and lifeguarding submarines, but the question of protecting the submarines on the surface remained.

Since the death of Lieutenant Maxson, other incidents had damaged lifeguarding submarines and resulted in crew casualties. The need for fighter cover was raised but not realized until the historic lifeguarding mission of the USS *Tang* near Truk Island in late April 1944.

During this mission, the *Tang* was able to rescue 22 airmen. Comdr. Richard O'Kane, commanding officer of the *Tang*, urgently requested the assistance of Navy fighters to hold off the enemy so the *Tang* could rescue three downed pilots in the water. Because the life rafts were so close to shore, O'Kane

thought he would have to submerge and abandon the downed airmen.

The Navy fighters that came in and strafed the Japanese positions allowed the *Tang* to complete her rescue. The Submarine Combat Air Patrols not only kept the enemy from attacking the lifeguard submarine, but they also assisted in locating downed pilots.

An April 1945 review of 74 lifeguarding missions conducted in 1944 showed that with air support in 60 calls for help, 51 were rescues. Seventy-five calls for help with unescorted submarines responding resulted in only seven rescues.

The analysis, done for the commander-in-chief of the U.S. fleet, also emphasized that escorting aircraft increased the search capabilities and communication between rescuers and the rest of the task force. In addition, the escorts widened radar and radio reception and increased protection of both the submarine and downed pilot.

During the war, Navy pilots found themselves either crashing near or drifting toward enemy-held islands, complicating the lifeguarding submarines' missions. If the pilot was too close to shore, would the submarine run aground? Would the Japanese fire on the submarine when it was on the surface rescuing the pilots? These problems led to some innovative solutions.

Subs Create New Ways For Rescues Under Fire

The USS *Harder* off Woleai in the Marshall Islands was sent on to rescue an aviator on April 1, 1944. Ens. John R. Galvin had reached the beach on the northeast corner of Woleai.

Fighter planes gave the *Harder* reports on the condition of the pilot, and the submarine sailed to about 1,200 to 1,500 yards away from the beach. What made the rescue tricky was a coral reef that began just about where the *Harder* was trying to hold her position.

The skipper, Comdr. Samuel Dealey, was constantly maneuvering the submarine against the surf to prevent it from turning broadside and crashing against the reef. Three volunteers swam a rubber raft connected with a tow line to the *Harder* over the reef toward the beach.

In the meantime, a passing plane dropped a rubber raft to the stranded airman, who then got into the surf and began to paddle.

After some time, the two rafts met up. Unfortunately, a seaplane trying to assist in the rescue cut the tow line, and one of the men had to swim back to *Harder* to get a new one. Eventually, the tow line was set up, and the *Harder* was able to drag all four men, the aviator and three submariners, to safety. The skipper was grateful for the air cover provided by the Navy fighters, who fended off Japanese attacks during the rescue.

Another method to rescue pilots that was developed, and which has already been introduced, was "scoping."

"Scoping" an aviator was a bit more than looking at a pilot; it was literally using the periscope to rescue the pilot instead of exposing the whole submarine to enemy shore batteries. Only two submarines used this method of rescue. The first was the USS *Stingray* and the second, as already described, was the USS *Finback*.

The concept of using a periscope had been discussed but had not been put into practice



To learn more about

- How the Japanese were preparing for a decisive naval battle in the South Pacific, go to "The Z Plan Story" at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2005/fall/.
- Treatment of American World War II POWs, go to "American POWs on Japanese Ships Take a Voyage into Hell" at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2003/winter/.
- How Japanese kamikazes attacked U.S. submarines in World War II, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2014/spring/.

Subject - - : U.S.S. HARDER (SS257) - Report of Fourth War Patrol.

April 1st (cont)-

They put him in the raft and by alternately pushing and swimming headed back toward their rubber boat from which a line led to the submarine about 500 yards away. Meanwhile a float plane, (also attempting the rescue) taxied over the line to the raft and it parted! - The entire rescue party was now stranded. THOMSON was then recalled and managed to swim back to the sub after a hard battle against the tide. Another volunteer swimmer, Freeman PAQUET, Jr., GMIC, then dove over the side and finally managed to swim a line to the three men standing just inshore of the heavy breakers. This line was made fast to the raft and, little by little, the four men were pulled through the breakers and brought back to the ship.

Throughout the entire rescue, the cooperation of the aviator was superb. - They kept up a continuous bounding of the islands by bombs and flew in low to strike the Japs and divert their attention from the rescue. In spite of this, Jap snipers concealed in the trees along the beach commenced shooting at the ship and rescue party and bullets whined over the bridge, uncomfortably close. The rescue could never have been attempted without the protection afforded by the planes. Too much praise can not be given to the officer and the three men who effected this rescue. Its daring execution, under the nose of the Japs and subject to sniping fire from the beach, can be classified as a truly courageous accomplishment, and the rescued aviator - (Ensign John R. GALVIN) - though physically exhausted, showed a character that refused to admit defeat. It is a privilege to serve with men such as these.

This account has been written in considerable detail partly to portray the spectacular air crashing of a Jap base, and partly in sheer pride of the volunteers who carried out the rescue.

- 1304 (L) With aviator and rescue party recovered, the sub was backed clear of the reef and headed out to sea.
- 1330 (L) Made trim dive.
- 1531 (L) Surfaced.
- 1630 (L) (Nineteenth aircraft contact) - SP radar contact on plane at 9 miles. Plane closed to 6 miles. Made quick dive to 140 feet. No bombs dropped. Remained deep until 1800.
- 1900 (L) Conducted patrol at periscope depth.

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: USS STINGRAY - Report of Eleventh War Patrol.

13 June 1944 Cont'd.

- 1436 Heard another closer one.
- 1436 Heard another close shell.
- 1437 1/8 Heard two more.
- 1439 Heard one shell.
- 1440 Heard and saw 2 splashes close aboard.
- 1453 Pilot missed the boat again. On this try, he showed the first signs of attempting to reach periscope. Maybe shell fire has made him think that a ride on a periscope might be all right after all.
- I am getting damned disgusted, plus a stiff neck and a blind eye.
- 1500 Heard another shell.
- 1616 Fourth try. Ran into pilot with periscope and he hung on! 139-35'N 144-41'E.
- Towed him for one hour during which time he frantically signalled for us to let him up. His hand was cut badly and it must have been tough going hanging onto the bitter end of the line with one hand while bumping along in the white caps. Making 2 knots. However, at this stage of the game, I wasn't feeling one bit sorry for him.
- 1611 Lowered towing scope, watching pilot's amazed expression with other periscope.
- 1613 Surfaced.
- 1618 Picked up Ensign Donald Carol BRANDT, A-V(N), U.S.N.R., Flt No. 315147, suffering from deep wound in left hand. Glad to finally get him aboard. Said that during first and third approaches he was afraid periscopes were going to hit him and he tried to get out of the way and come in between them. He had been

Left: A report from the USS Harder details the submarine's dramatic rescue of a pilot off Woleai in the Marshall Islands. Three volunteers swam a rubber raft connected with a tow line to meet the stranded airman. Navy air cover enabled the volunteers to bring the flyer on board. Right: The USS Stingray rescued a pilot near Guam in June 1944 by "scoping." First avoiding the periscope for fear of injury, the pilot was able to hold on to the scope for an hour and be towed at two knots to safety.

until June 13, 1944, during the invasion of Guam. The USS *Stingray* was on lifeguard station and received a call about a downed pilot. The fighters providing air cover reported that the pilot was adrift near the shore. Japanese antiaircraft batteries were targeting the raft-bound pilot.

As the *Stingray* approached, the shore batteries retrained their guns on to the submarine. The skipper decided to dive and approach the pilot submerged.

For the next two hours the *Stingray* attempted to "scope" the pilot, who seemed confused about the situation because during some passes he swam away from the periscope. At other times he communicated with the submarine by showing that his left hand was cut.

On the fourth attempt, the pilot finally grabbed onto the scope. The *Stingray* made two knots and headed away from the island with the poor pilot skipping along the white caps of waves for about an hour before the crew pulled him out of the water.

What Is Good for The Navy Is Good for The Air Force

Even though lifeguard missions had their origins in guiding Army Air Force bombers to remote islands and being ready if the crews were shot down and needed help, once lifeguard missions became official in late 1943, the Army Air Force was still skeptical. They questioned whether Navy submarines could really be helpful in recovering B-24 Liberators and B-29 Superfortress crews if they had to make water landings.

It was the USS *Tang's* April 1944 mission near Truk Island that changed the Army Air Force's mind. During the two-day strike on Truk, 35 men were shot down, and the *Tang* rescued 22 of them. The remaining 13 were either shot down over land or within the lagoon of the atoll and thereby out of the reach of submarine.

After that mission, the Army Air Force requested submarines for lifeguard duty in all parts of the Pacific campaign. Until then, bomber pilots distrusted submarines

because they could not be sure that a submarine could know where they were when they crashed. B-29 pilots would rather fly a damaged plane back to base rather than ditch it in the ocean and wait for a submarine.

The Navy and Army Air Force created a number of plans to help ensure the safety of the bombers. Before taking off, bombers were given specific radio designations to identify zones where submarines would be waiting. Even with the well-thought-out plans, there were initially some complications due to the differences in terminology used by Army Air Force pilots and Navy submariners. But as the two services continued to work together, these communication issues were worked out.

From late 1944, the majority of B-29 bombers took off from the Marianas, and the control lifeguard submarines were also from the Marianas from an advanced base in Saipan.

The commander of Task Force Group 17.7, the advanced base for submarines, referred to submarines going out on lifeguard

missions for B-29s bombing Japan as the "Lifeguard League." The first rescue of a B-29 crew by a lifeguard submarine did not occur until December 19, 1944. The USS *Spearfish* rescued seven airmen in the Bonin Islands Area. The next rescue was not until March 31, 1945.

A Postscript:

Stories and Gratitude

These few of the many stories of lifeguard submarines during World War II illustrate the flexibility of submarine warfare and the innovative thinking of the American Navy to look out for others and save lives of those in need.

In concept, it seemed simple to place a submarine between the aircraft carriers and their target area to scoop up any pilots that should get shot down. In practice, some situations could harm the pilot in need of rescue and the submarine coming to the rescue. Like any concept, experience guided its evolution as each new problem found a solution.

Not every submarine sent on a lifeguard mission was needed, and many commanders weighed the time used on lifeguard duty versus the time that they could have used to attack Japanese shipping. Some of them may have felt cheated, while others may have felt that they were there only as a precaution.

The 504 airmen who were rescued were surely glad they were rescued. The submarine force also had the gratitude of the countless other pilots and crew who had not needed their assistance, but who were made more confident in flying their missions knowing they were there—just in case.

Admiral Lockwood praised the submarine force. "This outstanding performance of lifeguard duty by our submarines," he said, "has been a very important factor in giving a reasonable assurance of rescue to our flyers."

These actions are not forgotten, and good deeds are rewarded. Between September 2, 1944, and January 20, 1989, Lt. (jg) George H. W. Bush came home, became a successful businessman, got involved with politics,

and was elected President of the United States. He was able to express the gratitude that probably every pilot and aircrew wished they could express to the submarine crews that rescued them from an uncertain fate.

At Bush's invitation, the remaining officers and sailors who had been aboard the USS *Finback* on her 10th War Patrol the day they plucked him out of the water walked

with him in his inauguration parade in January 1989.

After being rescued, all the "zoomies" were also able to contribute both to the war effort and to their families and communities when they returned home. The crews of lifeguard submarines deserve acknowledgment in being instrumental in giving those people a second chance. ■

NOTE ON SOURCES

When I was in high school, George H. W. Bush was elected President of the United States. My father, Cephas T. Patch, became quite agitated a few weeks before the inauguration because he had read in the paper that they were going to include former crew members of his submarine, the USS *Finback*, but only those who were on-board during the 10th War Patrol. He had literally missed Bush by nine days (give or take a day for the International Date Line) when Bush was deposited on Midway on September 29, and my father was received aboard the *Finback* on October 7 at Pearl Harbor.

Keeping this story in my mind over the years, I chose to investigate lifeguard missions as a topic for a paper during my master's degree program. The secondary sources of Theodore Roscoe's book *U. S. Submarine Operations during World War II* and Adm. Charles Lockwood's book *Zoomies, Subs and Zeros* provided the outline for the evolution of lifeguard missions. Additionally, my independent research on the USS *Finback* in Samuel Morison's *History of U.S. Naval Operations during World War II* led me to the "pre-lifeguard" missions.

The primary sources for researching this topic were the submarine war patrol reports, operational orders, and plans; World War II Command Files; and the administrative files of the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet (CINCPAC) and Commander, Submarine Forces, Pacific (COMSUBPAC). The submarine war patrol reports can be found at the National Archives at College Park in Record Group 38, Records of the Chief of Naval Operations, and in Record Group 313, Records of Naval Operating Forces. They are a great resource into the application and experience of submarine warfare between the chronology of events and the evaluation of equipment and crew while on patrol.

Record Group 38 contains the operational orders and plans, the World War II submarine war patrol reports, the World War II action reports

and other operational records, and the World War II Command Files. The operational orders and plans provided information on what naval commanders wanted to happen and how they thought it should be done. This helped illustrate the evolution of lifeguard missions. Record Group 38 holds the submarine war patrol reports and other submarine operations during World War II, which provided the stories of valor and heroism on the part of the Submarine Force, Pacific to rescue downed pilots by putting themselves into harm's way. The patrol reports gave insight to the thoughts and feelings of the commanding officers of the submarines on duty, for better or for worse.

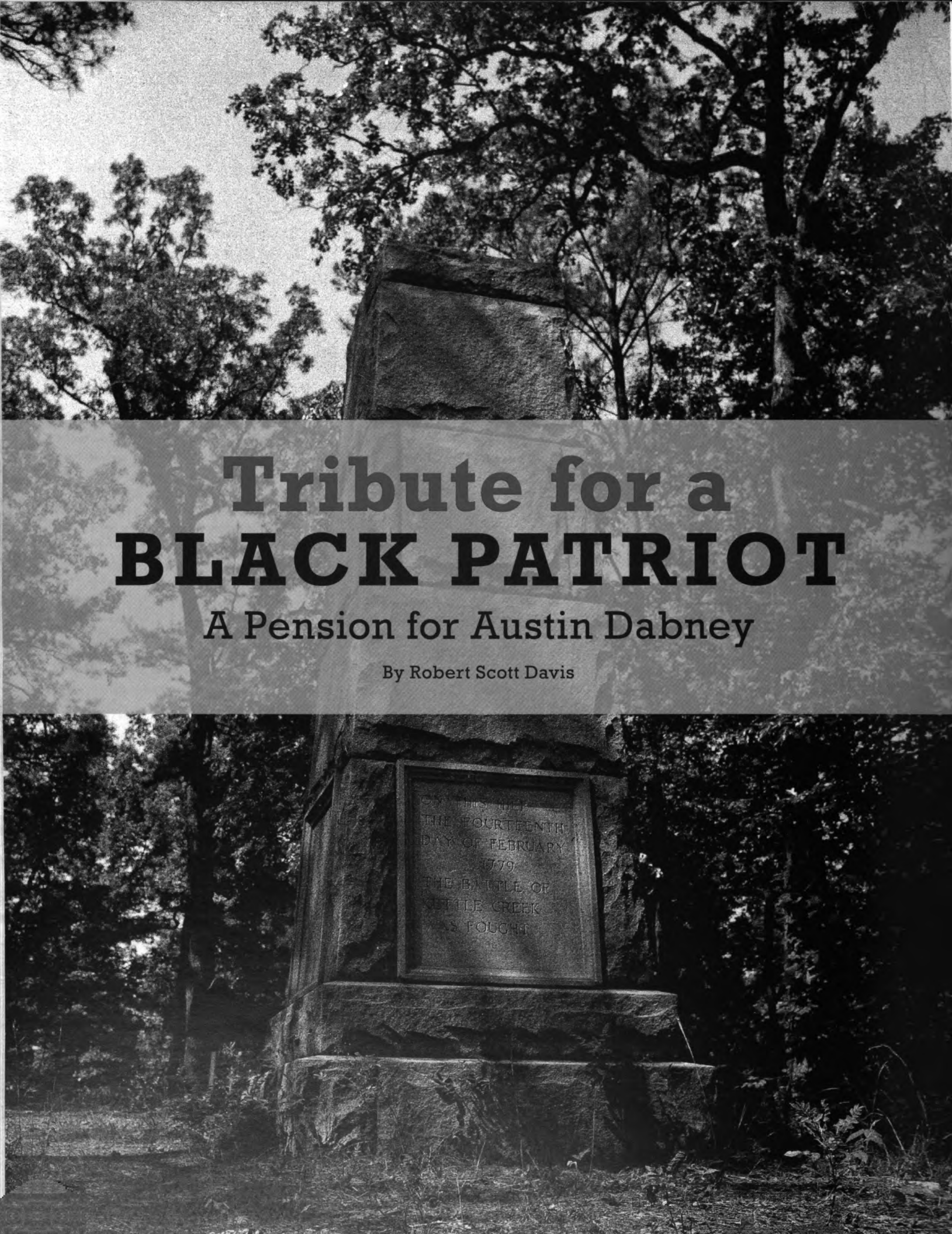
Within the World War II Command Files in the portion relating to the Commander-in-Chief, US Fleet was the April 1945 Monthly Historical Summary of Submarine Operations, and the Submarine Tactical Bulletin No. 8. April 1945 monthly summary gave a detailed description on the devices used to assist pilots to get rescued. The tactical bulletin gave a description of Lockwood's point of view on the diverse missions that submarines can perform beyond sinking enemy ships.

The records of Naval Operating Forces, also known as the Flag Files, are a great resource for understanding the commanders at various levels within the chain of command, especially CINCPAC and COMSUBPAC for the topic of lifeguard missions.



Author

Nathaniel S. Patch is an archives specialist in the Reference Branch at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, where he is on the Navy and Marine Corps Reference Team. He holds a B.A. in history from Purdue University and an M.A. degree in naval history with an emphasis on submarine warfare from American Military University.



Tribute for a BLACK PATRIOT

A Pension for Austin Dabney

By Robert Scott Davis

ON THIS DAY
THE FOURTEENTH
DAY OF FEBRUARY
1879
THE BATTLE OF
LITTLE CREEK
WAS FOUGHT

Original

CHECK TYPE REQUIRED (See Instructions attached)		APPLICATION FOR HEADSTONE OR MARKER (Please make out and return in duplicate)	
☐ UPRIGHT MARBLE HEADSTONE	EMPLOYMENT DATA 26 8 1781 Unknown	SERIAL NO. unknown	ENROLLMENT (Check one) ☒ CIVILIAN ☐ MILITARY ☐ NONE
☒ FLAT MARBLE MARKER	DISCHARGE DATA unknown	POBORN NO. unknown	COMPANY unknown
☐ FLAT GRANITE MARKER		STATE Ga.	
☐ BRONZE MARKER		NAME unknown	
NAME (Last, First, Middle Initial) DABNEY, Osten		U. S. REGIMENT, STATE ORGANIZATION, AND ADDRESS Unknown	
DATE OF BIRTH (Month, Day, Year) Unknown	DATE OF DEATH (Month, Day, Year) Unknown	"REVOLUTIONARY WAR VETERAN ERECTED BY PULASKI CHAPTER DAR"	
NAME OF CEMETERY Harris (Family Cemetery)		LOCATION (City and State) Zebulon, Ga.	
SHIP TO (I CERTIFY THE APPLICANT FOR THIS STONE HAS MADE ARRANGEMENTS WITH ME TO TRANSPORT THE STONE FROM THE FREIGHT STATION TO THE CEMETERY) Daughters of the American Revolution Pulaski Chapter, Mrs. Florine Gibson, 503 N. Poplar St., Griffin, Ga.		NEAREST FREIGHT STATION (City and State) Griffin, Ga.	
DO NOT WRITE HERE		POST OFFICE ADDRESS OF COUNTRIES 503 N. Poplar St., Griffin, Ga.	
FOR VERIFICATION ORDERED 16 APR 1952 WY 2083184	I certify this application is submitted for a stone for the unmarked grave of a veteran. I hereby agree to assume all responsibility for the removal of the stone promptly upon arrival at destination, and properly place it at the decedent's grave at my expense. Florine Gibson APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE DATE OF APPLICATION May 10 1952		
ADDRESS (Street, City, State)			

FORM 623
1/7/52

In a set of historical "sketches" published shortly before the Civil War, former Georgia governor George R. Gilmer wrote an endearing heroic account of federal pensioner Austin Dabney.

He told the tale of a young African American whose presumed master Richard Aycock admits that, because Dabney's mother had been white and thereby free, the youth was by law not a slave. Aycock was forced to make this admission when he wanted to make Dabney his substitute for service in the militia during the Revolutionary War.

"No soldier under [Lt. Col. Elijah] Clark was braver, or did better service," Gilmer wrote of Dabney.

The former governor also wrote that after the battle of Kettle Creek on February 14, 1779, Dabney lay gravely wounded until a comrade named Harris rescued him and took him home and cared for him. The black patriot attached himself to this family and eventually paid to send William Harris, the son of his benefactor, through college and to study law.

Subsequent publications of this tale, often paraphrased with fictional embellishments and other literary license, did not use the available federal records that could have supported or refuted details from this story.

Opposite: Site of the February 14, 1779, Battle of Kettle Creek. A monument erected in 1930, at the request of the Kettle Creek Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, marks the location. Above: A 1952 Application for a Headstone or Marker by the Pulaski Chapter of the DAR for "Osten" Dabney. Earlier markers had disappeared.

Gilmer wrote a reviewer that he wanted to use original documents as source material in his writings but failed to find any. He had to resort to tracking down hundreds of individuals, usually by mail, and ask what they had heard or remembered. His research was thus particularly open to mistakes.

Like the famous confessions of Nat Turner, however, Gilmer's account also suffered from errors and from potential misinterpretation and conjectures by a white writer, problems amplified by appearing in print almost 20 years after the subject's death. Gilmer and William Harris had, at different times, read law under Stephen Upson, a prominent politician who later managed to obtain life occupancy of a tract of state land for Dabney.

First Accounts of Dabney's Story Appear Anonymously in Print

The story appeared in the decade before the Civil War, a time when public attitudes in support of human bondage, in Georgia and other slave states, were often racist and sometimes violent.

Gilmer published the first of his accounts of Austin Dabney anonymously in George White's *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (1849). He clearly used (and even invented) some details in this account as metaphors for his own conflicted views as a slave owner who had doubts about racial inequality and the morality of the peculiar institution.

During Gilmer's time as governor of Georgia in 1829–1830, he faced crises about race that he did not mention directly in his 1855 memoirs. The legislature disenfranchised Indians as legal entities and even human beings as a means of encouraging the removal of the Cherokees and Creeks to the West. North Carolina-born African American David Walker's pamphlet calling for slave insurrection and resistance caused a panic among the state's white population. Patty Cannon kidnapping non-slave African Americans in Philadelphia for sale as slaves in states like Georgia compelled

Gilmer and the legislature to reinstate laws that forbade an African American from being sold into slavery or being brought to Georgia.

Gilmer, however, used the story of Austin Dabney as a parable to explore these issues to argue that nobility is not exclusive to any race. In Gilmer's story, the free North Carolina-born Austin Dabney is the opposite of an insurrectionist. He describes Dabney as the son of a white woman and the grandson of a morally degraded white planter, who was brought to Georgia by Richard Aycock, who treated him as a slave. A reviewer of that book proclaimed it a work "by the hand of a lover of his race," however.

Not surprisingly, because of the issues it raised about race and freedom, Gilmer's four publications of Dabney's story went ignored for generations without any public discussion in print. Early abolitionist scholars William C. Nell (in 1851), William Lloyd Garrison (in 1862), and George H. Moore (in 1862) wrote works extolling the role of African Americans in the founding of the United States but missed this story.

Memorials to Dabney Appeared Over the Years, Including 2013

Dabney's service only reemerged in print during the first African American renaissance in the late 1890s. It has appeared continuously thereafter but especially during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, the bicentennial of the American Revolution in 1976, and the modern efforts to preserve the Kettle Creek battlefield.

The Lafayette Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) marked Dabney's grave in Pike County, Georgia, as early as 1933, although the marker subsequently disappeared, possibly a victim of the World War II scrap metal drive. The Pulaski Chapter of the DAR placed a marker on the grave in 1952, but it too has disappeared.

John Thomas Riddle, Jr.'s sculpture *Expelled Because of Their Color* (1976) on the

grounds of the Georgia Capitol Building includes a faceless representation of Dabney in the context of the struggle of black Georgians for freedom. The black veteran's story entered the *Congressional Record* in 1998 through the efforts of disabled Vietnam veteran and United States senator Max Cleland.

On January 30, 2010, descendants of the Giles Harris family, whose ancestor had saved the crippled soldier; local political leaders, black and white; and the public attended a symbolic marking of the graves of Austin Dabney and his friend William Harris in Zebulon, Georgia.

In 2013, the city of Washington, Georgia, included the story of Austin Dabney on its Black Revolutionary Patriot Monument, the first memorial to African American Patriots. The monument stands a few miles east of the Kettle Creek battlefield, where, according to the traditional tale, Dabney received his crippling wounds.

Extensive attempts to document this story of the black soldier befriended by a white family began in the 1970s separately with research by Frank Parker Hudson and Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. Researchers looked in private, local, state, and federal records, especially for the documents that should have proven most accessible—the papers relating to the disabled soldier's federal pension. In Gilmer's account, Dabney traveled to Savannah each year to collect his payment.

Federal Agencies Insist Dabney Received No Pension

Requests made over the years to the Pension Bureau, the Veterans Administration, and the National Archives for copies of the pension record received the response: Austin Dabney did not receive a federal pension.

Many records, however, had been lost in the War Department fire of November 6, 1800; the Treasury Department fire of January 20, 1801; the British army's burning of Washington on August 24, 1814; and the Treasury Department fire of March 1833.



Above: The city of Washington, Georgia, included the story of Austin Dabney on its Black Revolutionary Patriot Monument in 2010, the first memorial to African American Patriots. The monument stands a few miles east of the Kettle Creek battlefield. Below: The signed report on the emancipation of "Osten" Dabney, September 4, 1786, notes his purchase by an act of the state assembly from the estate of Richard Aycock.

This is to certify that we have contracted with Mary Aycock Widow of Richd Aycock Deceased Agreeable to an Act of Assembly past in August last, for a Molatto Man Named Osten who was Immansephated by The said house of Assembly and hatht Agreed to on the Price of said Molatto at seven pounds to be Drawn out of the Treasure by the order of his Honor the Governor & Council Given under our hand this 4 Day of Sept^r 1786
Wm. L. Linn
Ol Linn

Nothing on Dabney's pension remains in the few surviving items of correspondence from the early federal court in Georgia. The records of the Savannah pension agency have also not survived.

By 1814, the War Department handled the pensions, but Dabney and his friend William Harris do not appear in the surviving correspondence of the secretary of war. No copy of a claim for the crippled veteran has turned up in the local court records of the counties where he lived.

Federal agencies filed pension claim documents by act or pension agency. With some exceptions, what survives largely came under the act of 1818 or later, now the easiest—and usually the only—source to search for a record of a pension file.

If Austin Dabney did receive a state and later a federal pension as a crippled soldier of the American Revolution, he was likely the first African American to receive either.

Dabney's pension would have been awarded through acts of Congress no later than 1816. Searching what remains of the fragmentary miscellaneous records for the earlier acts proves problematic as they have only vague generic dates assigned to them and no indexes for an individual pensioner. An extensive search of those documents failed to find any mention of Austin Dabney.

State Pension Lists Reveal Records on Dabney History

The first step in reconstructing Dabney's complete pension history is searching state sources. The state of Georgia granted the petitions filed by Richard Aycock and Austin Dabney for state military bounty land. Because African Americans in Georgia could not own land in Georgia before 1865, Dabney's claim passed to Aycock, and the paperwork made no mention of his race.

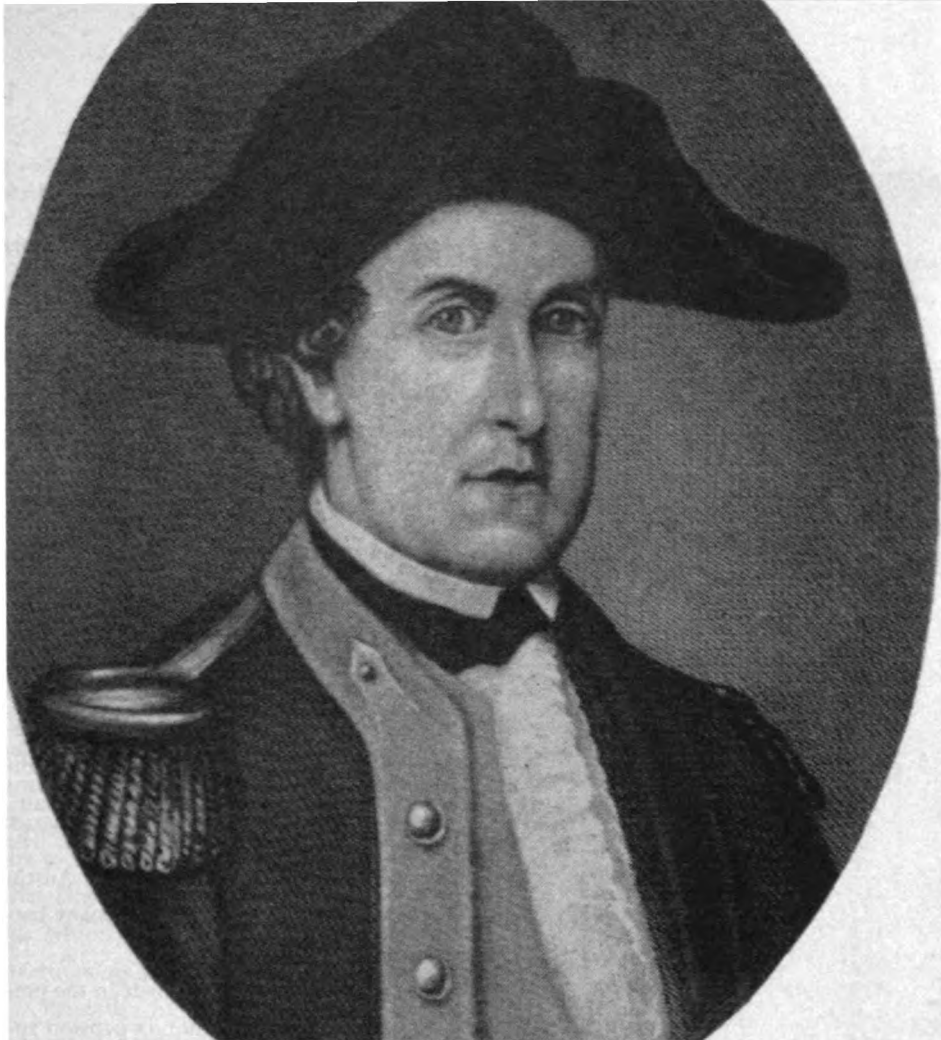
Georgia granted both men's petitions on February 2, 1784. Dabney also appeared on the state pension list on November 20, 1786, after the state's inspector of invalids

Before the act of April 10, 1806, the national government officially honored only claims for service by Continental soldiers and sailors, but three of Dabney's crippled comrades received federal invalid pensions for state militia service. The act of February 28, 1793, ordered a federal district judge to rule on each applicant's qualifications. Dabney did not even apply to Georgia federal Judge Nathaniel Pendleton as late as 1795.

Austin Dabney began drawing his federal pension by 1801 and under the act of 1792. An 1835 published report on past pension claims identifies him as an invalid private of the American Revolution who received \$60 a year under the act of September 29, 1789, for a total of \$1,628.45 and, at \$96 per year under the act of April 24, 1816, totaling \$1,426.89.

Above: An 1835 published report on past pension claims identifies Dabney as an invalid private of the American Revolution who received \$60 a year under the act of September 29, 1789, for a total of \$1,628.45. *Below:* Dabney's final pension payment voucher of March 4, 1830, signed with his mark, quotes the deposition of his former commander Elijah Clark that Dabney was injured at Augusta on May 25, 1782. Gilmer's story gave the site of his injury as the Battle of Kettle Creek in February 1779.

—State House, Indiana, 9th March 1792 I do certify
the foregoing Certificate of James Lander in favor of
Austin Dabney is of record in the Executive department
I. M. Mather Sec. C. D.
That he is entitled to a pension of eight Dollars per month,
on account of wounds and disabilities received on of
services rendered to the United States during the Revolu-
tionary war, that he served in Captain Barber's company
of Infantry in Colonel O'Jah Clark's regiment, that
he now resides in Pike County, State of Georgia, has resided
there for the space of four years past, that previous
thereto he resided in Newton County in said State
Sworn and Subscribed this fourth
day of March 1830 before me
H. H. Mather, J. P.



Col. Elijah Clark (above) along with Cols. Andrew Pickens and John Dooly led over 300 Georgia militiamen in the Battle of Kettle Creek. Clark later petitioned the state assembly for Dabney's emancipation.

The fractions come from reconciling the amounts paid with the dates of the different acts. He received pension payments for time counted back to the act of May 8, 1792. For no discernible reason, that report listed him as a resident of Burke County, Georgia, a place Dabney did not list as anywhere he had lived.

Dabney appears on the manuscript payment lists as early as 1801. A register of payments for 1809–1815 shows him paid \$60 per annum in two payments each year. He appears in published federal pension lists for 1813 and 1818 but not on the printed 1820 list.

The latter record, however, includes only veterans qualifying under the act of March

18, 1818, not persons already receiving pensions under earlier laws. Under the federal legislation passed in 1818, pensions went only to veterans with financial need.

Although some veterans lost their pensions under that act, Dabney did not. He appears in a ledger of quarterly payments for 1818–1872 as receiving his pension for March 1820–March 1822 and March 1824–March 1830, although a certificate signed by Dabney shows that he received benefits counted as going back to March 4, 1818.

When he acquired life control of land in Newton County from the state of Georgia in 1821, he stopped applying for his annual

pension. In 1824, after he gave up that property, he renewed his claim under the act of April 24, 1816, but through the terms of the act of May 1, 1820, which restored pensions to veterans who by then had become in need of financial aid.

Questions Arise on How Dabney Received Wounds

Austin Dabney's final pension payment vouchers at the National Archives include personal information. Gilmer implied that the black soldier had been born in North Carolina. Dabney attested that he had lived in Wake County, North Carolina, and later in Wilkes, Madison, Newton, and Pike counties in Georgia.

The former governor related that Dabney had received his crippling wounds at the battle of Kettle Creek. The soldier's file, however, includes a quote from a signed deposition by Elijah Clark stating that the wounds were received at Augusta, Georgia, on May 25, 1782. This was the date from which Dabney would receive backdated state pension payments. No known military action occurred at that place or date, but a year earlier, between May 23 and 24, Elijah Clark launched a successful attack on Fort Grierson in Augusta.

The battle of Kettle Creek that took place on February 14, 1779, had become so famous by the time of Gilmer's publications of Dabney's life that it could have replaced Augusta in legend as the place where he fell.

Depositions in the 1850s in two federal pension files (Micajah Brooks and Benjamin Nordyke) provide a third possibility for how Dabney acquired his wounds.

Another battle of Kettle Creek allegedly occurred at night after May 6, 1782, and before July 1, 1783. Led by then Col. Elijah

To learn more about

- Tracking Revolutionary War army pension payments, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/winter/.
- Using pension records to discover the truth about another Revolutionary War soldier, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/fall/rice.html.
- The story of soldier who escaped slavery to serve as a free soldier in the Civil War, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/winter/.

Madison County

	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800
Abner Sanders	1	1	1				2	1													
David H. Hampton			1					1													
Wiliam Shuckland	2			1	1																
James Bone	2			1				1													
Simon Cardwell	1	2	1	1			1										2				
John Anderson		1			1			3	2												
Hugh Reedy	3				1			2	1												
Burkley Long				1					1												
William Adams	1				1			1													
James Madsen	2	1			1			1													
Robert Henry					1			2													
John Gilbert	1				1																
Jacob Anderson	2				1			2													
John Popple	1	2	1	1	1																
William H. Adams	1				1			1													
Burwell Cox					1				2												
John Bone	1				1			2													
Matthew Bone				1					1												
Nathan Sanders				1				2													
George Hampton	1				1			4	2	2											
Benjamin Greble	3	1			1																
Thomas Greble	2				1			4													
James Anderson	1	1			1				2												
Leonard Hays		1	1	1	1				1	2											
Alexander G. Bullock	1				1																
Robert Floyd		1	1	2	1			4													
Peter Allen	1				1			3													
Edward Harrison					1																
William Harris				1	1																
Jacob Shuckland		1						1		1											
Thomas Schack	1				1																
Henry Henry	2	1			1	3	2														
Allen C.		1						1													

The 1820 federal census for Madison County shows the household of William Harris with one elderly free African American, surely Austin Dabney. Harris's father, Giles, may have rescued the injured Dabney from the battlefield and cared for him.

retaliation. Hundreds of people—men, women, and children, free white and black slave—fled together to what is today eastern Tennessee in a two-week march through snow in a wintery exile. When their food ran out, even their children starved. Among the refugees were the Thurmonds and likely the Aycocks and Dabney.

The pursuit of Clark and his refugees in the autumn of 1780 by the British-restored colonial militia and Loyalist provincials became one of the events that led to the significant American victory at Kings Mountain, South Carolina, on October 7, 1780. The later Georgia act that emancipated Austin Dabney referred to his bravery in many battles, likely all in this campaign.

The detailed depositions made in the previously mentioned Thurmond's pension application, made by Thurmond himself and his former comrades-in-arms in 1832–1833, do not mention Dabney. Dabney had died in 1830, and there would have been no need to mention him even though Burwell Aycock, a son of Dabney's former owner, was a witness in the claim.

Giles Harris moved into the same Wilkes County, Georgia, militia district as the Thurmonds by 1794, married Elizabeth, David Thurmond's sister, and bought the land of the deceased Richard Aycock, in 1796. Dabney deeded all of his own property, including a boy named Reuben, to the Harris's infant son William that same year, likely to protect himself from creditors during an economic downturn or otherwise make himself a ward of the Harrises.

In 1800, Giles purchased 23 acres on Chickasaw Creek for Dabney; African Americans, free or slave, in the new state of Georgia could not own land, although they could own slaves.

Clark and including Capt. George Barber, under whom Dabney also served, the Wilkes County militia attacked hundreds of Loyalist Americans where the creek empties into the Little River near Wrightsborough. No record of this battle has turned up except in these two depositions. Dabney could have been injured in that fighting.

In which of these three battles did Dabney receive his wounds? The answer depends upon whether the illiterate Clark, in his deposition, erred in the year or location of when and where the equally illiterate African American soldier received his crippling wounds.

Thurmond, Cloud Give Depositions

Statements in another pension file offer an alternative identification of the man who rescued Dabney on the battlefield. Contrary

to Gilmer's account, Giles Harris likely did not save the wounded soldier. Harris does not even appear in Georgia records until 1794, and he likely did not serve in the American Revolution.

David H. Thurmond, Giles's later brother-in-law, however, was in the right places, including the battles of Kettle Creek and Augusta, to have recovered his fallen black comrade. They likely served together under Clark in Barber's company. Thurmond's sister Elizabeth, then hardly more than an infant, could have nursed the wounded Dabney back to health, a job traditionally given to small children.

In his own pension application, Thurmond stated that when Clark led an unsuccessful attack on the royalist garrison in Augusta in September 1780, Indians and Loyalist Americans devastated Wilkes County in

The Final Years Of Austin Dabney

Federal records also tell of the later life of Austin Dabney. The 1820 federal census shows William Harris living near his father, Giles, in Madison County. The persons in William's household besides himself were an elderly free African American born before 1775 (surely Dabney) and one young male slave, likely Reuben. According to census records, Giles Harris had 14 slaves by 1820 and 20 by 1830. He should not have needed financial help from anyone, including Dabney, contrary to Gilmer's account.

The crippled veteran supplemented his pension by trading in rum and tobacco and collecting rent when he controlled land through third parties. No record has turned up to confirm or deny Gilmer's statement that Dabney raised horses or had inherited his white Virginia grandfather's "dissolute practices" as a gambler.

Officially, he had to pay special annual taxes and fees for being a free African American in Georgia, an expensive discrimination of people who, under Georgia law, were hardly free except that they were no longer in bondage. Dabney chose to meet that obligation only when he had life control of land in Newton County. For the other years, he risked possible sale by the county tax collectors back into slavery by not paying the special taxes and fees.

Because William Harris, Dabney's legal guardian, made no claim for a final pension payment, Dabney must have died not long after he signed his last voucher by mark on March 24, 1830. Had he lived a couple of more years, he could have filed for a pension under the act of 1832.

Austin Dabney did receive a pension from the new United States that he sacrificed to create, benefits that helped the disabled veteran to survive as free and black after the American Revolution.

Those records document George R. Gilmer's account of his courage and sacrifice in the war for American liberty. The documents also give historians a greater certainty

of the facts of his life as they pursue the true meaning of black, free, and slave in the age of the Enlightenment. **P**

© 2014 by Robert Scott Davis

NOTE ON SOURCES

The author acknowledges the help provided by Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., Janet McElroy, and Paul Heinegg.

George R. Gilmer published the same story of Austin Dabney four times between 1849 and 1855, most notably in *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia of the Cherokees, and the Author* (New York, 1855). The next original account of Dabney's life was Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., "Austin Dabney," in Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, 2 vols. (Athens, GA, 1983) 1: 239–240.

Almost all that remains of the original records of Austin Dabney's pre-Act of 1818 pension is found in Austin Dabney, Pension Payment Roll of Veterans of the Revolutionary War and the Regular Army and Navy, March 1801–September 1815, pp. 61–62, 129–130, entry 5, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group (RG) 15; Invalid Pension Payments, 1809–1815, *Ledgers of Payments, 1818–1872* (National Archives Microfilm T718, roll 3), Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, RG 217; and Austin Dabney, *Final Revolutionary War Pension Payment Vouchers, Georgia* (National Archives Microfilm M1746, roll 2) RG 217.

For descriptions of the major records for the pensions before the Act of 1818, see Claire Prechtel-Klusens, "Tracking Revolutionary War Army Pension Payments," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives* 40 (Winter 2008): 46–55; and Lloyd de Witt Bockstruck, *Revolutionary War Pensions Awarded by State Governments 1775–1874, the General and Federal Governments Prior to 1814, and by Private Acts of Congress to 1905* (Baltimore, 2011). Available information on the surviving pension records in the National Archives before 1816 is too imprecise and generic to allow for more than an individual review of the thousands of documents; see Evelyn Wade, comp., *Preliminary Inventory of the Financial Records and Pension Control Registers of the Bureau of Pensions and the Veterans Administration, 1805–1933* (NM-21) (Washington, 1964)

and *Preliminary Inventory of Bureau of Pensions Correspondence and Pension and Bounty-Land Case Files Relating to Military Service Performed Between 1775 and 1861* (NM-22) (Washington, 1964); and William F. Sherman, comp., *Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury Inventory 14* (Washington, 1987).

For the published pension lists for before 1832 see Murtie June Clark, comp., *The Pension Lists of 1792–1795 with Other Revolutionary War Pension Records* (Baltimore, MD, 1991) and *Index to U. S. Invalid Pension Records, 1801–1815* (Baltimore, 1991), p. 93; *Report from the Secretary of War, in obedience to Resolutions of the Senate of the 5th and 30th June, 1834, and the 3d of March, 1835, in relation to the pension establishment of the United States* (June 30, 1834), p. 514, Serial Set Vol. No. 251 (volume III), Senate Document 514, pt. 3.

For pensions under the Act of 1818 and later, see *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900* (National Archives Microfilm M804), Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, RG 15. These pension files are on the subscription websites Fold3 and HeritageQuest; access to both are free at a National Archives facility. Transcripts of many of the pensions are on the free website of Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution: <http://revwarapps.org>. For a list of the pensions, see Virgil D. White, comp., *Genealogical Abstracts of Revolutionary War Pension Files*, 4 vols. (Waynesboro, Tennessee, 1990).



Author

Robert Scott Davis is director of the Family and Regional History Program at Wallace State College in Hanceville, Alabama. His numerous publications include *Requiem for a Lost City: Sallie Clayton's Memoirs of Civil War Atlanta* and *Ghosts and Shadows of Andersonville* published by Mercer University Press. For his biography and bibliography see: www3.wallacestate.edu/bobdavis/index.html.

Saving the Moving Images of World War I

By Criss Kovac





With the 100th anniversary of the United States' entry into World War I just three years away, the National Archives has begun a massive project to digitize the largest collection of motion picture footage from that war.

Already, the index to the agency's Army Signal Corps moving picture holdings has been organized and rehoused, and certain deteriorating video copies of the film are no longer used. The videotapes were digitized for immediate low-resolution access in NARA's online catalog. These low-resolution files will be replaced with higher-resolution files as the film scanning project is completed.

Phase three of the three-year project has begun in the Motion Picture Preservation Lab, as the lab assesses, repairs, and preserves the entire U.S. Army Signal Corps Historical Collection (111 H). The lab will then scan the films in high definition with a new scanner and staff funded by a generous gift from an anonymous donor.

The specific goal of the donation is to provide greater online accessibility to the National Archives' World War I and World War II film collections. This goal fits well with one of the agency's four strategic goals for 2014–2018: "Make Access Happen."

Already, researchers and documentary filmmakers are seeking footage of conflicts in Europe from the start of the war, and the National Archives has seen an incredible increase in demand for World War I footage in all formats.

Certain items or titles will receive full digital restorations including removing dirt and scratches, making gamma corrections, and returning to original frame rates. The lab will then load the content onto the Archives' YouTube channel, where the public will have the ability to tag and add additional information to increase description and improve access.

WWI Moving Image Collections

Focus on Lives of Troops

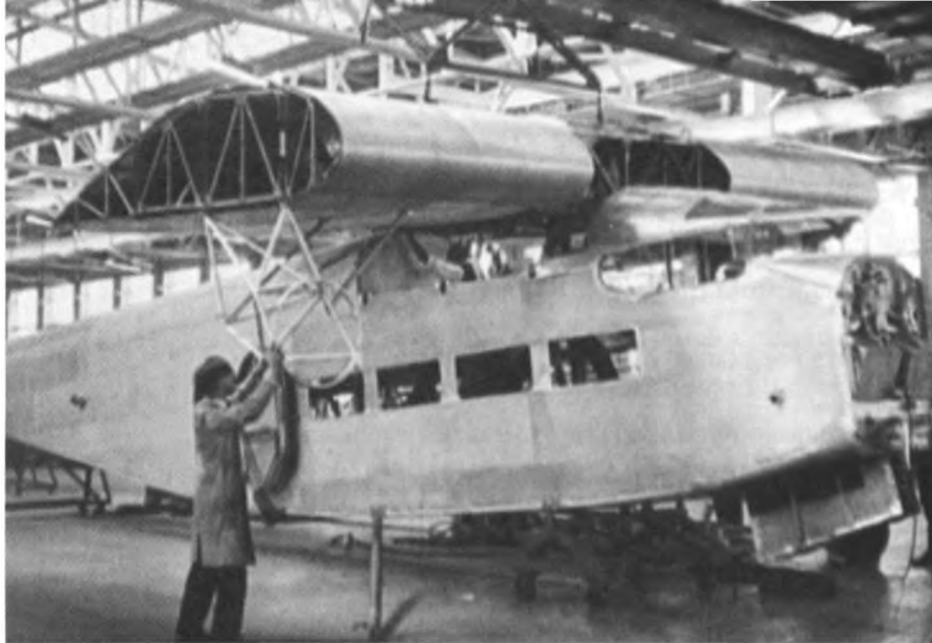
The National Archives is the largest repository of World War I material in the United States. The moving image materials are scattered throughout multiple collections, with the majority of the content held in four record groups.

The U.S. Army Signal Corps Historical Collection contains approximately 473 unique titles (871 reels), and the CBS World War I Collection contains approximately 663 unique titles (751 reels). These collections each contain more than one million linear feet (or 390 miles) of motion picture film dedicated to documenting "The Great War," inclusive of all aspects of U.S. military activities as well as materials from foreign sources.

The Signal Corps and CBS film collections focus on training soldiers (stateside and abroad), combat activities, life in military camps, troop inspections, and significant U.S. and foreign personalities (for example, high-ranking officers, heads of state). They also include early newsreel coverage of activities across Europe.

The Ford Film Collection contains a great deal of World War I coverage, including

Opposite top: Training Activities at Fort Lewis, Washington. *Opposite bottom:* President Wilson addresses the naval personnel aboard the USS *George Washington* docked in New York Harbor after returning from the Paris Peace Conference in France, July 8, 1919.



Above: Ford manufactured Liberty engines and tested them in various aircraft at their Dearborn, Michigan airfield. Below: German civilians, held as spy suspects at Fort Oglethorpe in Georgia, are sent back to Germany with their families. Bottom: Theodore Roosevelt reviews a military parade in New York City. "Teddy Says They Will Do ALL and MORE Than Is Asked of Them—And They WILL."



activities related to airplane manufacturing, the Red Cross, Armistice Day celebrations, awards ceremonies, troop movements, trucks and other mechanical equipment, and public announcements regarding Liberty Loan Drives, raw materials rationing, and anti-Bolshevik campaigns.

The Durborough War Pictures contain 13 unique reels of the combined surviving early World War I footage shot by Wilbur H. Durborough. He was an American press photographer, and the footage documents his journeys across Europe observing the military conflict prior to U.S. involvement.

Military Footage Given To Archives in 1939

The U.S. Army Signal Corps Historical Collection is a good example of the complexity of the collections.

The Army War College, Department of War, Army Signal Corps transferred more than a million feet of original negatives, negative copies, and prints to the National Archives in December 1939. The majority of the content was shot in France (68 percent) and in the United States (23 percent), while the remainder of the footage was taken "in other places where military operations were carried on."

The film was accompanied by 850 folders containing the original shooting scripts and title sheets sent in from the field along with about 130,000 3-by-5-inch index cards, which have already been reorganized and re-housed. The cards give a detailed description of each scene, when and where the footage was shot, and the name of the cameraman. The cards were further cross-referenced by names of officers, enlisted men, persons of importance, and Army Service Division down to the smallest unit level (e.g., First Trench Mortar Battery).

The index cards had been stored in 77 deteriorating cardboard boxes; they were then organized into Hollinger boxes clearly stating the headings and subheadings for each index card range. Finding aids were created

to match the scene numbers at the top of the index cards that correlate to the compiled Army Edited Footage (AEF number), which further references the item/reel-level number.

Until recently, the vast majority of accessible research room material was on 270 failing ¾-inch U-matic video and VHS videotapes. In phase two of the project, the U-matic videos were digitized in the Audio/Video Preservation Laboratory. Access copies were made available on hard drives in the research room, and lower-resolution files will eventually be uploaded into the Online Public Access (OPA) catalog on *Archives.gov*.

Before the United States entered World War I in 1917, the Signal Corps spent between \$2 million and \$3 million (\$36.5 million to \$54.8 million today) gearing up to document activities at home and abroad relating to the conflict. Nearly a thousand employees were trained under government supervision to shoot, develop, edit, and print the reels, and a considerable investment was made in equipment and raw film stock.

After World War I, the Department of War continued to put money into storage, personnel, and reprinting the collection. In 1935 Congress appropriated \$35,000, and the Department of War spent an additional \$15,000 (\$768,000 today) on reediting some of the content.

It is unclear when, or why, but based on notes made by John G. Bradley, the National Archives' chief of motion pictures, the overall collection "dwindled from an estimated 6,000,000 feet to its present footage" prior to its transfer to the Archives.

According to Bradley, the Department of War wanted to deposit the film with the National Archives in 1939 because of the "present international unrest [and] the



Above: A boxing competition is staged for President and Mrs. Wilson aboard the USS *George Washington* on July 8, 1919. Below: Training activities at Fort Lewis, Washington.

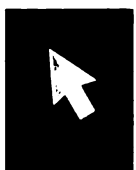


Department of War has indicated that it wants to be relieved of further custodial responsibility for this film and has asked that The National Archives take it over and perpetuate it."

At the time of the accession, the edited films' condition was noted to be fair, but the

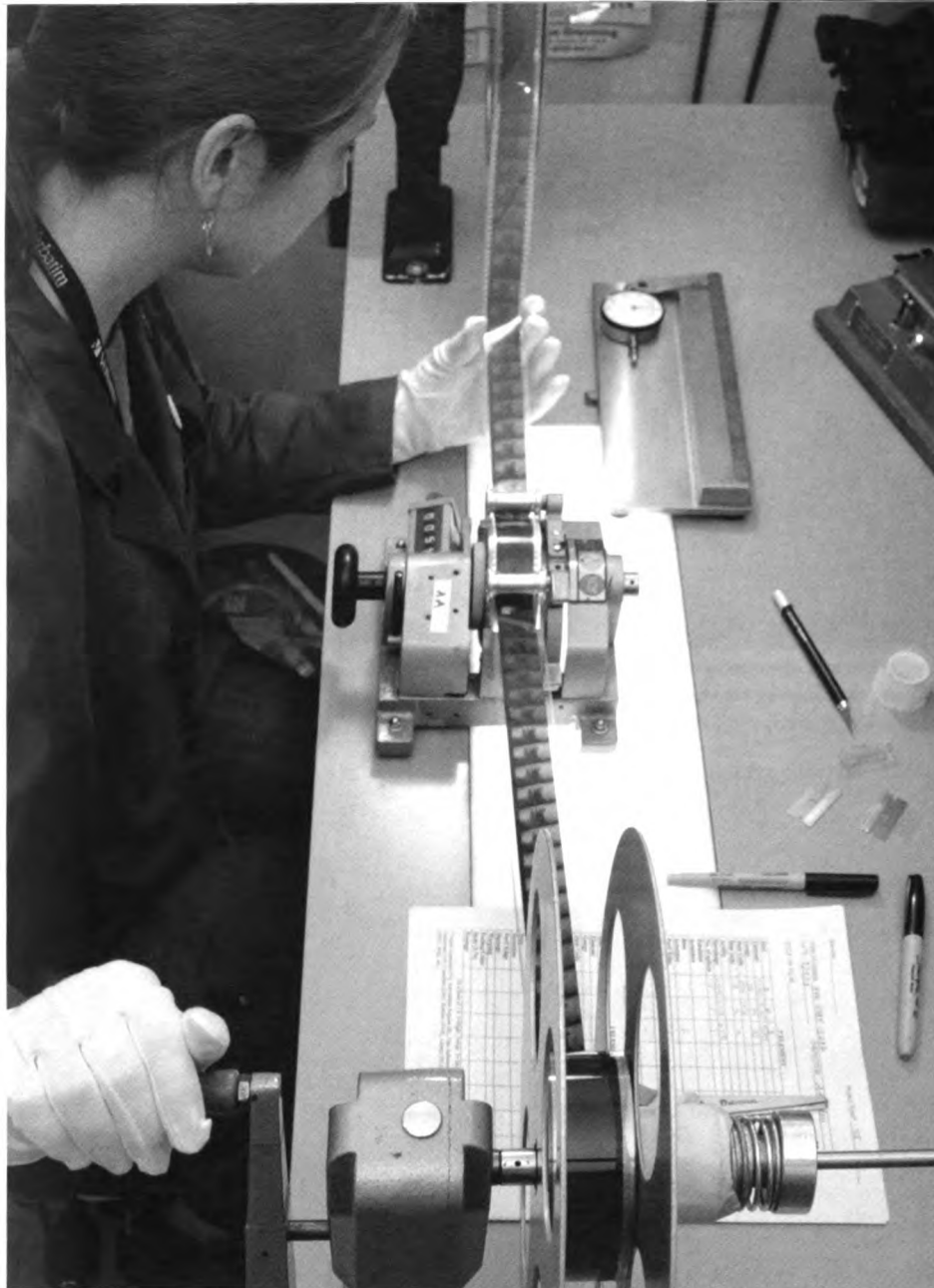
unedited content was assessed as "none too good." In October 1939 Bradley wrote:

[P]reliminary study of this film on the basis of its physical condition indicates that perhaps 75% of the total footage is approximately twenty years old and has reached an age, therefore,



To learn more about

- The most requested documents relating to World War I, go to www.archives.gov/research/military/ww1/.
- How the art world contributed to the World War I effort by coming up with camouflage to protect U.S. troops, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/spring/.
- An overview of National Archives film holdings of World War I, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/summer/.



Above: The SAMMA automated robot systematically digitizes 44 ¾-inch U-matic videotapes at a time. Left: Audrey Amidon, motion picture preservation specialist, inspects 35mm film to prepare for preservation and access of moving image collections.

when normal losses may be expected unless the necessary corrective measures are taken . . . considerable duplication work will be necessary. . . . [W]e will have to do the necessary inspecting, reviewing, evaluating, indexing, and vaulting work, together with the corresponding statistical and paper work on the entire collection—all of which indicates the need for additional personnel and equipment.

Bradley went on to note that accepting this collection would mean that the Archives would be forced to intermingle its nitrate and acetate collections. In addition, the World War I collection “would occupy

approximately 100 percent of our present available storage space. . . . Finally, it is recommended that every reasonable effort be made to expedite the installation of an air-conditioning system, so that this film and other film in our custody may be given adequate protection.” Given that film archiving was a fledgling concept in 1939, Bradley was ahead of his time.

After the collection was deposited at the Archives, how the film was stored long term or if Bradley received the additional equipment and staff needed to properly process the collection remains unclear.

Over the past 75 years, the films have been used heavily, particularly during anniversary

events in the 1960s and early 1990s. The films have been printed and reprinted over the decades, and any surviving nitrate material was reformatted after a 1978 fire in the nitrate vaults. Most of the preservation and master elements are now on polyester film stock, with only the Durborough Collection surviving on nitrate deposited with the Library of Congress.

Much like Bradley, current Archives staff will continue to struggle with the volume of material, condition, and future storage options for the amount of digital data that will be produced as part of this project.

History is bound to repeat itself—even film preservation history. **E**

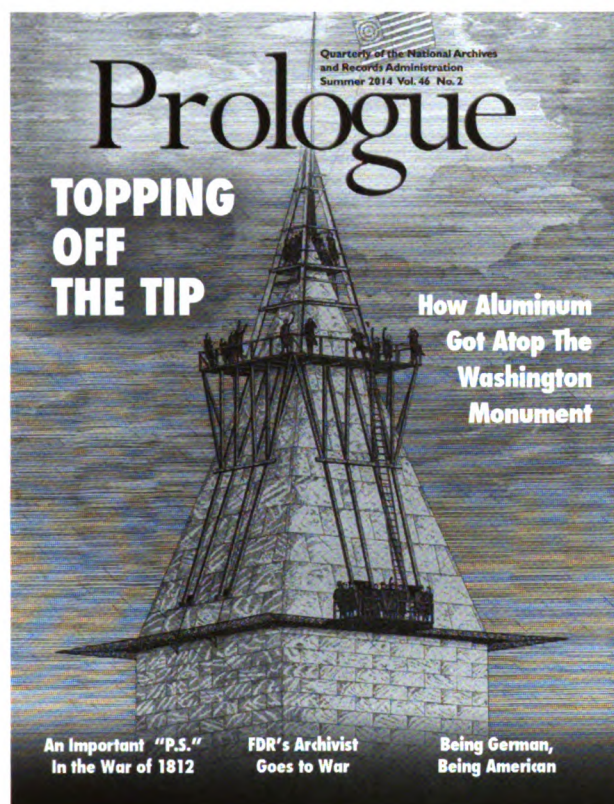


Criss Kovac is the head of the Motion Picture Preservation Lab at the National Archives. For the last decade she has overseen preservation projects including *Nine From Little Rock* and *With the Marines at Tarawa*, and digital restoration projects including *Let There Be Light* and *The True Glory*. She is an active participant in moving image professional organizations and in creating technical guidelines for archives, libraries, and museums. She holds degrees from Oberlin College, Nottingham Trent University, and the L. Jeffrey Selznick School of Film Preservation.



WHAT'S NEW IN THE PAST?

FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS, *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* has been telling readers about the rich resources and programs of the National Archives, its regional facilities, and the presidential libraries.



In every issue you will find thought-provoking and entertaining articles—based on research in the Archives' magnificent holdings of original documents—on American history and on the activities of the agency.

SOME RECENT ARTICLES IN *Prologue* INCLUDE:

- ★ What happened when the “Monuments Men” discovered treasures of the Third Reich after World War II.
- ★ What was the politics behind the creation of the Faulkner murals in the Rotunda of the National Archives Building? Which Founding Father stood where?
- ★ A look at the new “Records of Rights” permanent exhibit in the David M. Rubenstein Gallery in the National Archives Building in downtown Washington, D.C.
- ★ What was it like being German American in America while the nation was fighting Germany in World War II?

COMING UP: *Prologue* will have articles on an important film collection, the 150th anniversary of the end of the Civil War, the last will and testament of Adolf Hitler, and a bloody Christmas on Guam during World War II.

VISIT US ONLINE AT: www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATE IS \$24 (\$30 OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES).

To start your subscription, mail this form to the National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001.

Make checks payable to the National Archives Trust Fund. Credit card orders may also call toll free 1-800-234-8861 or 202-357-5482 weekdays, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. eastern time.

Prologue Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration
1 year (4 issues) is \$24. Subscriptions outside the United States are \$30.

Check ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express ☐

Account number Card expires

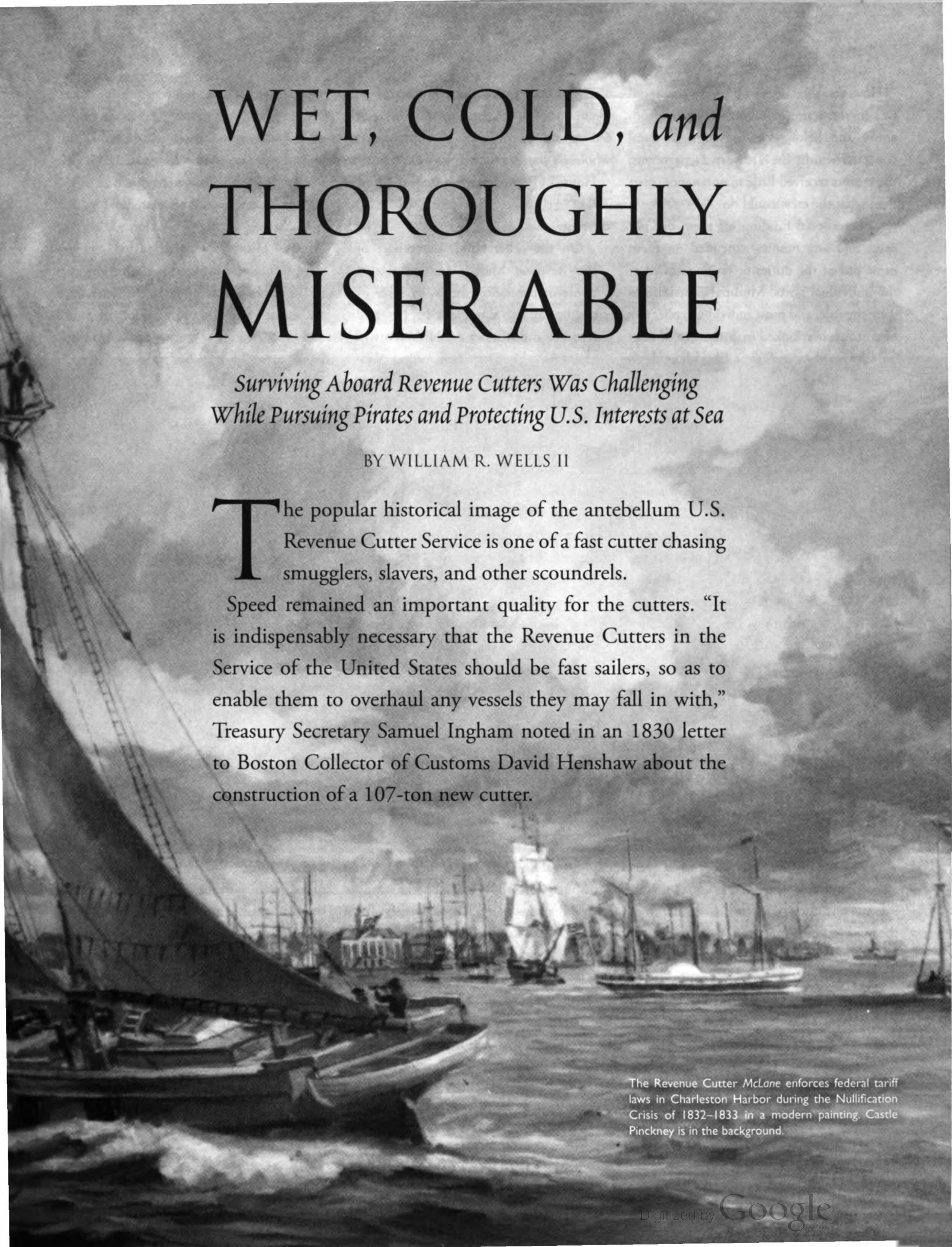
Signature _____

Name _____	Address _____
------------	---------------

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Please allow up to 10 weeks for delivery of first issue.





WET, COLD, *and* THOROUGHLY MISERABLE

*Surviving Aboard Revenue Cutters Was Challenging
While Pursuing Pirates and Protecting U.S. Interests at Sea*

BY WILLIAM R. WELLS II

The popular historical image of the antebellum U.S. Revenue Cutter Service is one of a fast cutter chasing smugglers, slavers, and other scoundrels.

Speed remained an important quality for the cutters. "It is indispensably necessary that the Revenue Cutters in the Service of the United States should be fast sailers, so as to enable them to overhaul any vessels they may fall in with," Treasury Secretary Samuel Ingham noted in an 1830 letter to Boston Collector of Customs David Henshaw about the construction of a 107-ton new cutter.

The Revenue Cutter *McLane* enforces federal tariff laws in Charleston Harbor during the Nullification Crisis of 1832–1833 in a modern painting. Castle Pinckney is in the background.

However, the cutters were very small and wet in the sense of taking on water from above and below. Because of tight fiscal concerns within the Treasury Department, the cutters received little maintenance other than what the crew could do.

Congressional funding for them did not exist, and any monies expended on them came out of the duties or tariffs assessed at the individual ports. Minimal expenditures were the rule, and most individual collectors of customs overlooked maintenance of habitability for the comfort and health of those serving in them.

The U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (USRCS) was formed in 1790 at the direction of the first treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton. The service's job was to enforce the laws and protect U.S. maritime assets, such as merchant ships that became targets for pirates, privateers, and home-grown shipwreckers. During the War of 1812, the cutters went to war to fight the British.

In 1915, Congress established the U.S. Coast Guard within the Treasury Department and included the Revenue Cutter Service and the Life-Saving Service. The two bureaus remained as separate in culture and tasks as they had been before passage of the law. No complete merger occurred until after World War II.

EARLY CUTTERS POSED TIGHT SQUEEZE FOR CREW

Cutters built in the antebellum period were 75 feet long, 20 feet wide, and an average of 7 to 8 feet deep—an external, not an internal measurement. The internal depth of the hold was measured from the spar deck to the top of the keel, and few measured more than 6½ feet. The lowest deck—the “berth deck,” or orlop deck—sat 2 feet above the keel, making space below deck sparse, dark, cold, or hot depending upon the season.

A few cutter captains understood the great discomfort of the narrow confines for officers and men alike. The poor living conditions

aboard the cutters became one cause of complaint in an 1889 petition submitted by a fed-up revenue cutter officer corps asking for wholesale transfer to the Navy Department.

House of Representatives Report Number 76 of February 15, 1890, reflects this concern:

On the other hand, the officer of the Revenue Marine has no settled home or habitation; he is, by force of circumstances, a nomad; he has two separate and distinct establishments to maintain—his temporary resting place on shipboard and the equally transitory lodgings of his wife and family on shore; he is confined to cramped and inconvenient quarters, in which, for the most part, decent privacy is denied him; he inhabits, with a half dozen others, a room 10 feet by 18 feet—here he must eat, sleep, perform his ablutions, receive and entertain friends, and break his daily bread with the congenial and uncongenial alike; his sleeping berth is barely big enough to contain his person; his comforts are such as he can catch as his life wears on.

Other captains raised the issue of their crew's welfare to the local collectors. In 1828, Capt. Samuel Trevett, commanding the cutter *Search* at Boston, recommended the installation of an iron water tank to replace the traditional water kegs. Trevett claimed a tank 70 inches tall with sides of 52 and 40 inches could hold as much water as 6½ standard 30-gallon kegs. The United States and British navies used these water tanks and reported that the water “keeps sweeter and is more salubrious.” The tank cost \$400, held a 30-day supply of water, and at one ton, also served as a substitute for the iron ballast.

Henry A. S. Dearborn, collector at Boston, suggested to Treasury Secretary Richard Rush that removing the “pig iron” ballast would make more space for the crew. No record exists of Rush's approval of the request. *Search* was then eight years old and

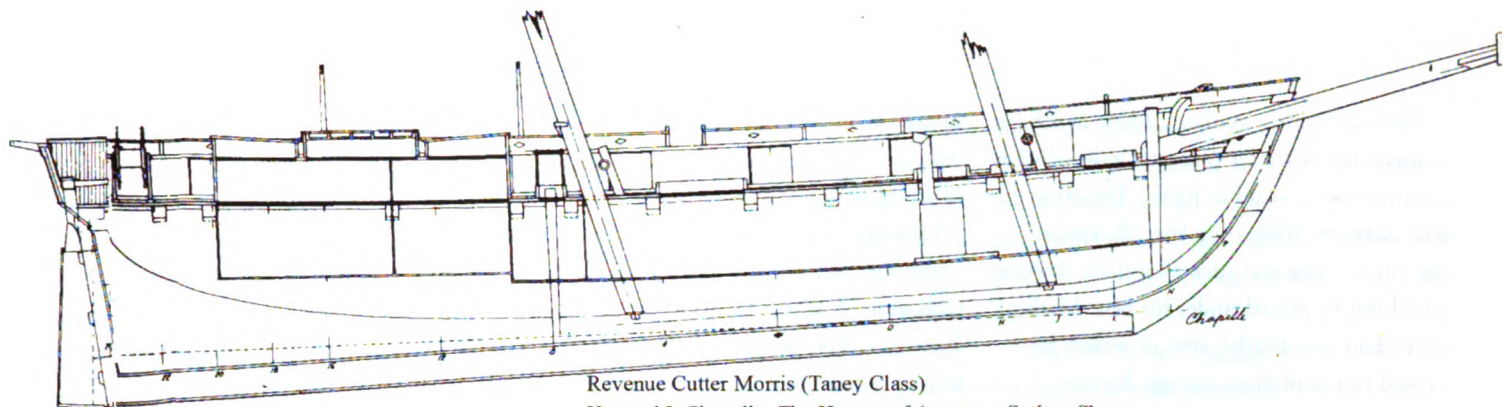
near the end of her career as a revenue cutter. However, the water tank idea went forward, and the Treasury Department installed four aboard the cutter *Van Buren* in 1839. The logs of 1841–1842 show as much as 1,850 gallons of water could be carried.

In March 1830, Capt. John Cahoon echoed Dearborn's space-saving suggestion; Cahoon suggested replacing the cutter *Vigilant's* ballast stone on the berth deck to “make room for the addition of Stores and crew.” Cahoon wanted clean iron ballast because he now had to move his four 4-pounder guns and carriages back on deck. Revenue cutters that had little need for guns—such as *Vigilant*—commonly used the guns and shot for ballast. In 1845, *Van Buren* held 289 pieces of kentledge (iron pigs), 384 12-pound shot, and 96 odd pieces of iron for ballast—all of it painted white.

Portsmouth's OFFICERS COMPLAIN ABOUT QUARTERS

The below-decks space became more constricted with the advent of winter cruising to assist distressed vessels. On December 16, 1831, Treasury Secretary Louis McLane ordered the collector of customs at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to have the cutter *Portsmouth* “furnished without delay, with such quantities of provisions, water, wood, and other necessary supplies as can be conveniently stowed in the vessel and to cruise between Cape Ann and Cape Elizabeth” to assist vessels as well as fulfill normal duties. McLane ordered Capt. Thomas Shaw not to return to “port until forced to do so from stress of weather and want of supplies.” This arduous and uncomfortable duty severely tasked the crew and the 11-year-old cutter, which had been built as a pilot-boat and purchased by Treasury in 1829.

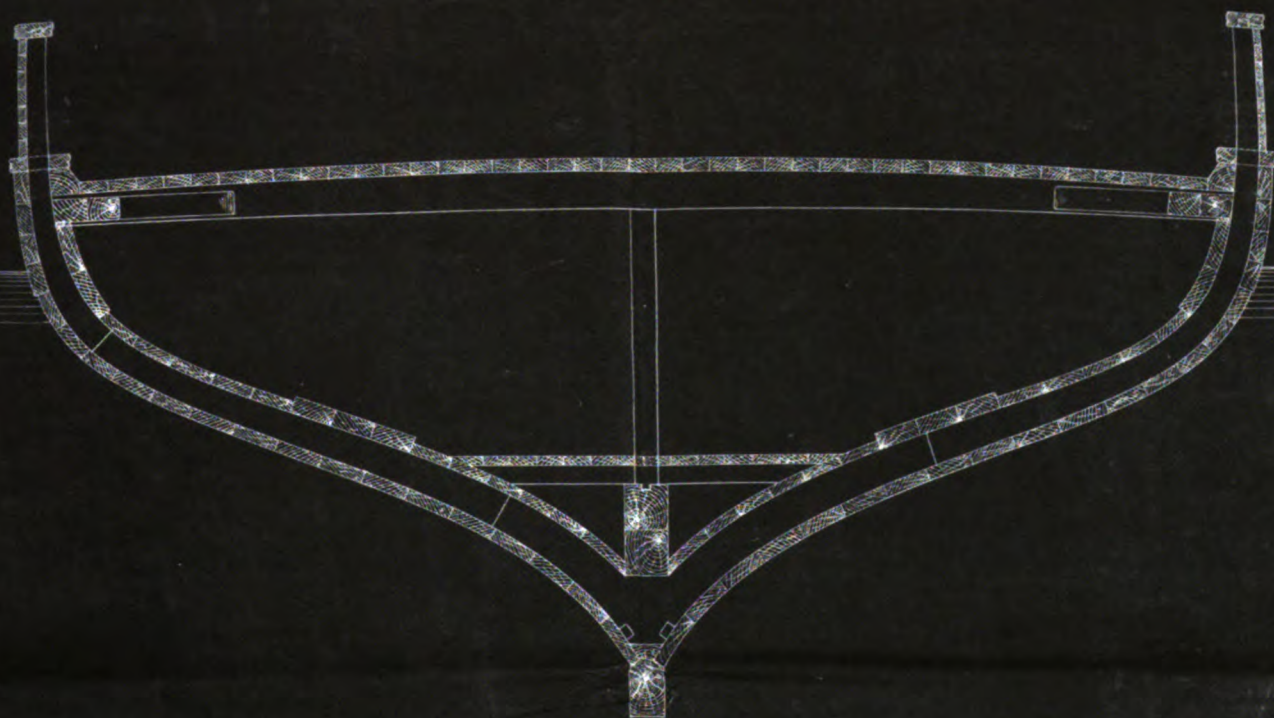
The officers straightaway complained that the *Portsmouth* was too small. There was no wardroom, and with a 10-foot draft, it sat low in the water, making it a “very wet vessel” in heavy weather and uncomfortable to



Revenue Cutter Morris (Taney Class)

Howard I. Chapelle. *The History of American Sailing Ships*.

Above: The Revenue Cutter *Morris*, 1831. Cutters built in the antebellum period were 75 feet long, 20 feet wide, and an average of 7 to 8 feet deep—external, not internal measurements. A few cutter captains understood the great discomfort of the narrow confines for officers and men alike. Below: The midship section of the *Joe Lane*, built in 1849, illustrates the tight quarters found on revenue cutters of the antebellum period. It was the lowest deck (the “berth deck”), four to five feet in height, with sparse space, and dark, cold, or hot depending upon the season.



MIDSHIP SECTION #7.

sail and live aboard. In 1832 Shaw wrote that the cutter’s small size required him to “carry all provisions and part of her ballast,” including four cannon, on the berth deck, which measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and where a crew of at least 12 lived. “With the necessary wood, water, provisions, peoples’ dunnage [term for the crew] &c there is little room for much else,” Shaw wrote.

Added to this were the 30 tons of ballast and the additional winter cruising supplies, which

included 6 barrels of beef, 400 pounds of bread, 6 barrels of water, 50 pounds of candles, 10 pounds of tea, and 1 cord of dry hardwood.

These materials provided convenient hiding and breeding places for rats, mice, and insects. At least once a year, the captain of the cutter ordered the holds cleaned out and the hatches and openings sealed. All officers and men moved ashore to temporary quarters and then for two days used smoke to remove the vermin.

In July 1833, Capt. Andrew Mather complained of the cabin, wardroom, staterooms, and the inadequacy for the physical needs of the officers and crews aboard the *Wolcott*. Mather requested to alter the captain’s cabin and wardroom while at New Haven. The *Wolcott*’s cabin, he wrote, was smaller than those of other cutters of the same type, built at the same place and at about the same time. One had a cabin two feet wider and “somewhat longer,” and another had been lengthened “from three to four feet.”

Wolcott's cabin, Mather added, had been constructed with no place to hang clothes or store books or other items. Therefore, he had drawers made, but the "sharpness" of the cutter's hull was such that these drawers could not be placed under his bed. Mather's cabin had two berths, one of which he removed to install more storage drawers.

SOLVING PROBLEMS ABOARD THE *Wolcott*

Mather said that other alterations solved another problem. During the winter, the cutter officers placed a heating stove in the wardroom (the crew forward had no heating stove). When the stove was in place, the forward gangway into the wardroom had to be closed. This meant the officers had to use the gangway in the cabin to access the wardroom.

Mather suggested adding two feet to the wardroom forward into the trunk. That way, the wardroom gangway could be used when the winter stove was in place and relieve Mather of the annoying tramping of officers through his cabin. Stoves were not allowed in the crew's quarters because of the potential of fires.

In 1836 living space became a concern for the cutter *Madison* at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Captain Shaw, now commanding the *Madison*, wished to put right the "very great inconvenience" suffered by the cutter's crewmen: 16 men and 4 boys who lived in a berth deck just three feet, seven inches high.

As a comparison, Shaw measured the height of the cutter *Hamilton's* berth deck and found a comfortable five feet, seven inches at maximum height. The *Madison* ship's carpenter estimated it would cost \$275 to lower the deck and add bulkheads and lockers for the crew.

However, replacing the ballast to accommodate a lowered deck might require additional costs. In a remarkable seven days, Treasury Secretary Levi Woodbury responded with approval to lower the berth deck but did not approve the new ballast. It is

unknown how Shaw was able to rearrange the old ballast, but cuttermen had learned to make do with less or what was given.

Officers' quarters often contained more luxurious articles. In 1840, New Haven Collector William H. Ellis purchased for *Wolcott* a "hair mattress," one three-pound feather pillow, one "hair" pillow, four sheets, four pillow cases, one "Double Comfortable [comforter]," a pair of Rose Blankets, and 20 yards of "3 ply" carpet and binding to make four carpets. The purchase also included 10 yards of damask-style fabric with 26 yards of silk binding to make bunk curtains hung on three brass rods and eyes.

The cutter crews made the hammocks, mess cloths, and bags from cotton canvas. In 1844, *Van Buren's* crew made these new items and then blackened the hammocks and mess clothes with a mixture of black

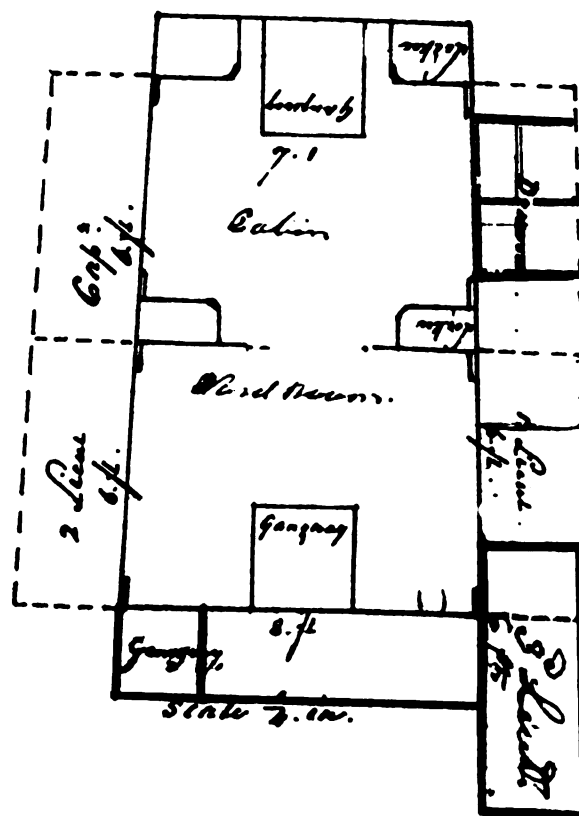
paint. The paint sealed the canvas and made for easier cleaning and longer wear.

"CORPOREAL PUNISHMENT" TO DISCIPLINE THE CREW

Although crew comfort was a concern for some cutter captains, others inflicted punishments that guaranteed discomfort. Flogging did not become an official form of punishment by regulation on the revenue cutters until the 1843 Rules and Regulations of the U.S. Revenue Marine (taken from U.S. Navy Regulations of the same year). Even then, the term flogging or "lashes" saw no use, but the ubiquitous "corporal punishment" was administered, and only then by the authority of the cutter captain.

A scan of cutter logs indicates that the personal experiences of the individual captains played a large part in the choice of

A Plan Cutter Wolcott, Cabin



punishment type. Those officers with U.S. Navy experience were more prone to use flogging, but those coming from the merchant service tended to use lesser means of physical discipline.

Causes for flogging consisted of insolence, disobedience to orders, threats toward officers and warrant officers, and drunkenness, and the first three served to be most often caused by the latter. The number of lashes with the cat o' nine tails numbered no more than 12. Unlike the U.S. Navy, the Revenue Cutter Service had no courts-martial system that allowed more lashes.

There were other forms of punishments, however, not specified in the regulations.

The use of the "colt" (sometimes called the

"starter") was common for minor offenses and for boys. The colt was a piece of manila rope spliced backwards to form a club that was one inch or less in diameter and two to three feet long.

A description of the colt is given in the testimony of Alexander Slidell Mackenzie during his 1844 court-martial. "A colt is a piece of rope larger than a quill, and not so large as your little finger. . . . [T]hey were punished over the clothes they happened to have on, with the exception of the jacket," he said.

Boys in common practice received 6-12 strokes and, in general, not laid heavy. Use of the "rattan," a cane, was more common in the U.S. Navy, where it was used, as was the colt, for informal punishment. However,

cutter service captains formalized the use of the colt. A common practice was to secure a boy or midshipman to the length of a cannon barrel, known as "kissing the Gunner's daughter," and deliver strokes across the back.

Use of "irons" during short periods of confinement was frequently mentioned in the cutter logs. The irons consisted of single irons, hand restraints (later known as Lilly-irons), and double irons consisting of leg restraints with a sliding bar with ankle loops attached to the deck.

Despite the cruel nature of such punishments, they did not normally prevent the men on the cutters from working. Those flogged received basic treatment, but they

Below: In July 1833, Capt. Andrew Mather of the *Walcott* complained in a letter of the inadequacy of the cabin, wardroom, and staterooms for the physical needs of the officers and crew. Opposite: He enclosed a drawing with measurements and highlighted in red ink some suggested alterations to add two feet to the wardroom forward into the trunk.

26 I New Cutter *Walcott* July 29, 1833

Your letter of 25th instant to the Collector for the District of New Haven, has been forwarded to me for answer, in respect to a desired alteration of the Cabin of the Cutter *Walcott*. I beg leave to represent that the Cabin of the 3^d Section is of better dimensions than any of the other new Cutters. The Cabin of the *Push* is two feet wider and somewhat longer, the *Malone* is about two feet longer and about two feet wider than the *Walcott*. The *Grasshopper* or *Ingham* (I do not remember exactly) has been lengthened from three to four feet. Indeed, in a plan giving the dimensions of the *Walcott* Cabin, as no place was provided to place clothing racks it became necessary to make drawers in the Cabin, owing to the sharpness of the V-dit these drawers could not be made under the berths, consequently it became necessary (as has been in other Cutters) to take down one berth in order to put drawers in the place thereof. The berths are provided with drawers under them berths owing to the Wardroom being more in the back of the V-dit. In the Winter season we carry a stove in the Wardroom which leaves barely room to set a table for two persons, and in order to set the stove we have been obliged to shut the forward gangway leaving the only entrance to the mess room through the Cabin.

In result of the other letters the Lieut. Mess of the *Walcott* in the mess room, and the Captains Cabin - but enclosed the *Walcott* we are able to mess together.

In the plan enclosed I have marked the exact size of the Cabin and mess room as they now are (in black) and the alterations that should like to make in red ink, and I do not think the expense would be much if any was, and the situation of the Cabin is not so bad as these seven eight days. The addition of two feet to the *Walcott* is what is most in the plan which will furnish an additional berth, and in the Wardroom much more comfortable for in the Winter.

I am Sir with great respect
your Obedient servant.

Andrew Mather Lieut
Comd'g New Cutter *Walcott*

The Hon^{ble} W. J. Seavey
Secretary of Treasury

Treasury Department
July 13. 1848.

Sir:-

Herewith is returned the Requisition of Capt S. G. Harby, dated June 21st ultimo, and is approved with the exception of the following articles which are disallowed and must be paid for by the Commander.

One bottle Sands Sarsaparilla, Six bottles Townsend Sarsaparilla, One Galvanic bracelet \$1⁵⁰/₁₀₀, One Galvanic bracelet \$3. Six bottles magnesia at 8¢ per bottle. 2 prescriptions at 40 cts. Coleman's titmus 8¢. 3 mo bottles Tonic Mixture \$2. 3 mo boxes Siddle's Powders \$6. Six boxes Capsules \$5. One bottle Syrup of Wild Cherry 8¢. 3 mo bottles Lime Juice 2¢ Ten bottles Wood's Mixture, \$10. 2 gallons Blue Pick Water 8¢ and jug 4¢.

I have to express surprise that the Commander of the *Mollott* should think proper to approve a requisition of this unprecedented and extravagant character. The usual medicines prescribed for medicine chests are all that are required or allowed on board of revenue vessels, and the before mentioned articles are not enumerated, even in sea going vessels medicine chest books, and if they were, would not be allowed in those of the revenue service.

Very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
W. P. Mather
Secy of the Treasury
Collector of the Customs
Mobile

Ala.

PUNISHMENT AND PRAISE

Excerpts from logbooks

Revenue Cutter Crawford

April 18, 1846. "Lectured Francis Boriere (steward) Robert James & Samuel Brown (sea[man]) for insubordination."

Revenue Cutter Wolcott

May 6, 1846. "William Summers (sea[man]) on board who was taken by the Constable from on board the Steamer *Creole* where he was secreted for the purpose of deserting from this vessel and deposited by them in the Guard House for safe keeping for desertion and Bail [illegible], placed in single Irons on Board."

Revenue Cutter Van Buren

October 27, 1843. "Punished George Thompson with twelve lashes with the Catt for disobedience of orders from 3rd Lt. C. L. Collier."

October 31, 1843. "at 11 of 40 A. M. the Warrants of this vessel were duly installed on their respective warrants assigned them by the Department as warrant officers & their warrants handed them in presence of those who were Mustered for this occasion."

February 3, 1846. "James Callahan, Augustus Osmon & John Brown (Seaman) took the dingy [sic] during the night and went ashore without leave. . . . [They] were brought on board by a Constable. Put all three in Irons."

were able to return to regular duties the next day or the same day. The small crew size of 16 men made losing one man a burden to the other crew members. Crewman in irons could be physically away from work for several days.

In May 1855, Treasury Secretary James Guthrie issued revised regulations for the USRCS. He ceased publishing the regulations as a separate volume and included them within the general regulations of the Treasury Department. Guthrie removed most of naval-like rules and reverted to the regulations of 1841. In addition, the new regulations removed all mention of "corporate punishment."

Prescribed punishment returned to the 1862 USRCS regulations in unspecific and vague terms, referring to punishment "according to the laws and usages of the sea service." Confinement in single irons was codified in the USRCS regulations in 1894 and made a last appearance as an authorized punishment in 1907. The Navy abolished the use of "confinement in irons," single or double, in 1909.

RATIONS FOR CREWS IMPROVED BUT "SPIRITS" ONLY WEEKLY

One improvement in attention to the crew's health was the 1834 removal of the "spirits" portion from the daily ration, but the daily diet of high fat and salt remained unchanged from the Revolutionary War. Because there was no national navy

Opposite: A rejection of Capt. Levy C. Harby's July 1848 requisition for medicines identifies those products not allowed in the Revenue Service's medicine chests. They included one bottle Sands Sarsaparilla, one galvanic bracelet, six bottles magnesia, twelve boxes Seidlitz Powders, and more. Left: A Revenue Cutter Service rations chart for the period, adopted from the U.S. Navy. A diet high in fat and salt, this ration, with few modifications, became the constant for the revenue cutters for decades.

DAYS OF THE WEEK.	Lbs.	Ozs.	POUNDS OF			OUNCES OF				HALF PINTS OF			
	Suet.	Cheese.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Bread.	Butter.	Sugar.	Tea.	Peas.	Rice.	Molasses.	Vinegar.
Sunday, - - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	$\frac{1}{2}$	14	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Monday, - - - - -	-	-	-	1	-	14	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Tuesday, - - - - -	-	2	1	-	-	14	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wednesday, - - - - -	-	-	-	1	-	14	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Thursday, - - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	$\frac{1}{2}$	14	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Friday, - - - - -	-	4	-	-	-	14	2	1	-	-	1	1	-
Saturday, - - - - -	-	-	-	1	-	14	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
Per week,	$\frac{1}{2}$	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	98	2	7	4	2	2	1	1

To learn more about

- The Life-Saving Service during World War I, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2009/fall/.
- Capt. Michael Healy of the Revenue Cutter Service, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1997/fall/.
- The records of the Coast Guard, go to www.archives.gov/research/military/coast-guard/.

in existence when the Revenue Cutter Service was created in 1790, the Treasury Department followed the ration scheme of the U.S. Army. The ration was not healthy by any culinary standard. A 1792 advertisement for purchasing 1793 Army rations specified that

The rations to be supplied are to consist of the following articles, viz.

One pound of bread or flour;

One pound of beef, or $\frac{3}{4}$ pound of pork;

Half a gill [four ounces] of rum, brandy or whiskey;

Per 100 rations

One quart of salt,

Two quarts of vinegar,

Two pounds of soap,

One pound of candles.

Congress authorized the Treasury Department to contract for rations for the

revenue cutters for the first time on March 2, 1793. The individual cutter captains purchased rations locally without standard amounts. Although Congress did not authorize a federal navy in the 1794 "Act to Provide a Naval Armament," section 8 of the act contained a provision for rations:

Sunday, one pound of bread, one pound and a half of beef, and half a pint of rice.

Monday, one pound of bread, one pound of pork, half pint of peas or beans, and four ounces of cheese.

Tuesday, one pound of bread, one pound and a half beef, and one pound of potatoes or turnips, and pudding.

Wednesday, one pound of bread, two ounces of butter, or, in lieu thereof, six ounces of molasses, four ounces of cheese, and a half pint of rice.

Thursday, one pound of bread, one pound of pork, half pint of peas or beans.

Friday, one pound of bread, one pound of salt fish, two ounces of butter or one gill of oil, and one pound of potatoes.

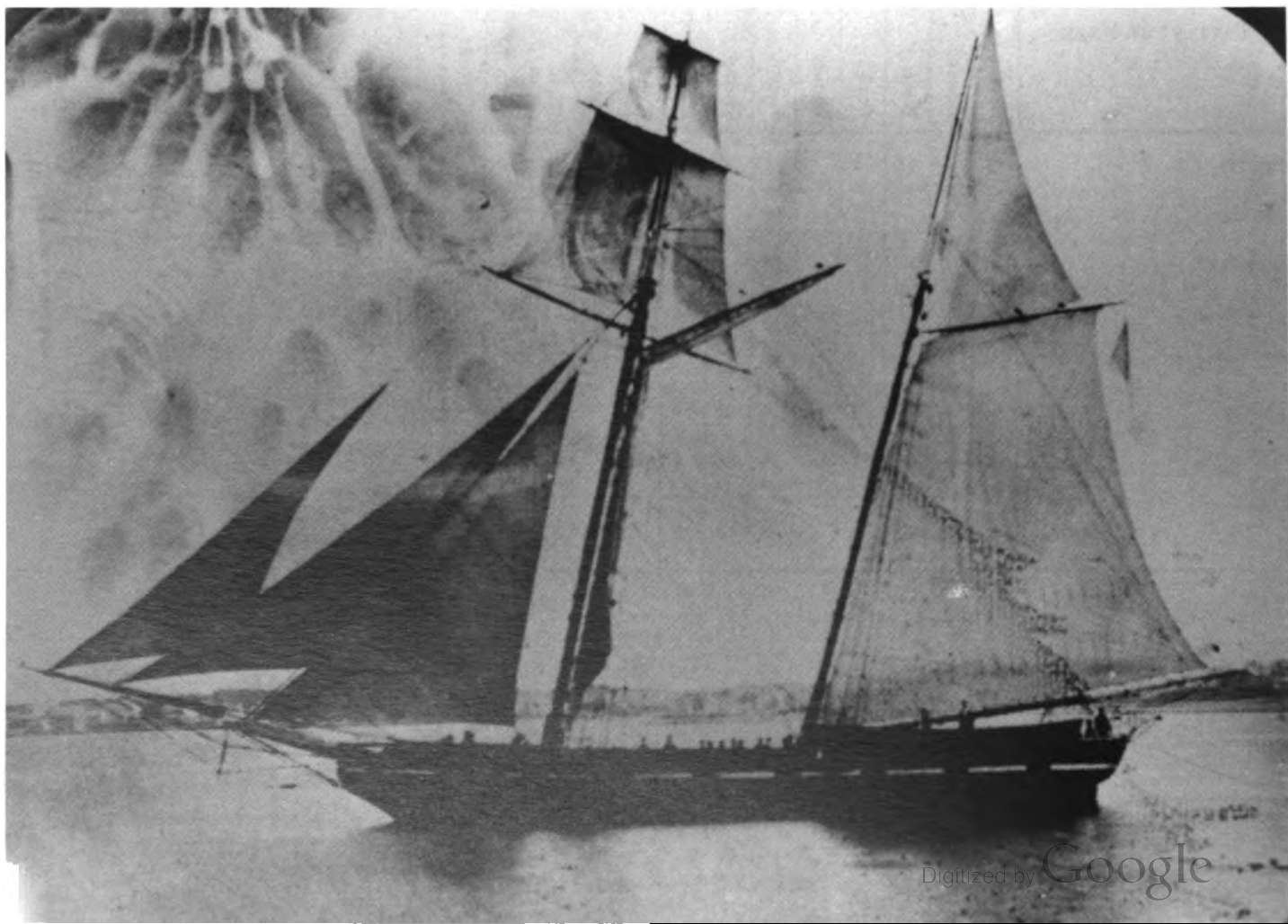
Saturday, one pound of bread, one pound of pork, half pint of peas or beans, and four ounces of cheese.

There will also be allowed, one half-pint of distilled spirits per day, or, in lieu thereof, one quart of beer per day, to each ration.

The revenue cutters began cooperating with the U.S. Navy in 1798 and adopted the naval ration in 1799. With few modifications, this ration became the constant for the revenue cutters for decades. The 1834 USRCS regulations allowed the navy ration without the "spirits."

This ration allowance continued into the 1894 Revenue Cutter Service regulations. Although additional food items, pickles, dried raisins, and cranberries are included during

The U.S. Revenue Cutter *Gallatin*, shown here in the oldest-known photograph of a cutter, was a 78-foot topsail schooner commissioned in 1830. She served off Charleston, South Carolina, starting in November 1832, to enforce federal tariff law during the Nullification Crisis.



the 1840s, the basic weekly menu did not vary much from that of the late 18th century.

A HEALTH CARE PLAN MANDATORY FOR CREW

The health of the crew was important, and crews spent many hours a week cleaning the "berth deck." A ship's requisitions record the purchase of 12 to 18 hickory or corn brooms. However, the living conditions, inadequate diet, and hard labor for both officers and seamen often produced long-lasting illness and disease.

By law, each man paid a tax, or fee, of 20 cents a month for individual health care at the marine hospitals, but these hospitals were few and distant from the cutter's locations. The cutters carried neither surgeon nor surgeon's mate, and whatever treatments and remedies used came from the cutter's allowed medicine chest.

If a man became too incapacitated to serve, the captain discharged him. Such was the case in 1844 with the cook, James Murphy, aboard the cutter *Crawford* at Savannah, Georgia. Murphy's rheumatism could not be treated with patent medicines. Hired slave Linus Olmstead took his place as cook. Some illnesses proved incurable. In 1841 had four men aboard *Crawford* died from unspecified fevers, and another died from yellow fever. Van Buren had one seaman die in 1845, and 1st Lt. William Norris died in 1846.

Medicine chests mirrored those of the merchant marine and contained patent medicines, many of which were alcohol-based or opiate-based, or both; others were benign and useless, while still others such as the "Mercurial Ointment" were poisonous. The cutter's officers were as susceptible to fads in medicines as in any generation then or since. Capt. Levy C. Harby, commanding the *Walcott* and stationed in Mobile, Alabama, submitted bills for replenishing the medicine chest. Treasury Secretary Robert J. Walker questioned the expenses

Agreement.

This agreement made the twenty seventh day of November in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty nine, between W^m. Fernald Jr. and Henry H. Fernald, doing business under the firm of W^m. Fernald Jr. & Co, both of Portsmouth, State of New Hampshire, of the one part, and Samuel P. Dean, Collector of the Customs for the District of Portsmouth, for and in behalf of the United States, of the other part,

Witnesseth,

That the said W^m. Fernald Jr. & Co, have contracted, and by these presents doth contract (and agree to furnish, for the term of one year from the first day of December 1839, on the requisition of the Captain of the United States Revenue Cutter Madison, countersigned by the said Collector of the Customs, to the petty officers and seamen, composing the crew of the said Revenue Cutter, the rations of provisions, consisting of wheat, cheese, beef, pork, flour, bread, butter, sugar, tea, peas, rice, molasses and vinegar, and the necessary fuel and oil required for the said Cutter, of good and wholesome quality, to be approved by the said collector, and in such proportions as are allowed in the Naval service of the United States, at such times and in such quantities, as may from time to time be demanded and required by the Commander of the said Cutter, on requisitions countersigned by the said Collector of the Customs.

The said provisions to be contained and delivered on board the Cutter, in good and sufficient casks and vessels to be provided by the said W^m. Fernald Jr. & Co, and the contents thereof, as to kind and quantity, distinctly marked on each.

It is further understood and agreed between the said parties, that the said W^m. Fernald Jr. & Co will be bound to furnish on reasonable notice, as often as may be required by the Captain of the said Revenue Cutter Madison, with the approbation of the said Collector (not exceeding upon an average one day in each week) such fresh meat and sound vegetables as may be require.

A contract for provisions and fuel for the Revenue Cutter *Madison* dated November 27, 1839, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Wm. Fernald Jr. & Co. agreed to furnish the vessel regularly with the required food supplies and the necessary fuel and oil.

for items not allowed in the chest and disallowed the payment. This made Harby personally responsible for payment. The doubtful items enumerated by Walker included:

One bottle Sands Sarsaparilla, six bottles Townsend's Sarsaparilla, One

Galvanic Bracelet \$1.50, One Galvanic Bracelet \$3, six bottles magnesia at \$1 per bottle, 2 prescriptions at 40¢. Coleman's bitters 8, Two bottles Tonic mixture \$2, Twelve boxes Seidlitz Powders \$6, Six boxes Capsules 8,

One bottle Syrup of Wild Cherry 8,
Two bottles Lime juice 2\$, Ten bottles
Woods Mixture \$10, 2 gallons Blue
Lick water 8 and jug 4.

Walker checked contemporary books listing medicines for seagoing vessels and remarked that even if listed, they “would not be allowed in those of the revenue service.” In December, Mobile Collector James Saunders intervened in the discussion. He asserted that his “special order” authorized the purchased items, adding that the largest outlay, for Dr. Wood’s Brown Mixture, was for treatment of Lt. Osmond Peters’s rheumatism. Saunders was under the impression there was no “regulation confining all medicines,” but he noted that those procured for *Wolcott* he “deemed useful in this climate.” Saunders asked that the “rejected articles” be paid for because it was difficult to determine just what proportion of medicines were for which officer. Secretary Walker relented and authorized payment of the bill to the patiently waiting Mobile druggist Joseph Jackson.

The Treasury Department continued its arbitrary application of regulations and customs for habitability, rations, and various medicines and general health care and pursued whatever it deemed worthy or necessary for the revenue cutters. However, these factors, including punishments, cannot be viewed separately but as parts of the overall service culture. They all influenced how the cutters operated and maintained responsible crews.

The constant rotation of treasury secretaries and collectors of customs guaranteed the loss of any continuity for the administration of the revenue cutters for the next half century. What did continue was the near constant flow of correspondence over trivial matters, but trivial was the watchword of the Treasury Department over expenses.

The eventual result was a near revolt of the revenue cutter officers in 1889 when they petitioned to transfer to the Navy Department, where management for officers

and men was far superior to that of the Treasury Department.

Nonetheless, the Coast Guard remained in the Treasury Department until 1967, except for temporary transfer to the Navy during

World Wars I and II. In 1967, it became part of the new Department of Transportation, and in 2003 was merged into the new Department of Homeland Security. ■

© 2014 by William R. Wells II

NOTE ON SOURCES

Archival sources used in this article are mainly drawn from the Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, Record Group (RG) 26, and Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. In addition, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Treasury from Collectors of Customs (“G,” “H,” “I,” Series), 1833–1869, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, RG 56 (Microfilm Publication M174), provided additional information.

The correspondence in RG 26 and RG 36 between the various cutter captains, the collectors of customs, and the sitting treasury secretaries provide sporadic comments about the needs and concerns toward cutter material conditions and the overall health and welfare of the officers and men serving cutters. These logs are useful in understanding the daily routine and material culture of the revenue cutters.

The 1833 comments of Capt. Andrew Mather (RG 56, M174) of the proposed changes to the cutter *Wolcott* cabin and wardroom are marked in red in the original. The interesting parts of his letters involved showing the non-standardization of the cutters although built at the same place and at near same time.

The most complete information came from the logs of the cutter *Van Buren*, Entry 159A, RG 26. These log entries are the transcribed transcripts of reports sent to the Treasury Department. This was a requirement and was used as a check on the activities of the cutters. There was no standard for making the entries. What was included depended upon the activity of the individual captains. Some were very complete in their notations; other not so. The amount of provisions, water, punishments, desertions, the sick list, hiring, discharges, deaths, and minutia deemed necessary by the individual captain as worthy of mentioning, or perhaps justification, varied. Not all men were punished for infractions. It was common for deserters to return to the cutter and give a plausible explanation that the captain found satisfactory and persuaded him to suspend punishment. However, desertion caused by drunkenness was not tolerated.

Between 1841 and 1842, *Van Buren* had four captains and one first lieutenant as acting captain. In the period between 1841 and 1842 *Van Buren* was under Navy control and was not particularly active in the Florida campaigns. However, this period provides details of the cutter not previously known.

The deaths of men from *Van Buren* are recorded in Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1841–1842, August 3, 1841, Entry 155, RG 26.

William N. Brady, *The Kedge Anchor, or, Young Sailor's Assistant*, 18th ed., (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1872; originally published in 1847; retrieved from Google Books) is an excellent source for the description of naval life and details in the 19th century. Brady was a sailing master and had intimate knowledge of naval service that is not seen in many biographies. It is practical information that could remain of service in the present. He does explain the use of red ochre and, in turn, provides a reason the cutter *Van Buren* noted in one log entry that red ochre was used on the cannon and other metal parts. On the blackening of hammocks, Brady provides the procedure but not the purpose. Painting canvas can make it more durable and easier to clean.

The model for the illustration of the schooner frame was adopted with permission from in the Age of Sail Workshop (website) www.cindyvallar.com/ageofsail.html. Photograph of museum display from Mystic Seaport.



William R. Wells II, a retired master chief petty officer, has researched and written Revenue Cutter Service history for more than 30 years. He

is a former adjunct instructor of history at Augusta State University (now Georgia Regents University) at Augusta, Georgia. He has published articles in academic and popular journals and has acted as an adviser with the U.S. Coast Guard on historical subjects. The latest has been the research of the 1853 wreck of U.S. Revenue Cutter *Hamilton*.

MEMBERSHIP



Be a part of the Foundation's mission to inspire citizens to explore the past and cultivate a deeper understanding of their civic history and civic responsibility. Members of the Foundation for the National Archives help fund cutting-edge exhibits, interactive educational activities, and high-profile public programs.

Join today! www.archivesfoundation.org/membership

PATRON: \$60

- Complimentary subscription to *Prologue*
- Membership card authorizing priority admission to the National Archives Museum through the Special Events entrance
- Advance notice of upcoming programs and activities through the monthly Calendar of Events
- 10-percent discount year-round, plus additional seasonal discounts, at the myArchives Store in Washington, DC, and online at myarchivesstore.org.
- Invitations to members-only tours and events
- National recognition in the Foundation's Annual Report and on the website

FAMILY: \$100

All benefits of the Patron level membership, plus:

- A copy of an educational family publication
- Advance notice of family programs and activities at the National Archives Museum
- Opportunity for you and your children to enroll in members-only activity days in the Boeing Learning Center at the National Archives

BENEFACTOR: \$250

All benefits of the Patron level membership, plus:

- National Archives box for archival storage
- Invitations to exhibition openings
- Reproduction of a significant historical document selected by the Foundation

GUARDIAN: \$500

All benefits of the Benefactor level membership, plus:

- Catalog from a National Archives Museum exhibition
- Invitations to special receptions prior to exhibition openings

FOUNDER: \$1,000

All benefits of the Guardian level membership, plus:

- Signed copy of a book related to programs and exhibitions at the National Archives Museum
- Invitations to a July 4th breakfast and priority seating for ceremonial reading of the Declaration of Independence and viewing of the National Independence Day Parade
- Personalized guided tours of the National Archives Museum

SCHOLAR: \$2,500

All benefits of the Founder level membership, plus:

- Opportunity to attend a private dinner with members of the Board of Directors of the Foundation for the National Archives and National Archives leadership

YOUNG FOUNDERS SOCIETY

Open to young professionals in their 20s-40s. To receive benefits of the Young Founders Society, add \$50 to your choice of membership, or join at the \$50 introductory rate. Receive invitations to special Young Founders Society programs and events, networking opportunities with young professionals in Washington, DC and email updates on upcoming programs and events.

For more information contact the membership office at 202-357-5946 or members@archivesfoundation.org.

TIME *and* PUNISHMENT

*Washington, D.C.'s Prisons
Become an American Disgrace*

BY ALISON M. GAVIN



Just east of the U.S. Capitol, beyond a green area of grass, flowers, and trees, and across First Street, sits the stately white building that is the home of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The marble, west-facing neoclassical style building, completed in 1935, is where nine justices pass judgment on the laws enacted by the members of Congress who work in the Capitol.

The justices' mission is carved into the marble on the west façade, above the columns and the long flight of steps so many have climbed seeking redress for legal transgressions: Equal Justice Under Law.

The site of this building, where the high court meets, was once the site of a prison, where prisoners lived in squalor, unspeakable punishments were meted out, and disease ran rampant. In it, neither justice nor equality prevailed.

The first building on this site went up in 1815 as a convenient, temporary meeting place for Congress after the British burned the Capitol building in August 1814. It came to be known as "Old Brick Capitol." Congress eventually returned to its rebuilt Capitol quarters, and "Old Brick Capitol" became a fashionable boardinghouse, then a prison.

The Old Capitol Prison, as it was known between 1861 and 1865, was the subject of a famous exposé during the Civil War describing atrocities imposed on African Americans imprisoned there; the confinement of Confederate spies (including some famous women); and the lot of those arrested for the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

However, a closer look at reform efforts during the administrations of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt shows that penal reform in the District of Columbia was well intentioned, even if it was not always effective.

A PRISON IN WASHINGTON, D.C.:

A BUILDING IN TRANSITION

The history of the correctional facilities in the District is as colorful as the early days of the nation. The first Congress wasted no time in creating a marshal for a freestanding jail on September 24, 1789. The Washington Asylum and Jail was a log building replaced in 1800 with a three-room brick building.

But problems soon arose.

As early as March 29, 1802, President Thomas Jefferson complained of the "distressed condition of persons committed to [the marshal's] custody on civil or criminal process."

What was really needed, Jefferson wrote in an early 1803 message to Congress, was a professional warden with a set salary who could devote his whole attention to the needs of the prisoners.

In the 1803 message, Jefferson issued instructions regarding construction expenses incurred and concluded that "[t]he portion [of the jail] actually completed has rendered the situation of the persons confined much more comfortable & secure than it had been heretofore." He obviously had inspected the structure, or had advisers who did, much to his satisfaction.

After the Capitol was rebuilt on its original site, the "Old Capitol" became a fashionable boardinghouse for legislators far from home, including many from the South. They enjoyed the comfortable lifestyle with its lavish entertainment, card playing, and delicious food. A young woman later to be known as Rose Greenhow, a spy for the Confederate cause, grew up there; she was friends with one of the most prominent Southern leaders, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who died at the boarding house in 1850.

By the start of the Civil War, however, the building that once had served Washington's elite fell into disrepair and was an abandoned eyesore. As other buildings arose from the muddy swamp that was to become "a city shining on a hill," the federal government acquired the lot with the intention of turning it into a jail; thus the term, "Old Capitol Prison."

External changes were made, such as replacing wooden window bars with iron ones and employing 60 guards to patrol the site. It was this building that became the site of imprisonment for common vagrants, prostitutes, and infamous Confederate officers and sympathizers. Most of all, however, it was the prison for African Americans, both enslaved and free, who had often done little meriting imprisonment but who were treated harshly because they were black.

Opposite: The Old Capitol Prison during the Civil War. The building had been a fashionable boarding house for legislators before it fell into disrepair and was converted into a jail during the war. Background: President Thomas Jefferson reported to Congress in January 1803 on construction of a new jail. He wrote that "the portion actually completed has rendered the situation of the persons confined much more comfortable & secure than it has been heretofore."

One day, after making a visit to the Old Capitol Prison to visit free blacks and contraband runaway slaves, she stated in her diary: "What a place I have found. How can I stay here? It is too uncomfortable to sit and write." Wilbur's journal accounts show her humanity and bravery in wartime Washington and form a stark

A black and white engraving depicting a domestic scene. On the left, a woman in a dark dress stands, looking towards the right. In the center, another woman in a striped dress sits on a bed or sofa, looking towards the left. In the foreground, a third person is lying down, partially covered by a white cloth. The background shows a window with a grid pattern and a hanging garment. The scene is set in a room with a simple, possibly stone or brick, wall. The overall style is that of a 19th-century engraving, with fine lines and cross-hatching for shading.

Downs speculates that when smallpox broke out in Washington in 1862, at the time of emancipation in the District, it was “virtually impossible to determine if ex-slaves suffering and sickness were the direct result of the war or result of slavery.”

After visiting the Capitol Prison, a brigade surgeon believed the outbreak originated from “Negroes.” He insisted that former slaves living in unsanitary conditions be “kept more apart from the respectable white people.” However, the Medical Society of Washington “realized the outbreak resulted from the Union army forcing former slaves

Left and right: Prisoners at the Old Capitol Prison, especially free blacks, faced horrid conditions, as revealed in shocking detail by Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* in December 1861.

to live in unsanitary camps" and that building barracks for the blacks would have prevented the outbreak.

Little could stop the public belief among whites that blacks brought the smallpox epidemic throughout the capital city.

A REPORT, AN EXPOSÉ, AND AN INVESTIGATION

On May 25, 1860, the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds reported to Congress:

[T]he entire sentiment of the community of Washington is in favor of a new jail as being the humanity and character of the national metropolis: regarding the jail in its present condition as a disgrace to humanity.

An exposé in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in December 1861 revealed to the public just how horrid conditions were. The newspaper at the time was enormously popular, often featuring sensational reports of crimes or scandals.

"Secrets of the Prison House," followed a week later with "Persecution of Negroes in the Capitol—Astounding Revelations," revealed in shocking detail the reality of life for blacks in the Old Capitol Prison, "for no other cause than their color." Brought before Congress by Senator Henry Wilson of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia with instructions to make a report, the newspaper beat them to it.

The *Leslie's* feature criticizes the law in the District that allowed constables to

arrest and confine negroes, fugitives from labor, or [those] unable to present free papers . . . other inhabitants of Washington, living peaceably at home, without any intention of departing . . . and locked up in the city prison. . . . [T]he motive alleged for the capture of these Negroes is a desire to have them

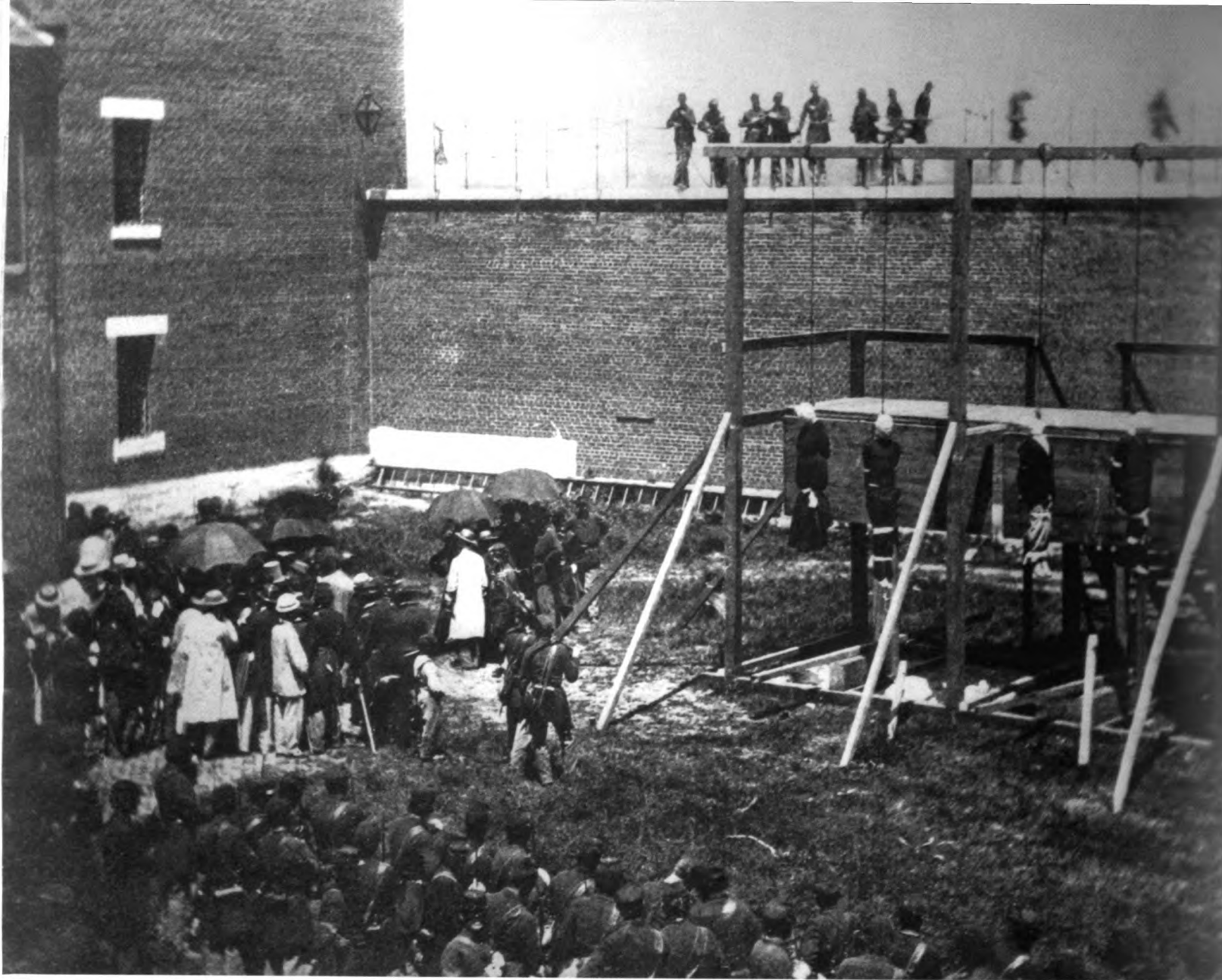
kept in prison for a certain passage of time—we think a year—and then have them sold for the purpose of paying their costs.

The articles also included illustrations of inmates; these illustrations were sworn as true likenesses by five journalists and a U.S. senator.

Several months later, during the height of the Civil War, the Senate responded with its own investigation, read on the Senate floor February 18, 1862. "Resolution of Instruction Concerning Washington Jail in the Senate" shed light on new and lingering problems:

When we contemplate the scene presented by 240 human beings of various





Above: Mary Suratt and other conspirators in the Lincoln assassination were hanged in the Old Capitol Prison yard on July 7, 1865. Below: An 1861 report by Ward H. Lamont, warden of the Old Capitol Prison, listed the names of "persons of color committed as runaway slaves."

No.	When committed.	Prisoners' names.	By whom committed.	Offence.	Persons making arrests.
	1860.				
1	Nov. 27	John H. Walters	H. G. Murray	Runaway	R. S. Lusby
	1861.				
2	April 1	George Green	Thomas C. Donn	do	Frederick Neitze
3	May 1	Negro William	James Cull	do	Robert Martin
4	May 10	John Alestock	Albert King	do	John Drill
5	May 28	Joseph Tyler	Wm. Thompson	do	R. King & J. Scarff
6	June 23	Henry Banks	P. McKenna	do	James Quigley
7	July 14	James Monroe	do	Runaway and larceny	do
8	July 16	Joseph Speaks	T. C. Donn	Runaway	B. T. Martin
9	July 16	Charles Farmer	James Cull	do	William Smith
10	July 20	Geo. Singleton	J. H. Johnson	do	C. Alexander, (owner)
11	July 21	Chas. Jackson	Henry Reaver	do	John Drill
12	July 23	Albert Montgomery	John D. Clark	do	R. King
13	July 23	Abram Gibbs	Wm. Thompson	do	Patrick Gormley
14	July 26	John Mathews	John D. Clark	do	George Sheekles
15	July 25	Negro Robert	H. L. Chapin	Safe-keeping	Jane Tolson, (owner)
16	July 27	David T. Curtis	Wm. Thompson	Runaway	J. E. Williams
17	July 28	William Cole	Charles Walter	do	Lewis Whalin
18	July 28	James Hawkins	do	do	John T. Lewis
19	July 31	Negro Ben	John Hoover	Safe-keeping	B. W. Reed
20	Aug. 5	John Davis	J. D. Clark	Runaway	C. G. Eckloff
21	Aug. 7	Richard Shorter	Henry Reaver	do	Robert Dick
22	Aug. 8	James Jackson	T. C. Donn	do	Not named in commitment..

Congress of the United States

At the first Session

BEGUN AND FIELD AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

(in the District of Columbia)

on Monday the seven day of December one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six.

AN ACT Authorizing the Construction of a jail in and for the District of Columbia.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

That the Secretary of the D. C. be, and is hereby authorized to select a suitable piece on some of the public grounds belonging to the Government in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, and construct thereon, upon such plan as he may select, a jail of sufficient capacity to

An act to construct a new prison was passed on July 25, 1866, but it took nearly a decade to build the new prison located near the Capitol at Judiciary Square.

ages and both sexes, huddled together in cells and corridors capable of accommodating not more than 80 or 100 with tolerable decency, without ventilation, subsisted at the rate of \$.11 each day, subjected to "cobbing" at the caprice of an inhumane jailer. . . . Persons are confined in this manner as witnesses merely . . . while the greater numbers are charged only with petty offenses or misdemeanors.

One of many witnesses, an Irish guard named Patrick Wilson, confirmed that during his tenure "cobbing" was inflicted upon free Negroes for running away from the jail. The Senate report continued:

This punishment [cobbing], which is described by a number of witnesses, is inflicted by removing the clothes from the individual, placing him across a barrel laid upon its side with his face downwards, tying his hands and feet together under the barrel, and then

striking him with a piece of board, in the shape of a paddle, three feet long, six inches wide, and one inch thick, the blows being laid on with the full force of the person inflicting the punishment [usually Deputy Marshal John Wise, or Marshal Ward Lamon himself], the man [prisoner] writhing and screaming under the infliction.

Two issues in the investigation infuriated the senators the most. The first was that Marshal Col. Ward Lamon, a veteran of the Mexican War and a Lincoln appointee, refused to admit U.S. senators and representatives to the jail. (He did, however, allow slave owners entrance to retrieve their runaways "when they pleased"; the marshal was paid directly by the owners when the slaves were returned.)

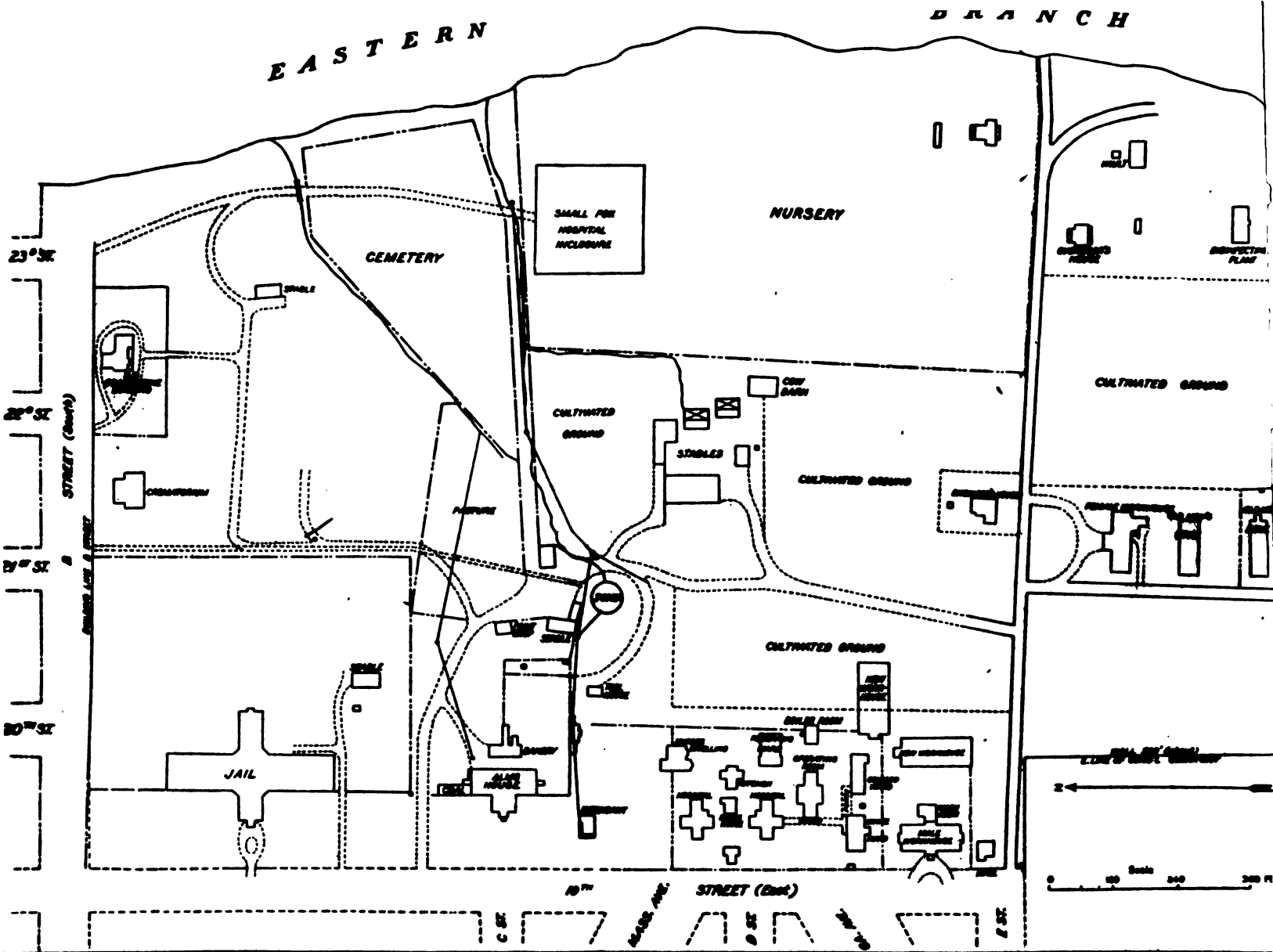
Anxious "mothers of sons" and friends of the prisoners were denied visiting privileges as well. "If the jail may be closed against [Congress] in this manner, the city hall, courts, public gardens, Smithsonian

Institution, etc. may be closed against them also, by the functionaries who hold the keys for the time being," opined a city newspaper.

The second outrage that emerged from the report was the treatment of free blacks at the jail. The punishment or torture known as cobbing was central to the case against Lamon when it was exposed by the guards in a Senate hearing in early 1862.

Free blacks were chosen over fugitive slaves to work within the prison because slaves were still considered valuable property to be reclaimed for a price. Should a black cook so much as step out into the cool street off the kitchen, his action might be punishable by a trip to "the dungeon" or to suffer a cobbing.

Such treatment was in direct violation of the laws of the District of Columbia and even the laws of the jail itself. Here, in the middle of a war that raged throughout the country, lawmakers wrestled with torture close to home. It was clear that the politics of the Civil War



S. Dec. 645, 65-2.

PLAN OF TRACT OCCUPIED BY JAIL, WORKHOUSE, ETC., DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Opposite: President Theodore Roosevelt's message to Congress on January 11, 1909, included the report of special commissioners on conditions at the city's jail, workhouse, and alms house. The commissioners reported on the horrible conditions there but also urged, in keeping with Progressive-era ideals, a reformed system for prisoners that stressed rest, education, and exercise in a country landscape. Above: A 1909 plan in the report shows the grounds of the District's jail, alms house, and workhouse at 19th and B Streets Southeast.

on Capitol Hill were intimately tied up with the policies of the District's prison. Deputy marshals denounced would-be congressional visitors as "damned crazy abolitionists."

Paradoxically, however, Southern sympathizers such as Confederate officers and blockade-runners were subjected to the

vermin-ridden and horrible conditions of the Old Capitol Prison. Several notorious women spies, including Belle Boyd, who would taunt prison guards, and Greenhow, who kept her young daughter with her while continuing to spy within the prison, would write of their experiences later.

Four Lincoln assassination conspirators, including Mary Surratt, were hanged at the gallows behind the prison on July 7, 1865, as was Andersonville prisoner of war camp commandant Henry Wirz, whose neck did not break at first while being hanged on November 10, 1865.



To learn more about

- Emancipation in the District of Columbia, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/spring/dcsavery.html.
- The Emancipation Proclamation, go to www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/emancipation_proclamation.
- Records of the government of the District of Columbia, go to www.archives.gov/research/aalic/tools/record-group-clusters.html#dc.

JAIL, WORKHOUSE, ETC., IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE THE JAIL, WORKHOUSE, ETC., IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

JANUARY 11, 1909.—Read; referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I herewith submit the report of the commissioners on the jail, workhouse, etc., in the District of Columbia.

The report is of such exceptional importance that I ask the Congress to consider well all that is therein set forth.

The Congress authorized the appointment of this commission, marked out the course of its inquiry, and invited its recommendations. The report, therefore, is to be treated not as offered advice or volunteered opinion, but as a direct answer to the questions put by the Congress, which, in substance, were as follows:

A JUDICIAL RULING AND ITS AFTERMATH

The building known as the Old Capitol Prison was eventually bought and razed to the ground, making way for the site of the U.S. Supreme Court building in 1929. The construction of a new jail for the District of Columbia was authorized by an act of Congress on July 25, 1866, but it took nearly a decade before a newly constructed building opened its doors in November 1875.

In the intervening years, however, a court case was brought before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia complaining about the presence of a new penal facility in Washington.

In the "Petitions of sundry citizens of Washington city, in relation to the location and erection of the new jail, published in 1868," 110 citizens voiced their disagreement with having a new jail built in a residential area "on a lot known as Mint Lot, at the intersection of New Jersey and Virginia Avenues, south, about five blocks distant from the U.S. Capitol . . . not only because of its tendency to injure the property in the location . . . but the place is distant from the City Hall or Court-house."

Contracts were made on October 31, 1867, that involved "an increased expenditure of money and the suitableness of

the building for the purposes for which it was authorized to be erected by Congress."

Petitioners before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia claimed the secretary of the interior never had perfected plans for the jail but went ahead with an architect and engineer to serve as contractors for the maximum amount allowed by Congress: \$200,000; District taxpayers argued the plans failed to meet the most basic of requirements for a jail in the city.

Specifically, they argued that the external appearance would prove discreditable in the national capital. The architectural plan, they said, made no provision for the passage of air between the corridors. And the plans lacked

The shop buildings at the Lorton prison complex in Fairfax County, Virginia. The prison was founded in 1916 to apply the new prison reform ideas of the Progressive Era.



proper provisions for medical treatment and for distinctions among classes of prisoners.

The taxpayers noted that “the chief contractor, Mr. [Eben] Faxon, makes himself sole umpire . . . without even consulting the Secretary of Interior, or any other officials—an unprofessional, unheard-of, and monstrous assumption of power . . . which in this case would result in a direct overt expenditure of \$72,000.”

Chief Justice David Kellogg Cartter of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia struck down the case. It was the decision of the court, he stated, that whenever Congress entrusts the execution of a power to one of the heads of departments (in this case, Interior), they make that exercise of power amenable to law. One half of the \$200,000 needed for building costs would be charged upon the District taxpayers and the other half by the federal government out of the Treasury.

The attorneys for the petitioners considered the decision a “wasteful, vagrant appropriation of money” and were angry that Faxon ultimately was the person who could interpret the contractual phrases “as may be directed,” etc. “Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof,” the lawyers for the petitioners concluded, bitterly. The jail would serve District prisoners from 1875 until 1916, with the opening of an experimental institution outside the confines of District lines.

PROGRESSIVE ERA REFORM: 'A MORAL HOSPITAL'

The Progressive Era in American history was a period of change in political, economic, and cultural thought. Over a century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt's report to Congress convinced a new generation of legislators of the necessity of prison reform for the District of Columbia.

“The report,” the President wrote, “is of such exceptional importance that I

ask Congress to consider well all that is therein set forth.” The Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Investigate the Jail, Workhouse, etc. in the District of Columbia, January 11, 1909, was a turning point for penal reform in the 60th Congress, Second Session. It stated,

In the cells there is no running water . . . but in each cell is a bucket which must be used instead . . . there is no dining room for the prisoners. They are fed out of tin cans thrust through the grating of the doors. In these cells [five by eight by nine and one-half feet, shared by two to three persons] they are obliged to stay all the time, day and night except for half an hour each day when they are marched through the inside corridor . . . [they spend their time] in absolute idleness.

The report set forth vividly the “real conditions” in the jail, conditions that had been “brought to the attention of Congress repeatedly,” but to no avail, Roosevelt wrote in the preface to the report.

At this juncture, the concept of prison superintendency had changed. No longer under the jurisdiction of a marshal, but answering directly to the attorney general of the United States and the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, the jail and workhouse were home to 900 men and women.

The commissioners who wrote the report were “honorably associated” District resident John Joy Edson; the superintendent of federal prisons; and Wendell P. Stafford, judge and chair, District criminal court. They had six months to investigate jails and

workhouses throughout the country and attend the American Prison Congress in Richmond, Virginia, in November 1908.

Roosevelt prefaced the commissioners' report by noting, “It is no longer a question as to whether something shall be done, but only a question as to what shall be done, for it is quite impossible that the existing situation should continue.”

“A moral hospital” as the commissioners put it, was not only a place, but a place of mind. They acted on the “moral system” of institutional philosophy that Dorothea Dix and other activists championed for the mentally ill during the 19th century. Prisoners, also, the commissioners believed, had the right to be treated with rest, education, and exercise in a country landscape.

The commissioners stressed that the reformatory should be built “widely removed from any other penal institution . . . not only separated in mental fact, but likewise in point of mental association.” The prisoner should be able to shorten his sentence by faithful work and obedient behavior “[and] work out his own salvation.” “[H]is release is measurably in his own hands,” the commissioners wrote. “The system thus cultivates and fosters a manly spirit of independence.”

The commissioners concluded, ironically perhaps, by paraphrasing the Bible, that the status of a correctional facility was a reflection of a nation as a whole; this was exactly the sentiment others voiced during the Civil War.

“The capital of a nation . . . is a city set on a hill, it cannot be hidden,” the commissioners opined.

There were less altruistic reasons for city planners to agree with the commissioners. They feared that valuable real estate east of the Anacostia River would lose its value if the prison complex remained near the Capitol building at Judiciary Square.

Roosevelt's model American city would, instead, house its prisoners in a neighboring state. Congress purchased 1,155 acres of Virginia farmland in 1910, one year after the commissioners' report was made public.

To save taxpayer dollars in the construction of the new reformatory, "all those idle sentenced prisoners may be put to work with the opening of the coming spring." Inmates would engage in a variety of agricultural and industrial pursuits, dairy and hog farming, and making bricks to build a workhouse, while women inmates sewed and worked in the gardens. The enlightened, Progressive attitude promoted the elimination of walls and fences on the Lorton complex.

The commissioners' report marked six specific recommendations:

- The jail should be used exclusively as a house of detention for prisoners awaiting sentencing;
- cases that do not require imprisonment should fall under a probation law;
- those who must be imprisoned and yet are hopeful cases should be sentenced to a reformatory built by the prisoners themselves;
- those who are not hopeful cases, yet are not bad enough to be sent to a penitentiary, should construct, live, and work in their own workhouse;
- persons over 17 who are given a sentence exceeding one year should be sent to a state penitentiary with whose authorities the Department of Justice has a contract; and
- prisoners who may be safely released at the expiration of their terms should fall under a carefully guarded parole law.

The Lorton correctional complex in southern Fairfax County, Virginia, was

opened in 1916. Considered the ideal "moral hospital" of penal institutions throughout the country, new prison reform philosophies were tried there for nearly 100 years. Eventually, there would be eight prisons on 3,000 acres of land, including a male and a female workhouse, a reformatory, and a penitentiary.

Over the years, prisoners would do farm work or help make things like license plates and furniture or learn pursuits such as sewing and mechanics. At one point, the complex even hosted a Nike missile site.

Significantly, one case greatly impacted the Lorton complex. It was the District Court of Appeals decision in *Easter v. The District Columbia*, 209A2d 625 (1965), wherein the appellant, De Witt Easter, argued successfully that public intoxication could no longer be considered a crime; instead, alcoholism should be viewed as a health problem and treated as such.

This led to the termination of prison sentences for 60 percent of Lorton's inmates. While initially lacking the labor to maintain the farms in the absence of working inmates, the number of inmates swelled. During the 1970s and 1980s, the facilities became massively overcrowded, but the District began sending prisoners to federal facilities, and the last inmates left in late 2001. Fairfax County received the title to the complex on July 15, 2002. Lorton now is the location of upscale single-family homes, schools, public buildings, and parks.

From the earliest days of the republic, Washington's jails were not just about institutions, but also about individuals. They involved the incarcerated, jailed for reasons just or unjust, as well as prison guards, architects, senators, justices, and presidents.

But each succeeding generation has seen justice tempered by mercy in a different way.

Is it not ironic that the U.S. Supreme Court, with its mission to mete out "Equal Justice Under Law," was built on the site of a former American disgrace? 

NOTE ON SOURCES

The most significant sources used for this article came from the Archives Library Information Center (ALIC), now housed at the National Archives in College Park, MD. Most helpful were two entries from the United States Congressional Serial Set: CIS#5407 S. doc 648, and CIS# 5836 H. doc. 861, and from the *American State Papers*, January 24, 1803.

The "Washington Jail" archive box at the Washingtoniana Room in the Martin Luther King, Jr., Public Library in Washington, DC, contains text and illustrations in the form of copies of reports and news clippings. They included "Persecution of Negroes at the Capitol—Astounding Revelation," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 9, 1861, and "Judiciary Square: Lovers Tryst, Is Also Historic Ground Named for Noted Court Trials," *Washington Post*, August 7, 1921.

A Hathi Trust Public Domain article from the Library of Congress, "Petitions of sundry citizens . . . published in 1868," provided the needed "bridge" of materials from the Civil War to the Progressive Era.

Online sources that proved especially helpful included <http://workhousemuseums.org/index>, "A Short History of the DC Correctional Complex at Lorton"; <http://civilwarhome.com/oldcapitolprison.htm>, "The 'Old Capitol Prison'" (by an eyewitness) Col. N. T. Colby, ca. 1877–1879; and <http://civilwarbluegrass.net>, "Prisons, Paroles, and POWs—Old Capitol prison, 'The American Bastille.'"

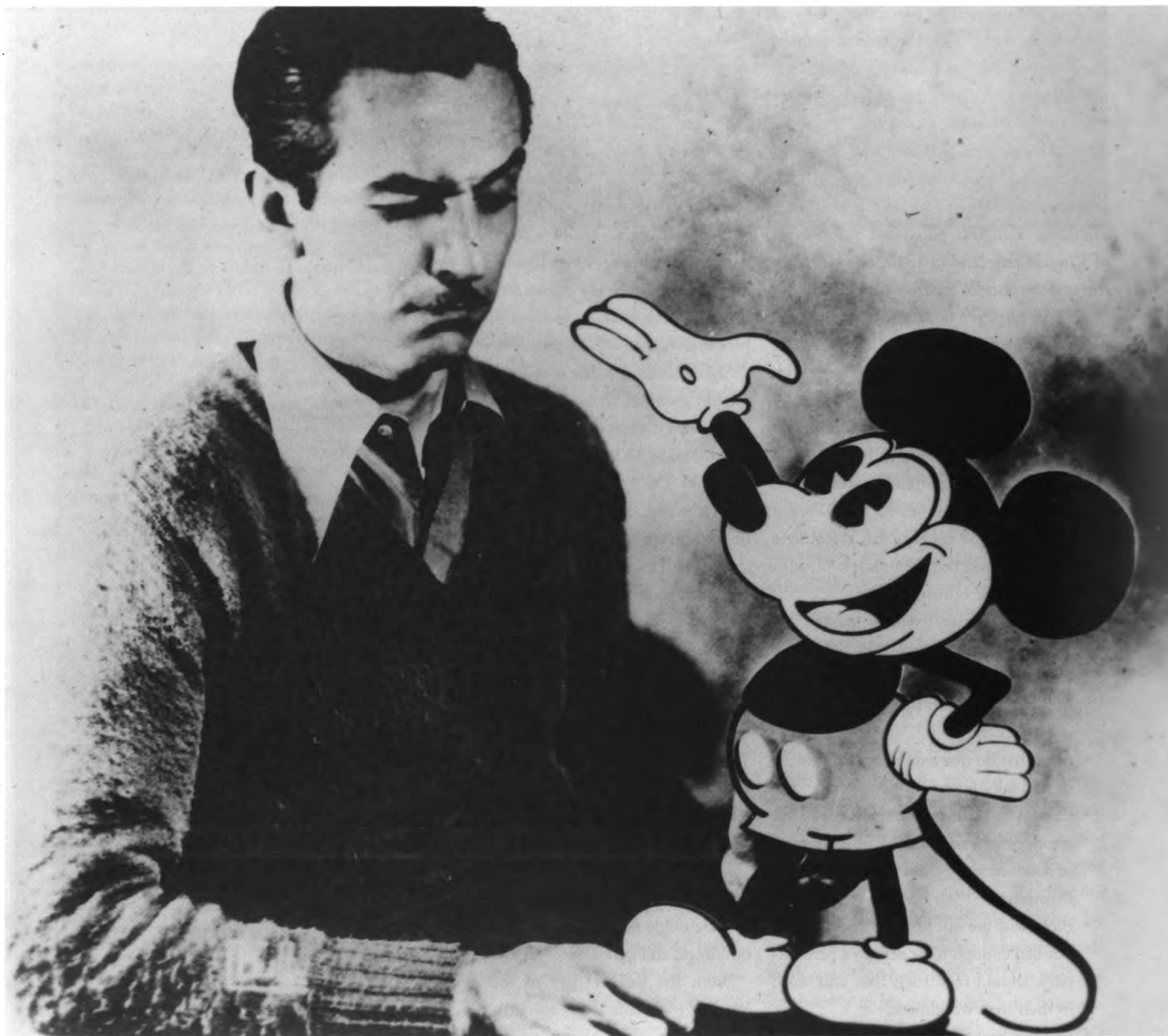
Finally, secondary material that served as excellent background material included Robert Harrison's *Washington During the Civil War and Reconstruction: Race and Radicalism*: Cambridge University Press, 2011; and Jim Downs's *African American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction*: Oxford University Press, 2012. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* was used to confirm several facts.



Author

Alison M. Gavin has worked for the National Archives in the Washington, DC, area for 18 years. She received her M.A. in history

from George Mason University in 2004 and was the recipient of the 2003 Verney Fellowship, which enabled her to research a major paper, "The Asylum at Quasie: Nantucket's Antebellum Poor Farm." She is the author of several articles for *Prologue*, as well as *New England Ancestors*, *Historic Nantucket*, *Quaker History*, and *Indiana Alumni Magazine*.



Broke, But Not Out of Luck

Using Bankruptcy Records for Genealogical Research

By Jake Ersland

The post–World War I business boom that swept the United States made its way to all parts of the nation, including the heartland—Kansas City, Missouri.

In this city that had been a jumping-off place for west-bound explorers was a start-up in the entertainment industry, specializing in the fairly new medium of animated cartoons. Founded in May 1922, Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc., had an initial capitalization of \$15,000.

Despite producing several short films, advertisements, and an information piece for a local dentist, Laugh-O-Gram Films struggled financially. Production costs proved higher than had been anticipated, and new revenues came in only upon completion of projects.

As a result, the company was perpetually behind in meeting its payroll and paying its bills. Salaries for employees were paid only partially, and later than agreed upon. Utility bills at times were completely ignored, and needed supplies were acquired on steadily eroding credit. Things were bad enough at one point that the company's founder and president could not meet with a potential client because he did not have a decent pair of shoes to wear.

By August 1923, the company folded, and its president left Kansas City to start fresh in California. Bankruptcy proceedings began before the end of 1923. But the founder of Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc., Walt Disney, who had grown up in the rural Missouri town of Marceline, was already well on his way to bouncing back.

Bankruptcy Records Often Overlooked

A certain negative connotation is generally associated with bankruptcy and the implied failure that accompanies the term. Genealogists are not normally excited to see such information associated with their ancestors. Often family stories allude to past financial difficulties, but rarely is it known whether bankruptcy proceedings occurred. As a result, genealogists often overlook opportunities to use bankruptcy records.

Since 1790, the country has weathered as many as 47 separate recessions or depressions, depending on the economic historian you ask. Reasons for economic downturns include wars, natural disasters, financial bubbles, or faulty foreign or domestic policy. The victims of financial crashes come from all walks of life—rich or poor, highly educated or illiterate, industrious entrepreneur or deadbeat.

The federal government has responded to these downturns in many different ways, including the passage of bankruptcy laws, provided for under Article I, section 8, clause 4 of the U.S. Constitution, which gives Congress the power to legislate for “uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies.” By 1900, Congress had passed four separate bankruptcy laws—the Bankruptcy Acts of 1800, 1841, 1867, and 1898.

Opposite: Walt Disney founded Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc., in May 1922 in Kansas City, Missouri, to produce animated cartoons, but the company faced bankruptcy the next year. Court files like those for Disney, located in the National Archives in Kansas City, can yield insights for a deeper understanding of one's ancestors: who they were, what they did day to day, what they owned, and even how they entertained themselves.

Various Bankruptcy Acts Responded to a Crisis

To understand the potential genealogical use of bankruptcy records, it is helpful to understand what each bankruptcy act covered.

The Bankruptcy Act of 1800 resulted from the Panic of 1797, which was caused by the naval quasi-war with France, deflation from the Bank of England, and a land speculation bubble. This first bankruptcy act covered only merchants and involuntary bankruptcy. The system was rife with corruption and favoritism and was repealed in 1803. As a result, there are not many records of genealogical use from this bankruptcy act.

The Bankruptcy Act of 1841 was a result of the Panic of 1837, which was caused by massive bank failures and a collapse of the cotton market. This act allowed for voluntary bankruptcy, which provided for a discharge of debt. Any individual could file for bankruptcy as well.

Creditors felt that the law was too lenient on debtors, allowing them to discharge too many debts, and the act was repealed in 1843. Though containing more records of genealogical value than the Bankruptcy Act of 1800, there still is not a huge wealth of information available from this bankruptcy act.

The Bankruptcy Act of 1867 was a response to the economic depression caused by the devastation of the Civil War. This act provided for involuntary filings for any individual and created bankruptcy registers to help district court judges handle the large caseloads. Creditors once again thought that debtors were allowed to discharge too many debts, and the act was repealed in 1878. The number of cases generated in the courts greatly increased from the two previous acts, and genealogists have a much higher probability of locating bankruptcy records from this critical period of change and transition in American history.

The Bankruptcy Act of 1898 came about because of the Panic of 1893, which was caused by the failure of the Reading Railroad and a withdrawal of European investment from American markets. Individuals could file for voluntary bankruptcy, and anyone owing at least \$1,000 could be adjudged an involuntary bankruptcy. This

To learn more about

- The Bankruptcy Act of 1867, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1989/fall/.
- How to order copies of bankruptcy files, go to www.archives.gov/research/court-records/bankruptcy.html.
- How to find a National Archives location near you, go to www.archives.gov/locations/.

Chattel Mortgage

Short Form

EXHIBIT D.

Know All Men by These Presents, That
Laugh-O-GRAM Films, Inc., a corporation,

of Kansas City in the County of Jackson and State of Missouri,
for and in consideration of the debt and trust hereinafter mentioned, and the sum of One Dollar
to it in hand paid by Fred Schmeltz
of Kansas in the County of Jackson and State of Missouri,
the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do hereby Bargain, Sell and Convey unto the said
Fred Schmeltz

the following described property, to-wit:

- 1 Roll top desk
- 1 flat top stenographer's desk
- 1 stenographer chair
- 1 office table
- 2 Swivel office chairs
- 1 Filing cabinet
- 1 Book and magazine rack
- 2 Office chairs
- 1 Coat and Hat Rack
- 2 Chuspids and mats
- 1 Typewriter
- 4 Steel waste baskets
- 1 Card index file
- 1 Ink wells, blotter pads, etc.
- 2 Cooper Hewitt Lights & Reostadts
- 1 Still camera-lens-tripod, plate holder
- 1 Movie camera, tripod
- 1 Printer

Cabinets, tables, chairs, etc. All said property located
at the place of business of Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc., 2nd floor 3239-41
Avenue.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD THE SAME, Unto the said Fred Schmeltz
and unto his heirs and assigns forever; PROVIDED, always that it is agreed and understood
between the parties to these presents that if it the said Grantor
shall well and duly pay unto the said Fred Schmeltz the sum
of SEVEN HUNDRED FIFTY DOLLARS (\$750.00) DOLLARS
which it owes as evidenced by one (1) certain promissory note
even date herewith, payable as follows, to-wit: Said note payable August 19th, 1923
at Kansas City, with interest at six per cent (6%) per annum

then these presents and everything herein shall cease and be void. But if the said Laugh-O-G
Films, Inc. shall default in the payment of said indebtedness, or any
part thereof, when the same shall become due and payable, or if it shall sell or attempt
to sell, remove or attempt to remove said property out of Jackson County, Missouri
at any time before said indebtedness is fully paid and discharged, whether the same be due or not,
then it shall be lawful for the said Fred Schmeltz or anyone in
his name, to take possession of said property, wherever it may be found and sell the same
in any manner he shall think fit and out of the proceeds arising from said sale, pay off said
indebtedness, or so much thereof as shall be unpaid, together with the costs and expenses of said
sale, and the overplus, if any there be, shall be paid to the said

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The said Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc.,
has set its hand and seal this 2nd day of June 1923

Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc. (Seal)
Walter E. Disney, President. (Seal)

bankruptcy act remained in place, with a few amend-
ments and adjustments, until 1978. Most cases that ge-
nealogists will use are from this bankruptcy act.

UNSECURED CREDITORS.

N. B.—When the name and residence (or either) of any drawer, maker, endorser or holder of any bill or note, etc., are unknown, the fact must be stated, and also the name and residence of the last holder known to the debtor. The debt to each creditor must be stated in full, and any claim by way of set off stated in Schedule B.

List name, residence, occupation; amount; when and where contracted and consideration.	Amount of Debt
Dr. H. C. House, Arkansas City, Kansas, Dentist, November, 1927 at Arkansas City, Kansas,	2 00
B. C. Baker, Arkansas City, Kansas, Mechanic, Work on car, January, 1932, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	12 00
Fitch Music Store, Arkansas City, Kansas, Radio Tubes and Service, April, 1931, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	1 40
Peerless Grocery, Arkansas City, Kansas, Groceries since January, 1930, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	150 00
Star Wetmore, 215 East Central, Arkansas City, Kansas, For Rent, 1930-1931, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	45 00
C. D. Mohler, R.R.# 4 Arkansas City, Kansas, For Cow, January, 1932, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	13 00
M. L. Bacastow, R.R.# 4 Arkansas City, Kansas, For Feed, May, 1932, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	12 50
J. B. Hammond, 1606 South First, Arkansas City, Kansas, for Raleigh Products, April 15, 1932, at Arkansas City, Kas	7 50
June Petrow, 417 East Washington, Arkansas City, Kansas, for Rent, 1929, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	15 00
Kansas Gas & Electric Co., Arkansas City, Kansas, for Radio, January, 1929, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	50 00
S. Bigger, Genda Springs, Kansas, for Mule, April, 1932, at Genda Springs, Kansas,	3 00
Dr. L. M. Beatson, Arkansas City, Kansas, Doctor services, December, 1928, at Arkansas City, Kansas,	20 00
Dr. M. M. Miller, Arkansas City, Kansas, Doctor services, January, 1928, Arkansas City, Kansas,	21 00 ✓
Dr. H. M. Stricklen, Arkansas City, Kansas, Doctor services, March, 1932, Arkansas City, Kansas,	2 00
Dr. V. L. Overstreet, Arkansas City, Kansas, Dental services September, 1931, Arkansas City, Kansas,	1 00
Gambrell-Bryant Hardware Co., Arkansas City, Kansas, Merchandise, check given, June, 1932, Arkansas City, Kansas,	3 50
A.A. Downing Hardware Co., Arkansas City, Kansas, Merchandise, April, 1931, Arkansas City, Kansas,	3 50 ✓

those to whom an individual owes money can be very revealing.

For example, a list of creditors from a 1932 bankruptcy case file from Wichita, Kansas, shows that the debtor had racked up a \$150 grocery bill at Peerless Grocery in Arkansas City, owed \$170 on mortgaged furniture, was indebted to the Ernest Thompson Shell Station for \$10 worth of gasoline, and even owed a neighbor for \$1.98 worth of kerosene. Perhaps more revealing are the five separate doctor and dental bills owed.

It is possible that physical ailments may have contributed to hard times, both in debts owed, as well as possibly limiting earning abilities. Another interesting note in the file is the debt both for the purchase of, and parts for, a radio. Reviewing this one document reveals much about the individual, providing details on their neighbors, where they shopped, which doctors provided care, and how they spent time at leisure.

Equally telling are lists of property.

The Dust Bowl era brought many farmers to financial ruin as drought conditions and poor farming circumstances led to impossible economic situations.

A look at a farm bankruptcy from western Kansas can reveal a wealth of information on what farm life in the Dust Bowl looked like. All of a farmer's property is listed, including the amount of seed owned, acres of producing farmland, farm equipment, and farm animals. One list even noted the names of the horses that worked the fields for the family, which included a 7-year-old mare named "Blackie," a 10-year-old mare named "Avis," and a 5-year-old mare named "Sis." It is doubtful there are many other sources for genealogists that provide the names of family animals. Additionally, analysis of equipment owned sheds light on how technologically up to date a farmer was. Information in the case file can also lead researchers to new paths of research, such as the legal description of where property was located.

Statements of All Debts Provides Complete Picture of Business

Case files of businesses that filed for bankruptcy often contain "statements of all debts of bankrupt." Most businesses that went under were small in nature, often operated by an individual or family. The bankruptcy and subsequent loss of such businesses could alter the course of a family's life, causing people to uproot and move to look for new opportunities.

Left: Bankruptcy Case Files often contain exhibits that document debts owed by the bankrupt. This chattel mortgage lists property Walt Disney used in operating Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc.

Above: Close examinations of debts owed disclose details of the bankrupt's daily activities. This list of unsecured creditors sheds light on where the individual shopped, which doctors he visited, and even what recreational activities he enjoyed.

Much Information Awaits In Bankruptcy Records

Bankruptcy cases can contain an enormous amount of information. Much of the paperwork consists of standard court orders, setting out dates and actions to be taken. Filings can include the petition for bankruptcy, schedule(s) of debts, lists of names and addresses of creditors, records of amounts due, inventories of real and personal property, notices to creditors, orders of bankruptcy, and final discharges. These records, which make up the bulk of the case file, can contain details that a genealogist cannot find anywhere else.

One potential gold mine of information is the list of creditors. This document lays out the debts of the individual filing for bankruptcy. The identities of

Statements of debt include debts incurred in general operation of the business, from supplies purchased to the furnishings. The statements can also open the door to new avenues of research, such as when money is owed for advertisements purchased in local newspapers. If digital or microfilm copies of the newspapers exist, a researcher can use information found on the statement of debt to locate and view the advertisements produced for an ancestor's company or business.

Exhibits filed in bankruptcy cases add depth and understanding to the environment in which a person lived and conducted business.

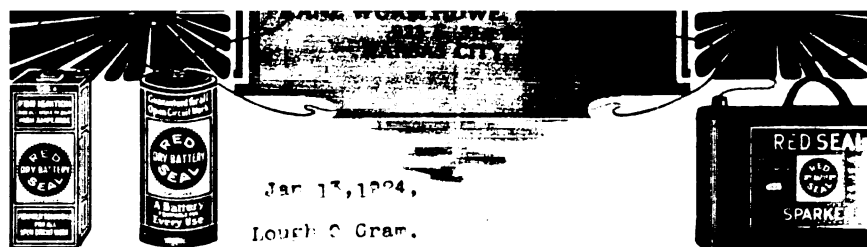
Often creditor companies would submit inventories on colorful letterhead listing goods purchased on credit. Promissory notes and receipts for goods purchased further document the accumulation of debt and the financial decisions that contributed to the bankruptcy.

Walt Disney's Laugh-O-Gram bankruptcy included exhibits of each of these types, as well as employee salary schedules, noting what was due on a regular basis, and what was actually paid.

Disney tried to get through financially thin periods by paying employees a percentage of a salary, with the balance to be paid once revenue came in. Unfortunately for Disney, the expected revenue to cover back pay never came in, and employees left the business rather than continue to work for greatly reduced, and uncertain, wages. Such details provide a look into an individual's decision making and how they tried to weather tough financial times.

Despite the unique information found within the hundreds of thousands of files in the National Archives' holdings, bankruptcy case files are grossly underused by genealogists. Those looking for new angles to research their family histories should strongly consider bankruptcy case files.

Recently a researcher visited the National Archives at Kansas City to look at an ancestor's criminal case file. A background discussion revealed that the family had become involved in bootlegging to try to get by financially. A search through the bankruptcy indexes revealed two separate bankruptcy cases for the researcher's ancestors. The researcher found a wealth of information in the case files, from the legal description of the family's property, to lists of household possessions, to lists of creditors that happened to include other family members. Researching the bankruptcy case file added an entirely new chapter to the family's known past.



Spt 20-1922	1 Fish Line,	25	Red Seal, 100 lb. 100 lb. 100 lb.
	2 Box Thumb Tux,	25	
	1 Cabage Can,	1.55	
	2 Quinifox,	2.80	
	6 Pairs Gloves,	.80	
	6 Lamp Sheet,	2.70	
	1 Cut Varnish Stain,	1.45	
	Terpentin,	.15	
	Nails	.25	
	1 Cabage Can,	1.55	
	4 Crocks,	2.00	
	6 ft Rubber Hose,	.80	
	3 ft 1-2" Hose,	.40	
	2 Clams,	.10	
	2 Hose Connection,	.40	
	1 Brush,	.70	
	5-1-2 Protection Wire,	.55	
	Tin Work,	5.00	
	1 Watch,	6.00	
	4 Spool Wire,	1.40	
	1 lb Stof Wire,	.15	
	1 Spool Wire,	.35	
	3 ft Hose,	.70	
	2 Bag Saw Plat,	.20	
	1 2" Shim,	.20	
	Rubber Cement,	.10	
	2 Sheet Sand Paper,	.05	
	1 Box Tax,	.10	
	2 ft 5-8 Page,	1.20	
	1 Hose Connection,	.20	
	1 Socket,	.20	
	Nails,	.10	
	5 Cut Can,	.40	
	1 Mashire Beld,	.25	
	1 Bag Saw,	1.00	
	2 Bag Saw Plat,	.20	
	1 Nail Set,	.20	
	2 lb Nails,	.20	
	1 1-2" Bal,	.15	
	2 Dc Scows,	.20	
	16 Stof Polts,	.20	
	1 Dc Scows,	.10	
	20 ft Lamp Wire,	2.00	
	1 Dc Scows,	.20	
Jan 2-1923	3 lb nails	2.50	
		37.29	

APPLICATION FOR REJECTION OF BURDENSOME PROPERTY

Comes now Hazel M. Jones and respectfully shows to the court:

That she is the trustee herein, and that a portion of the bankrupt's estate consists of the following property:

2 Jersey cows, 3 to 6 years old, average wt. 1000 lbs., with inc
1 red cow, 6 years old, wt. 1000 lbs., with increase,
1 Holstein cow, 5 years old, weight 1000 lbs.,
1 Holstein cow, 3 years old, weight 1100 lbs.,
8 Holstein cows, 2 years old, av. wt. 900 lbs., with increase.
8 Holstein heifers, 1 and 2 yrs. old, av. wt. 700 lbs., with inc
3 white face and 1 Holstein calves, 11 months old,
3 spring and summer calves
1 black mare, 7 years old, wt. 1550 lbs., named Blackie,
1 gray mare, 7 years old, wt. 1550 lbs., named Nance,
1 black mare, 10 years old, wt. 1500 lbs., named Avis,
1 gray mare, 5 years old, wt. 1350 lbs., named Sis,
1 black filly, 2 years old, wt. 1000 lbs.,
1 black horse, 12 years old, wt. 1500 lbs.,
1 black mare, 2 years old, weight 800 lbs.,
1 black horse colt, 1 year old,
1 wide tire farm wagon,
1 Peoria grain drill,
2 sets harness, complete with collars,
1 McCormick mower,
1 John Deere manure spreader,
1 iron wheel low wagon,
1 Oliver gang plow,
1 John Deere 2-row machine.
1 2-section harrow,
1 John Deere lister

Laugh-O-Gram Films Co.

1127 East 31st St. • City

FORM NO. A11-204-4-13-2

CRT NO.	DATE OF FIRST LIQUIDATION	DESCRIPTION OF AS	FILE	WORKS ON LIST	THREE DAYS	DEBTS	CREDITS
5217	Sept 1 22	Help Wanted	19	5	2	1.90	
5128	Sept 1 22	Help Wanted	14	5	2	1.40	
5129	Sept 1 22	Help Wanted	19	5	2	1.90	
5120	Sept 6 22	Help Wanted	14	3	2	.84	
5634	Sept 14 22	Help Wanted	16	3	2	.96	
7334	Sept 17 22	Help Wanted	16	3	2	.96	
Amount due						7.96	

Federal Records on Bankruptcies In Facilities Around the Country

The federal government has had jurisdiction over every bankruptcy case since 1898, with proceedings held in United States district courts, bankruptcy courts, and territorial courts. To locate a bankruptcy case file, you need to know in which state or territory the proceedings occurred.

The National Archives facility maintaining the federal records for a particular state will have the bankruptcy records from the courts in that location. (A list of National Archives facilities is at the back of the magazine.) Archival coverage greatly varies by court.

Generally, indexes are the first source to consult to locate a specific case. Bankruptcy indexes are not always available, and researchers may need to search through bankruptcy dockets or journal books for cases in a specific date range. Locating a bankruptcy case can be time consuming, but the potential rewards are well worth the effort. Consultation with an archivist to discuss the available resources is often the best course of action, though searches on the Online Public Access catalog on Archives.gov can reveal bankruptcy series for individual courts.

Generally, genealogy research shows paths of lineage, with names and dates of ancestors. Researching records like bankruptcy files allows for a deeper understanding of one's ancestors: who they were, what they did day to day, what they owned, and even how they entertained themselves.

By showing everything an individual owned, and to whom they owed money, bankruptcy files open the door into the homes of our ancestors. The details revealed in the case files allows the researcher to understand so much more than what a name and a date alone provide. They help a researcher understand why a path guided an ancestor in a particular direction.

Researchers should not let the negative stigma associated with bankruptcy deter them. Failures, both past and present, occur for myriad reasons. Often, individuals fail due to outside circumstances, with little fault of their own.

Even a failure that does rest solely with a person's poor choices and actions may not indicate that the bankrupt could not have bounced back to bigger and better things.

Walt Disney's failure in his attempt to start a film company in Kansas City served as a learning experience, which he used to guide him during an incredibly bright career.

In fact, Disney's most famous creation, Mickey Mouse, was a product of this trying time in his life. Disney claimed to have developed the idea of Mickey from a mouse that lived at his studio at Laugh-O-Gram Films.

The bankruptcy of Laugh-O-Gram Films was not a black mark for Disney, but rather one chapter that describes who he was and where he came from. The same is true for any other bankruptcy case file, waiting for a genealogist to open it up and peer into a family's past. **P**

NOTE ON SOURCES

Details on Walt Disney's time at Laugh-O-Gram Film Company, Inc., came from Timothy Susann's *Walt Before Mickey: Disney's Early Years, 1919-1928* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011). Other sources consulted for historical information on federal court history included Erwin Surrency's *History of the Federal Courts* (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1987) and David Skeel's *Debt's Dominion: A History of Bankruptcy Law in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) for details on federal bankruptcy law.

All bankruptcy records discussed in the article are part of the holdings of the National Archives at Kansas City in Record Group 21, Records of District Courts of the United States. Walt Disney's Laugh-O-Gram Film Company, Inc., bankruptcy is from the records of the Western Division (Kansas City), of the Western District of Missouri, Bankruptcy Act of 1898 Case Files, 1898-1950 (National Archives Identifier 572819). Both the list of creditors and lists of property came from cases from the series *Bankruptcy Act of 1898 Case File, 1898-1963* (National Archives Identifier 572982) from the Wichita Division of the District of Kansas.



Jake Ersland is an archivist at the National Archives at Kansas City. He received both his bachelors and masters degrees in history from Pittsburg State University. He works extensively with records of the U.S. District Courts and has given numerous presentations on using court records for genealogical research.

Right: Court exhibits can provide details on how an individual conducted a business. This form documents Walt Disney's efforts to hire employees at Laugh-O-Gram Films through classified ads in local Kansas City newspapers.

Opposite, top: This bill from the Franz Wurm Hardware and Paint Company in Kansas City sheds light on the basic supplies Walt Disney needed to operate his animation studio.

Opposite, bottom: Lists of property in the file can be very detailed, including specific information on property owned. This list of the bankrupt's estate includes the names of the horses that worked a family farm.

THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY

How Henry Ford's Assembly Lines Switched from Automobiles to WWII Bombers

BY JAMES WORSHAM



A.J. Baime

Long before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on a sunny Sunday morning in early December 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt sought to paint a dark picture of the world unless America mobilized its industrial capacity to stop Hitler and the Nazi war machine.

The President was concerned that America was complacent about the German and Japanese threats and the nation's lack of preparation for war should it come about. In a major radio address in late December 1940, he issued a battle cry and said the nation must aid its allies in their fight against Germany.

"We must be the great arsenal of democracy," he told his listeners in one of his most famous speeches. "For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war."

Roosevelt stressed the importance of building industrial capacity by converting existing plants and building new ones. "I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine, every arsenal, every factory that we need to manufacture our defense material," he said "We have the men the skill, the wealth, and above all, the will."

In *The Arsenal of Democracy*, A. J. Baime focuses on one part of that arsenal—the Ford Motor Company's operations. He reveals the inside story of how it was turned from a producer of tens of millions of automobiles into a mighty production line for the machines of war for America and its allies.

Baime is the author of *Go Like Hell: Ford, Ferrari, and Their Battle for Speed and Glory at Le Mans*, which is currently in development for a major motion picture by 20th Century Fox. He is a regular contributor to *The Wall Street Journal* and an editor-at-large at *Playboy*.

Why did you choose to do a book on this topic?

I saw an opportunity to write what I thought was an important book, and one that hadn't been written. I saw an opportunity to do a book that worked on many levels, as a business story, a father/son story, a World War II story, a piece of cultural history about the home front during the war, a story about Detroit, a car story, a story about the rise of American airpower, and a story that generally has great characters, from FDR to Lindbergh to Henry and Edsel Ford to the gangster Harry Bennett to the FBI's John Bugas. The gang's all here.

Converting the auto industry into making the machines of war was quite an undertaking. How was it done?

In 1940, World War II was shaping up in FDR's eyes to be what he called "a new kind of war," in which mass production would play a key role in the effort for victory. So naturally, the auto industry was the place to go. But converting an industry that had a bigger economy than every nation on earth except the USA, Britain, France, Germany, and the USSR to making things it had never made before (airplanes, tanks, field tents, gliders, canteens, helmets, guns, ammo, gyroscopes, etc.)—this was a colossal problem. Machine tools had to be built from scratch by the thousands.

Labor was hard to come by. Aviation engineers were "rarer than hen's teeth," in the words of one general. Materials were short, especially aluminum and rubber. So how was this conversion done? It would take a book to explain!

Could it be done today, if necessary? Would the auto industry, or any industry or industries, be ones we would turn to to retool and produce today's "machines of war"?

In my opinion—no way. Times were simpler then. I can't imagine our entire population of men, women, even children, setting aside their own interests to put our country first. Because in the end, that's what happened. As FDR said, "Every man, woman, and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history." As for industry, wars are fought with such amazingly technologically advanced tools these days. The idea that Ford could be building B-24s at a rate of one per hour in 1944 is incredible. But today: Ford Motor Company tooling up quickly to build nuclear subs and laser-guided missile systems? I don't think that's possible. If our defense industry today needed to expand quickly, it would fall to the companies that are already our big defense contractors for the most part.

Why did you choose to focus on Ford and what it did for the war effort?

For three reasons: One is, for the first half of the 20th century, Henry Ford, more than any other human being, represented Americanism all over the world. Now if the war was going to be a contest of mass production—which in fact it was, among other things—Henry Ford seemed like a perfect character for what he symbolized as much as what he accomplished.

Second, the Ford story, with the Willow Run [Michigan] bomber plant, had everything in it. The story of the “bomber an hour” adventure illuminates the story of the whole war effort on the home front. In the war’s first few years in this country, it was the most ambitious home front effort, and played out that way in the press. It’s about the bomber obsession (the Allies’ key weapon early in the war). It’s about labor strife, housing problems, material shortages, weaponry, Nazi infiltration, and the FBI investigations, the Treasury investigations into American companies with divisions in Nazi-occupied territory, and patriotism on the grandest scale. So it sort of tells the complete story, all in one place.

Third, there’s the tragic father/son element here, a moving portrait of a father with his only son, Edsel Ford, who was dying. This part was the most important, for me, in terms of how these characters moved me, and how I identified with them. [Edsel Ford died of cancer in 1943.]

The name “Edsel” reminds most people of a Ford product that failed. Just how important was Edsel Ford?

Some critics, such as Arthur Herman in the *Wall Street Journal*, zeroed in on my portrait of Edsel Ford as the most compelling and unexpected part of this book. Edsel has always been misunderstood. Even those who know of the man today—Henry Ford’s only child—they think of him as unimportant, that he didn’t have a big effect on the course of American industry’s history. That’s entirely wrong. He was an incredibly complex individual and he had an incredibly complex relationship with his father. In terms of his importance, that is to some degree what my book is about. The writer Charlie Duff called Edsel an obscure man “who might just have saved the world.” To me, that says it all.

How did the company retrain the workforce to make machines of war instead of automobiles? Did Henry Ford resist this much?

I don’t think Henry Ford assisted or resisted. By the time the war started, he was nearly 80, quite old for that time period, and senility was setting in, according to the people around him. As for how the company retrained the workforce to make machines of war, that was a heroic battle all on its own, and it took years. The whole process be-

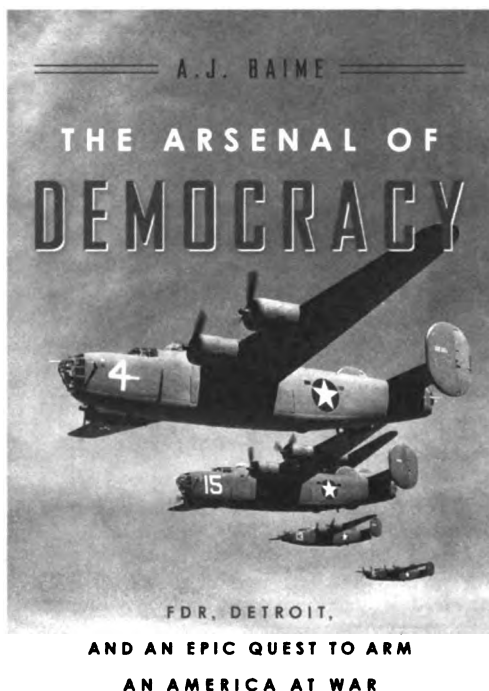
gan in 1941 and really didn’t get moving at full speed until 1943—critical months during which, it appeared, there was a very good chance we were going to lose the war. The company built schools on the grounds of Willow Run, and each worker had to be trained. I cover this in the book at length by introducing a character who worked at the bomber plant and kept a diary.

In researching your book, how important were records at the National Archives, and what kinds of records did you find at the Archives?

I was looking for two very specific things at the Archives—which I was able to find very quickly with the help of archivist Greg Bradsher, with whom I was in touch long before I arrived. I needed to find the paper trail of the Treasury investigation into the Ford family’s operations in Nazi-occupied territory during the war, and whether that relationship required any action due to the Trading with the Enemy Act. The files are fascinating. They tell the whole story, which formed the most controversial part of *The Arsenal of Democracy*. The second thing I was looking for was a paper trail of an Army investigation into Ford operations in Cologne after Germany surrendered and the Allies swarmed in. These materials were equally fascinating, quite extensive, and extremely helpful to me as I was constructing my narrative.

What about doing research at the National Archives stands out most in your mind?

The breadth of research materials at the National Archives is beyond amazing. The idea that I could find a paper trail, an important and extensive one, into a little-known Army investigation that took place in Germany in 1945, and that all those materials had been so well cared for over all this time, and that I could walk in, request it, and have it at my fingertips for my research needs—now that’s what I love about this country.



WASHINGTON, D.C.

For up-to-date event information, consult our Calendar of Events. The free Calendar is available from National Archives and Records Administration, Calendar of Events (SC, Room G-1), 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408, or on the web at www.archives.gov/calendar/.

Permanent exhibit: "The Public Vaults." National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Permanent exhibit: "Records of Rights." Rubenstein Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Continuing exhibit: "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures." Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through December 16. Judiciary Act. David M. Rubenstein Gallery, National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through November 3. Featured Document: Bicentennial Commemoration of the Burning of Washington and Battle of Baltimore. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

November 4–January 5: Featured Document: Gen. Anthony McAuliffe's 1944 Christmas Message to his Troops. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

ABILENE, KANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "Be Ye Men of Valour: Allies of World War II." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

Continuing exhibit: "World War II Remembered: Leaders, Battles & Heroes." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

October 11. Performance: "On the Air"—A tribute to Bob Hope and radio stars of the 1940s with a performance by Tony Orlando. \$10 admission. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Continuing exhibit: "The Remarkable Life and Times of Gerald and Betty Ford." Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

October 21. Discussion: "The Pardon of Richard Nixon." Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

November 13. Author lecture: Richard Norton Smith, *On His Own Terms: The Life of Nelson Rockefeller*. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

November 19. Lecture: Capt. John Meier of the USS *Gerald R. Ford*. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 8. Author lecture: Michael Ross, *The Great New Orleans Kidnapping*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 13. Author lecture: Bob Herbert, *Losing Our Way: An Intimate Portrait of a Troubled America*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 28. Author lecture: Nan Marshall, *What Would George Do: Advice from Our Founding Father*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

November 1. Author lecture: Ritu Sharma, *Teach A Woman to Fish*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

November 14. Author lecture: Rick Bragg, *Jerry Lee Lewis*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

November 17. Author lecture: Tom Chaffin, *Giant's Causeway: Frederick Douglass's Irish Odyssey and the Making of an American Visionary*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

November 19. Author lecture: Hugh Howard, *Houses of Civil War America*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Sixty from the 60s." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "On the Ball: A Collection of Head of State Signatures." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "Civil Rights." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: Civil War objects from the museum collection. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Continuing exhibit: "Superman's Mission for President Kennedy." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "To the Brink: JFK and the Cuban Missile Crisis." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "In Her Voice: Jacqueline Kennedy, The White House Years." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "Freedom 7 Space Capsule." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Continuing exhibit: "Presidential Getaway—JFK on Cape Cod." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

October 16. Lecture: "Why Doctors Fail," Atul Gawande. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.



U.S. Liaison to China, George Bush, with Chinese officials, 1975, in an exhibit at the George Bush Library.

October 27. Author lecture: Richard Norton Smith, *The Life of Nelson Rockefeller*. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

November 5. Forum: Author Thomas Maier, *When Lions Roar: The Churchills and the Kennedys*. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

November 9. Forum: "Created Equal: Striving Toward Justice for All." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

November 18. Forum: "Civil Rights and the Black Power Movement." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

November 20. Forum: A Conversation with President Jimmy Carter. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

October 10. Lecture: Jeffrey A. Engel, *The China Diary of George H. W. Bush: The Making of a Global President*. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

Continuing exhibit: "Offshore Drilling: The Promise of Discovery." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

October 23. Issues Forum: "Offshore Safety," with Charlie Williams. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

November 2. Lecture: "A Thanksgiving Parade: The Historical Tapestry of Gratitude," Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

DALLAS, TEXAS

Through October 5. "Oscar de la Renta; Five Decades of Style." Paid tickets required. George W. Bush Library. 214-346-1557.

Continuing exhibit: "The Art of Leadership: A President's Personal Diplomacy." George W. Bush Library. 214-346-1557.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

Continuing exhibit: "Growing Up Grand." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

Continuing exhibit. "Taking the Seas: The Rise of the U.S. Aircraft Carrier." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

October 20. Conference: "The Constitution," with the National Constitution Center. Call to reserve." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

November 12. Author lecture: Richard Norton Smith, *On His Own Terms: The Life of Nelson Rockefeller*. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

November 17. Annual Outdoor Tree Lighting Ceremony. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

November 18. Lecture: Capt. John Meier of the USS *Gerald R. Ford*. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

HYDE PARK, NEW YORK

Through November 2: "Read My Pins: The Madeleine Albright Collection." Henry A. Wallace Center. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

October 4–12. Exhibit: National Archives Week, A behind-the-scenes view of Presidential Library operations. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Ongoing exhibit: "Spies, Lies, and Paranoia: Americans in Fear." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

October 11. "Talkin' Truman," Battle of Independence. Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

November 8. "Talkin' Truman," Captain Harry in the Great War. Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

Opening November 30. Exhibit: "Read My Pins: The Madeleine Albright Collection." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Through October 25. "State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda." National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8010.

October 1. Lecture: "State Control and State Engagement with the News Media: From the Nazis to Edward Snowden." At the National World War I Museum. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

October 22. Lecture: "Trial of the Propagandists: Accessories to Genocide," Harry Reicher. At the National World War I Museum. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "Artwork of Dale Chihuly." Clinton Library. 501-374-4242.

MORROW, GEORGIA

September 17. American History for Home Schoolers: "The Atlantic Triangle: Three Worlds Collide" and "How to Do a National History Day Project." National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

October 15. American History for Home Schoolers: "Documents of the American Revolution" and "America Under the Articles of Confederation to the Constitutional Convention." National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

October 18. National History Day Research Roundup: An Open Invitation to NHD Scholars. National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

November 19. American History for Home Schoolers: "From President Washington to the Era of Good Feeling" and "The Rise of Sectionalism and Manifest Destiny." National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: "New York on the Record: Markings and Signatures." National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

Ongoing: Educational programs in the Learning Center. Contact newyork.archives@nara.gov for details. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

SIMI VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: "The Berlin Wall." Reagan Library, 800-410-8354.

Continuing exhibit: "Camp David." Reagan Library, 800-410-8354.

WEST BRANCH, IOWA

Continuing exhibit: "America's First Ladies." Hoover Library. 319-643-5301

October 4. Readers Theater: "Ladies First: The Letters of Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, and Dolley Madison," by faculty members of Wartburg College. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

A new exhibit on Camp David at the Reagan Library

November 11. Veterans Day author lecture: Mark DePue, *Origins of World War I*. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

Opening November 15. Exhibit: "Shakespeare Christmas." Trees decorated with Shakespearean themes.

YORBA LINDA, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: "Play Ball! Presidents and Baseball." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

Continuing exhibit: "Farewell, Mr. President." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

Continuing exhibit: "Watergate." Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

GENEALOGY EVENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Genealogy workshops are conducted throughout the year. For up-to-date information, consult the monthly Calendar of Events and www.archives.gov/research/genealogy/events/.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

October 3. "Public Land Records at the National Archives." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

October 21–23. "Citizen Archivist." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

November 7. "Finding Your World War I Relative." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

December 5. "Ancestry's Native American Page." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

October 14. "Introduction to Genealogy Resources at the National Archives." Call to register. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

November 13. "What Court Records Reveal about Your Ancestors." Call to register. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

October 3, November 7. "Genealogy Roundtable." Call to register. National Archives at Philadelphia. 215-606-0100.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

October 9. Brick Wall Genealogy Discussion Group. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.



Vice President Biden Announces Summit on Violence Against Women

Speaking at the National Archives on the 20th anniversary of the Violence Against Women Act, Vice President Joe Biden announced he would hold a summit on civil rights and the equal protection of women. Among the topics would be the part of the legislation that was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2000.

"We are not going to succeed until America embraces the notion, my father's notion, that under no circumstance does a man ever have a right to raise a hand to a woman other than in self defense," he said during a speech in the Rotunda, in front of the U.S. Constitution.

Biden drafted the Violence Against Women Act as a senator in 1990. He has said its passage four years later was his greatest legislative achievement. The high court declared as unconstitutional a part of the act that permitted victims to bring a civil suit against those who committed domestic violence.

Biden said the summit would bring together leading legal scholars, prosecutors, and Department of Justice officials to revisit the civil rights portion of the law the court struck down. Biden said one of the most important things for a victim's recovery "is an actual conviction."

With the Charters of Freedom as a backdrop for the Vice President, an audience of around 250 invited guests gathered in the Rotunda. Many of them were instrumental in the creation and passage of the act. Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero opened the event with remarks on the vital role the National Archives plays in maintaining the original records of the nation.

Vice President Joe Biden speaks in the Rotunda of the National Archives Building on September 17, 2014. Behind him is the Constitution.

NPRC Will Now Handle Medal Services for All Military Branches

The National Personnel Records Center (NPRC) in St. Louis, Missouri, has agreed to handle medals verification requests for the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, just as it already does for the Army and Air Force.

This move will provide a "one-stop shop" for veterans seeking to replace lost or stolen medals, awards or decorations or those authorized but never awarded to the individual service member.

"This consolidation will expedite the processing and delivery of Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard medals," said Scott Levins, NPRC director. He said the NPRC currently processes 46,000 requests a year for Army and Air Force Medals and expects that number to climb now to 60,000. He said he expects the transfer of this service to NPRC to be complete by January 2015.

The NPRC holds 56 million official military personnel files for veterans who served in the armed forces in the 20th century.

Archives to Host 2nd Annual Virtual Genealogy Fair

The National Archives will host a live, three-day virtual Genealogy Fair, via webcast on YouTube, on October 28, 29 and 30, starting daily at 10 a.m. eastern time.

The free program offers family history research tools for all skill levels on federal records—census, American Indian, military, naturalization, and immigration, and more. Other topics include overviews of online genealogy resources and guidance on preserving personal records. For complete schedule and participation instructions, visit the Virtual Genealogy Fair's website at www.archives.gov/calendar/genealogy-fair/.

Speakers will include experts from National Archives facilities nationwide, as well as U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services, and representatives from genealogy websites.

The webcast will include a captioning option. To request additional accommodations (for example, a transcript), email KYR@nara.gov or call 202-357-5260. Recorded sessions and handouts will be available free of charge after the event on the Virtual Genealogy Fair's website.

PICTURE CREDITS

Front cover, pp. 36–37, courtesy of artist Robert Lavin and U.S. Coast Guard Historian's Office; inside front cover: Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, National Archives at Boston; back cover, p. 23, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92; pp. 1, 50–51, Library of Congress; pp. 6, 9, 10, 52 (bottom), Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; pp. 7, 8, author's collection; p. 11, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; pp. 12, 66, George Bush Presidential Library; pp. 14, 20, Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, RG 38, p. 15, Records of Naval Operating Forces, RG 313; p. 16, 80-G-231008; p. 17, 80-G-290808; p. 18 (top), 80-G-227989; p. 18 (bottom), 80-G-227987; pp. 22, 25 (top), author's collection; pp. 25 (bottom), 27, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, University of Georgia Libraries; pp. 26 (top), 54–55, Records of the U.S. Senate, RG 46; pp. 26 (bottom), 45, Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, RG 217; p. 28, Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29; pp. 30, 32 (center, bottom), 33, U.S. Army Signal Corps Historic Collection, RG 111; p. 32 (top), Ford Collection; p. 34 (left), photo by Richard Schneider; p. 34 (right), photo by Courtney Egan; p. 39 (top), Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships*; pp. 40–41, *Letters Received by the Secretary of the Treasury from Collectors of Customs, 1833–1869* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M174), General Records of the Department of the Treasury, RG 56; pp. 39, (bottom), 42, 43 (top), Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, RG 26; p. 43 (bottom), *Instructions to Officers in the United States Revenue Cutter Service* (Washington), October 3, 1834; p. 44, U.S. Coast Guard Historian's Office; p. 48, 111-B-2292; p. 48 (background), *American State Papers*, Jan. 24, 1803; p. 52 (top), 111-BA-2034; p. 53, General Records of the U.S. Government, RG 11; p. 56, District of Columbia Archives; p. 58, 306-NT-274-A-3; pp. 60, 61, 62, 63, Records of District Courts of the United States, RG 21, National Archives at Kansas City; p. 64, author; p. 65, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt; p. 67, Ronald Reagan Library; pp. 68, 71 (left), photo by Jeffrey Reed; p. 70, photo by Darrell Taylor; p. 71 (center and right), photos by National Archives Staff; p. 71 (bottom), Foundation for the National Archives; p. 72, Entry HF1-78121388; Ceremonial Letters from Great Britain, General Records of the Department of State, RG 59.

Documents on Loan

National Archives documents and artifacts are on display in museums across the country—and not just in our own archives and presidential libraries. The documents described here are out on loan to museums and other institutions.

1794 Treaty with the Six Nations

The National Museum of the American Indian is displaying the 1794 Treaty with the Six Nations signed by George Washington. The treaties were between the United States and the six nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The six nations—Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Tuscarora—wanted to recover lands in New York State they had lost to the U.S. Government in the Revolutionary War. The government wanted native lands in Ohio, with assurances that the confederacy would not fight to retain them. This treaty will be displayed in the exhibit “Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indians” in Washington, D.C., through February 2015.

Other Loans

Records relating to the history of Congress, rotated every six months. Capitol Visitor Center, Washington, D.C., “E Pluribus Unum.” Until March 7, 2015.

Two George Washington letters, one pertaining to the Revolutionary War and the other his Presidency. Mount Vernon, Virginia. Until March 17, 2015.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Fair Housing). Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. Until March 24, 2015.

Naval Limitation Treaty of 1929 and other documents. Gerald R. Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Until April 30, 2015.

FBI Model of Dealey Plaza, 1964. Sixth Floor Museum, Dallas, Texas. Indefinitely.

Watergate break-in tools, ca. 1972. Gerald R. Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Until May 2015.

Watergate break-in tools, ca. 1972. Richard Nixon Library, Yorba Linda, California. Until May 2015.

Records relating to American constitutional history, including 1838 report of sick and wounded Cherokee on the Trail of Tears. National Constitution Center,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, “The Story of We the People.” Until June 30, 2015.

Two letters from former slaves who escaped to Nova Scotia during the War of 1812. Maritime Museum of Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, “Prize and Prejudice: Nova Scotia's War of 1812.” Until July 9, 2015.

1803 Louisiana Purchase Treaty and nine related documents. Missouri History Museum, St. Louis. Louisiana Purchase, October 25, 2014–April 19, 2015.

1816 letter from Andrew Jackson to Secretary of War on Indian matters and judge's opinion in case against Jackson. Historic New Orleans Collection, “Andrew Jackson: Hero of New Orleans.” November 4, 2014–March 29, 2015.

President John Tyler's ratification of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, “1867.” November 27, 2014–September 13, 2015.

Documents from the Presidential Libraries

Harry S. Truman Library

453 coins, representing nearly every type of coin minted by the U.S. Mint between the administrations of Washington and Carter. Money Museum of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Missouri. Through December 31, 2014.

Lyndon B. Johnson Library

Two bill-signing pens. National Park Service, Lyndon Johnson National Historical Park, Stonewall, Texas.

George Bush Library

Cowboy boots and Stetson hat. Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. Until June 30, 2015.

William J. Clinton Library

Vintage bicycle. The Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas, “Different Spokes.” Until February 2016.

Honoring a Contemporary Hero

Each year, the Foundation for the National Archives bestows its highest honor, the Records of Achievement Award, to an individual whose life's work increases public awareness of the records of the National Archives and inspires us to learn more about our shared history.



This year, it's my pleasure to announce that the award will go to Robert Edsel, founder and chairman of the board of the Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art. Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero and I will present the award to Robert this fall at the Foundation's annual black-tie gala, which is made possible through the generosity of our longtime supporter, AT&T.

We are honored to welcome Robert back to the National Archives and to recognize his outstanding work in bringing to life the stories of the men and women who served in the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives section of the Allies during World War II, known collectively as "the Monuments Men."

Robert has accomplished this through the not-for-profit Monuments Men Foundation, which continues the work and mission of the Monuments Men, recovering precious works of art looted by the Nazis during World War II, and working with the National Archives to preserve and make accessible to the public the records of Monuments Men as well as Nazi records and photo albums that catalogued the stolen artwork. In recognition of its work, Robert's foundation was awarded the National Humanities Medal by President George W. Bush in 2007.

Robert has dedicated more than 12 years to painstaking and far-reaching research about the Monuments Men, leading to the publication of his first book *Rescuing Da Vinci*, a detailed historical account that includes 460 photographs. Since then, he has co-produced the Emmy-nominated documentary film *The Rape of Europa* and created *The Greatest Theft in History*, an educational program that includes nine hours of video and a website of teaching resources. He also has written the introduction to Nancy H. Yeide's study of Nazi leader Hermann Goering's stolen paintings collection, titled *Beyond the Dreams of Avarice: The Hermann Goering Collection*.

Robert also has written two other books, including *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History*, which currently is being translated into 25 languages and was the inspiration for this year's popular movie *The Monuments Men*, directed by and starring George Clooney.

It is fitting that we will pay tribute to Robert at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., home to so many records from the World War II era and the famous Nuremberg trials that held Nazi leaders accountable after the war. Among these valuable records are some that Robert himself delivered to the Archives as recently as this spring—photo albums created by the Nazis as a record of the stolen artwork and artifacts. Thanks to Robert's work and the generosity of the Monuments Men Foundation, these albums will be preserved and made accessible to the public by the National Archives for generations to come.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "A'elia Bundles".

A'elia Bundles
Chair
Foundation for the National Archives

Foundation Partners with DC Fashion Week to Support "Making Their Mark"

The Foundation for the National Archives is partnering with DC Fashion Week this fall to promote Washington, D.C.'s rich and diverse culture, including the National Archives Museum's ongoing "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" exhibition. On September 24, the Foundation hosts DC Fashion Week's opening night with a fashion show in the National Archives Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom. The evening honors the organization's 10-year anniversary with a showcase of previous years' collections and a debut of 2015 Spring/Summer designer collections.

In the Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery adjacent to the Rotunda, fashion show attendees will be invited to tour "Making Their Mark," which features original signatures from National Archives holdings nationwide—including those from fashion, sports, politics, and entertainment—and the stories behind them. The exhibit explores the signature styles of Presidents and First Ladies, including Jacqueline Kennedy's pillbox hat, President George H.W. Bush's cowboy boots, Michelle Obama's election night dress, and more.

The Foundation organized a #SignatureStyle contest leading up to DC Fashion Week, inviting local fashion enthusiasts to submit photos of their own signature style for the chance to win two tickets to DC Fashion Week's opening event; two VIP seats at "Style and Influence: First Ladies Fashion" with Tim Gunn, Valerie Steele, Lisa Kathleen Graddy, and Tracy Reese the following week; and a year-long membership for two in the Foundation's Young Founders Society.

Foundation staff greets Newport Jazz Festival attendees in Rhode Island at the conclusion to the four-month-long "Jazz at the National Archives" programming series, which was made possible in part by the Foundation for the National Archives through the generous support of Natixis Global Asset Management.



Left: Dan Rather, Sharon Malone, Peggy Wallace Kennedy, Jill Drew, and Michele Norris Johnson discuss Robert Drew's *cinéma vérité* work *Crisis: Behind a Presidential Commitment*, which chronicles how President John F. Kennedy, along with his brother Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, clashed with Alabama Governor George Wallace over racial integration at the University of Alabama in 1963. Middle and right: After an exciting night of activities and adventures around the National Archives Museum, participants at the summer "History, Heroes & Treasures" sleepover settle in for a night in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom. "History, Heroes & Treasures" is supported by the Foundation for the National Archives; John Hancock Financial; Ridgewells Catering; Control Video; American Heritage Chocolate; Mars, Incorporated; The Coca-Cola Company; Minute Maid; and DASANI.

Foundation to Honor Robert Edsel with Records of Achievement Award

Robert Edsel, historian, author, and founder and chairman of the Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art, will be honored by the Foundation for the National Archives this fall with its 2014 Records of Achievement Award.

Edsel is being honored for increasing public awareness of the men and women who served in the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives section of the Allied Armies during World War II (known collectively as the Monuments Men) and the important work these individuals carried out to preserve our collective cultural heritage. Edsel's book, *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History*, was adapted for *The Monuments Men* motion picture earlier this year, with an all-star cast including George Clooney, who also directed; Matt Damon; Bill Murray; Cate Blanchett; and John Goodman.

When Edsel first walked into the research room of the National Archives at College Park, he requested several boxes containing photographs and records about the Monuments Men, which he had heard were in the holdings. Six hours later, he still sat, unmoving, wholly engrossed in their extraordinary story. Since that fateful day, the National Archives has worked extensively with Edsel and his Monuments Men Foundation to preserve and display records produced by both the Monuments Men and the Nazi forces they pursued. Just this past May, the Monuments Men Foundation donated "Hitler Album 6" to the National Archives. This is the last known original leather-bound album containing photographs of paintings looted by the Nazis and is the fourth such album



the Monuments Men Foundation has recovered and donated to the Archives.

Foundation Chair A'Lelia Bundles and Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero will present the award to Edsel at the Foundation's annual black-tie gala on October 28 at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. This year's private event is sponsored by AT&T and will include an awards ceremony in the William G. McGowan Theater and an elegant seated dinner in the Rotunda Galleries near the original Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

"Robert Edsel's work celebrates the efforts of an extraordinary group of men and women, ensuring that their legacy is never lost," said Patrick M. Madden, executive director of the Foundation. "We applaud both his commitment to telling their story and his tireless efforts to complete their mission by seeking out and returning art that is still missing from the war."

The Records of Achievement Award honors an individual whose life's work increases the public's understanding of the National Archives and its role in preserving and making accessible to the public billions of federal government records, including documents, photographs, maps, sound recordings, and films. Recipients of the award help inspire a deeper appreciation of the country and the rich heritage of its people.

Previous recipients include Tom Brokaw, Ken Burns, the late John Hope Franklin, Annette Gordon-Reed, Brian Lamb and C-SPAN, David McCullough, James McPherson, David M. Rubenstein, and Steven Spielberg. The Foundation also honored philanthropist Jacqueline Badger Mars in 2012 with its prestigious Heritage Award.

Your Good Friend VICTORIA R

The black-bordered letter sent to President Martin Van Buren relayed the official news that the king of the United Kingdom, His Majesty William IV, had died on June 20, 1837. The new monarch was the late king's niece, 18-year-old Victoria.

Writing on June 23, the young new queen announced the passing of "Our Most Honoured and Beloved Uncle" and advised the President of her own accession to the throne. She assured him "that it will be Our most earnest desire to cultivate and maintain the Relations of Friendship and good Understanding which so happily subsist between the Two Countries."

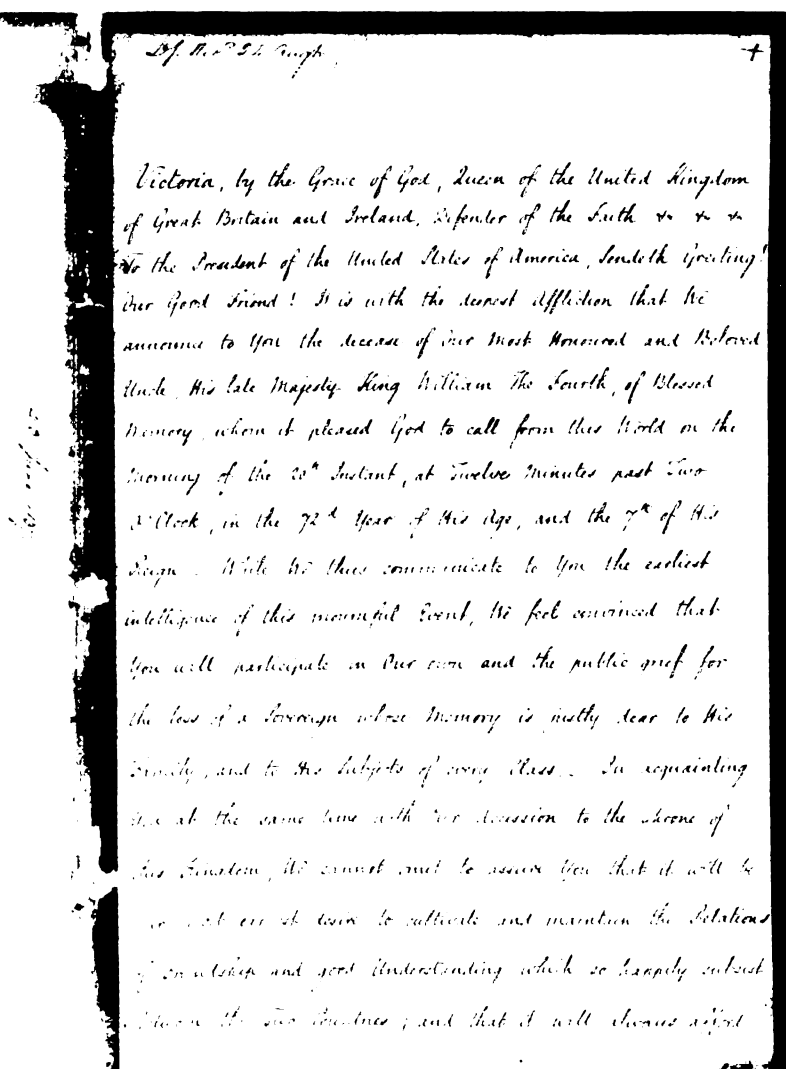
At the end of the letter, she signed herself, "Your Good Friend, Victoria R." Just three days into her nearly 64-year

reign, her signature is penned neatly and carefully. In later years, letters from the more mature queen show a looser, more flowing signature.

Several other letters from Victoria and other 19th-century monarchs (in the series "Ceremonial Letters from Great Britain") are available in the National Archives' Online Public Access catalog on Archives.gov. They announce births, deaths, and weddings of members of the royal family and diplomatic appointments. The foreign minister's signature (Palmerston on this 1837 letter) appears below the monarch's. **P**

"*Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures*," an exhibit at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., is on display through January 5, 2015.

Letter from Queen Victoria to President Martin Van Buren, June 23, 1837.



the pleasure to have fresh opportunities of proving the interest which we take in the welfare and prosperity of the United States. And so we recommend you to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at our Court at Kensington, the Twenty Third day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1837, and in the First Year of our Reign.

Your Good Friend

Victoria R

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Administration
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20408-0001
202-357-5400

and
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-4001
301-837-2000

National Archives at Atlanta
5780 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, GA 30260-3806
770-968-2100

Atlanta Federal Records Center
4712 Southpark Boulevard
Ellenwood, GA 30294-3595
404-736-2820

National Archives at Boston and
Boston Federal Records Center
380 Trapelo Road
Waltham, MA 02452-6399
866-406-2379

National Archives at Chicago and
Chicago Federal Records Center
7358 South Pulaski Road
Chicago, IL 60629-5898
773-948-9001

Dayton Federal Records Center
3150 Springboro Road
Dayton, OH 45439-1883
937-425-0600

Dayton-Kingsridge Federal Records Center
8801 Kingsridge Drive
Dayton, OH 45458-1617
937-425-0601

National Archives at Denver and
Denver Federal Records Center
17101 Huron Street
Broomfield, CO 80023-8909
303-407-5740

National Archives at Fort Worth and
Fort Worth Federal Records Center
1400 John Burgess Drive
Fort Worth, TX 76140-6222
817-551-2000

National Archives at Fort Worth (microfilm)
2600 West Seventh Street, Ste. 162
Fort Worth, TX 76107-2244
817-831-5620

National Archives at Kansas City
400 West Pershing Road
Kansas City, MO 64108-4306
816-268-8000

Kansas City Federal Records Center
8600 NE Underground Drive, Pillar 300-g
Kansas City, MO 64161-9742
816-994-1700

Lee's Summit Federal Records Center
200 Space Center Drive
Lee's Summit, MO 64064-1182
816-288-8100

Lenexa Federal Records Center
17501 West 98th Street, Ste. 3150
Lenexa, KS 66219-1735
913-825-7600

National Archives at New York City
One Bowling Green
New York, NY 10004-1415
866-840-1752

National Archives at Philadelphia and
Federal Records Center
14700 Townsend Road
Philadelphia, PA 19154-1096
215-305-2000

Pittsfield Federal Records Center
10 Conte Drive
Pittsfield, MA 01201-8230
413-236-3610

National Archives at Riverside and
Riverside Federal Records Center
23123 Cajalco Road
Perris, CA 92572-7298
951-956-2000

National Archives at San Francisco and
San Francisco Federal Records Center
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, CA 94066-2350
650-238-3500

National Archives at Seattle and
Seattle Federal Records Center
6125 Sand Point Way, NE
Seattle, WA 98115-7999
206-336-5115

National Archives at St. Louis and
National Personnel Records Center (Military)
1 Archives Drive
St. Louis, MO 63138-1002
314-801-0800

National Personnel Records Center (Civilian)
1411 Boulder Boulevard
Valmeyer, IL 62295-2603
618-935-3005

Washington National Records Center
4205 Suitland Road
Suitland, MD 20746-8001
301-778-1600

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library
210 Parkside Drive
P.O. Box 488
West Branch, IA 52358-0488
319-643-5301
www.hoover.archives.gov

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538-1999
845-486-7770 / 800-337-8474
www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu

Harry S. Truman Library
500 West U.S. Highway 24
Independence, MO 64050-1798
816-268-8200 / 800-833-1225
www.trumanlibrary.org

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
200 Southeast Fourth Street
Abilene, KS 67410-2900
785-263-6700 / 877-746-4453
www.eisenhower.archives.gov

John F. Kennedy Library
Columbia Point
Boston, MA 02125-3398
617-514-1600 / 866-JFK-1960
www.jfklibrary.org

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, TX 78705-5702
512-721-0200
www.lbjlibrary.org

Richard Nixon Library
18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Yorba Linda, CA 92886-3903
714-983-9120
www.nixonlibrary.gov

Richard Nixon Library-College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001
301-837-3290

Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114
734-205-0555
www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov

Gerald R. Ford Museum
303 Pearl Street, NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5353
616-254-0400

Jimmy Carter Library
441 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307-1498
404-865-7100
www.jimmycarterlibrary.org

Ronald Reagan Library
40 Presidential Drive
Simi Valley, CA 93065-0600
805-577-4000 / 800-410-8354
www.reagan.utexas.edu

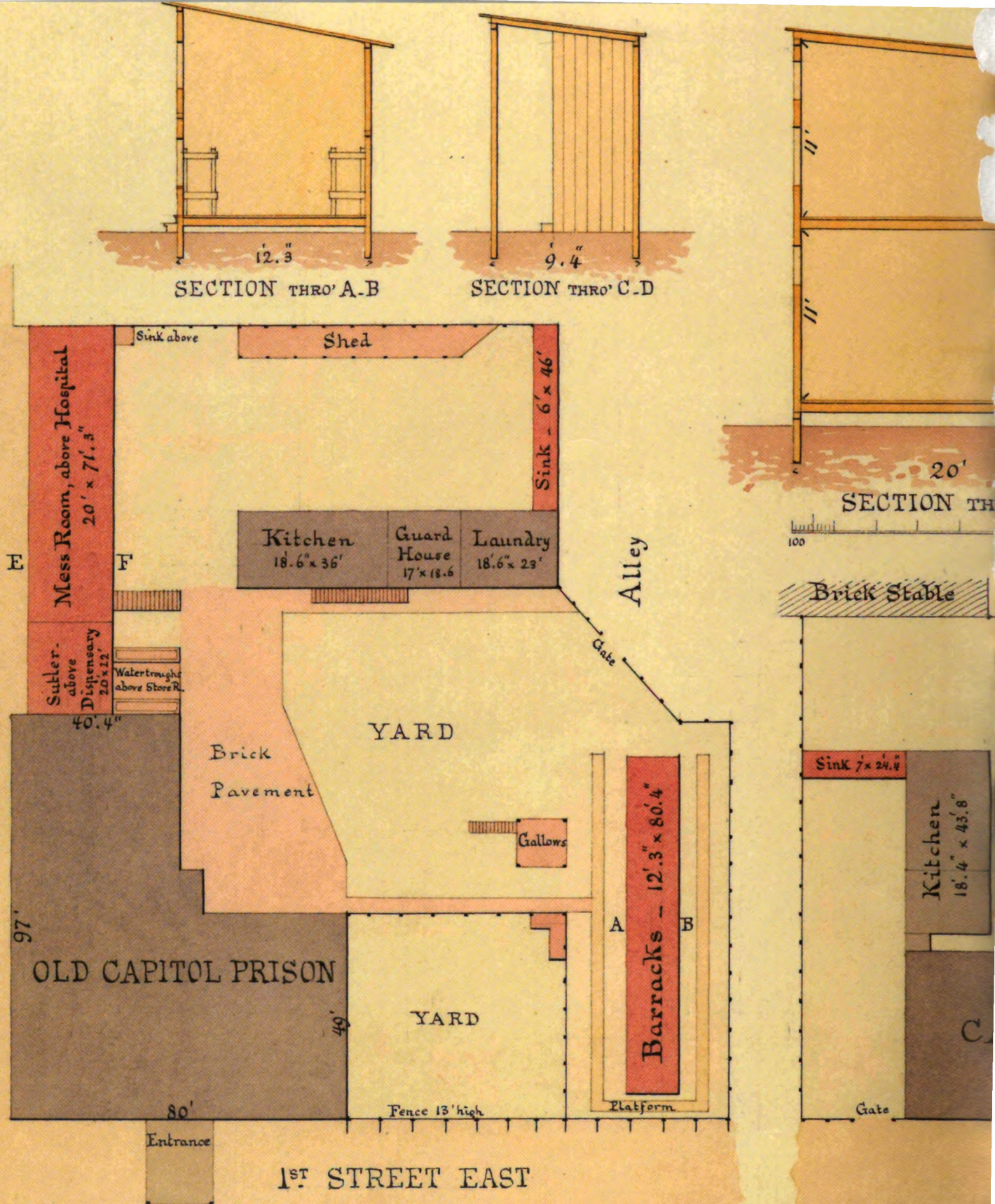
George Bush Library
1000 George Bush Drive
College Station, TX 77845-3906
979-691-4000
bushlibrary.tamu.edu

William J. Clinton Library
1200 President Clinton Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201-1749
501-374-4242
www.clintonlibrary.gov

George W. Bush Library
2943 SMU Boulevard
Dallas, TX 75205-2563
214-346-1557
www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu



A STREET NORTH



Prologue Fall 2014

Quarterly of the National Archives
and Records Administration
Winter 2014 Vol. 46 No. 4

Prologue

A Spirited Republic

Exhibit Recounts Role
of Alcohol in U.S. History

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Received on 12-15-13
Thompson Library Bound
Journals
CD3020P7
C.1

V. 46 NO. 4

70 Winters Ago:
Battle of the Bulge

Henry Ford:
Movie Mogul

Cherokee in East
Get a New Deal

Digitized by Google



Prologue

Summer 2014 Vol. 46 No. 4

QUARTERLY of the NATIONAL ARCHIVES and RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



NATIONAL
ARCHIVES

ARCHIVIST of the
UNITED STATES
David S. Ferriero

CHIEF STRATEGY and
COMMUNICATIONS
OFFICER
Donna Garland

DIRECTOR of
COMMUNICATIONS
(ACTING)
Sandra Glasser

EDITOR of
PUBLICATIONS
James Worsham

MANAGING
EDITOR
Mary C. Ryan

SENIOR EDITOR
Benjamin Guterman

CONTRIBUTING
EDITORS
John Deeben
Keith Donohue
Meg Hacker
Hilary Parkinson

ART DIRECTORS
Brian Barth
Rania Hassan

PHOTO
RESEARCHER
Theresa Roy

SUBSCRIBER
SERVICES
Sandra Tucker

Editorial Policy. *Prologue* is published quarterly by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Its primary purpose is to bring to public attention the resources and programs of NARA, the regional archives, and the presidential libraries. Accordingly, *Prologue* in the main publishes material based, in whole or in part, on the holdings and programs of these institutions. In keeping with the nonpartisan character of NARA, *Prologue* will not accept articles that are politically partisan or that deal with contemporary political issues.

Articles are selected for publication by the editor in consultation with experts. The editor reserves the right to make changes in articles accepted for publication and will consult the author should substantive questions arise. Published articles do not necessarily represent the views of NARA or of any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Prospective authors are encouraged to discuss their work with the editor prior to submission. Articles may be submitted as either an e-mail attachment or as hard copy. The *Prologue* office uses MS Word but can accept any common word-processing format. Correspondence regarding contributions and all other editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001; prologue@nara.gov.

Subscriptions and Reprints. U.S. subscription rates are \$24 for one year; rates for subscribers outside the United States are \$30. Single issues of the current volume are available for \$6 each (add \$3 shipping for orders up to \$50). Send a check or money order to National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (NAT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent within six months of its publication date. Microfilm copies of *Prologue* are available from ProQuest Information and Learning, P.O. Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346. *Prologue's* web site is at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration (ISSN 0033-1031) is published quarterly by the National Archives Trust Fund Board, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Periodicals postage paid at College Park, MD, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, SC/Room 400, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001. INDEXED in Acad. Abstr., Amer. Hist. & Life. Bibl. Cart., Hist. Abst. (Pts. A & B), Hum. Ind., Mag. Art. Sum., U.S. Govt. Per. Ind., Writ. Am. Hist., & Winter *Prologue*.

Printed in the U.S.A.

EDITOR'S NOTE

One of the issues in the American dialogue that was coming to a head a century ago was whether alcoholic beverages should be sold and consumed in the USA.

In the early days of the republic, alcohol was part of everyday life. During the 1800s, however, prohibitionists gained strength. By 1919 they had the clout to get Congress to pass and the states to ratify an amendment to the Constitution banning alcohol.

It was ratified by the requisite number of states on January 16, 1919, as the 18th Amendment. But it gave rise to an era of crime, corruption, and noncompliance in the Roaring Twenties. In 1933, after the New Dealers swept into office, the 18th Amendment became the only Constitutional amendment repealed by another amendment. On December 5, 1933, in the depths of the Great Depression, alcohol became legal again.

This story is told in an upcoming exhibition at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C.: "Spirited Republic: Alcohol's Evolving Role in U.S. History," opening in the Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery in March and running through January 2016. A preview begins on page 14.

Bruce Bustard, the Archives' senior curator, says the exhibition "uses National Archives documents and artifacts from the Archives and other museums and libraries to show how government programs and policies changed over time and to illustrate the wide variety of view Americans hold about alcohol." Bustard also notes that in 1830, each drinking-age person consumed an average of 7.1 gallons of absolute alcohol annually; today, the figure is down to 2.3 gallons.

We also take note in this issue of the 70th anniversary of the Battle of the Bulge, fought in the harsh European winter of 1944–1945. This battle went a long way to ensuring the defeat of Nazi Germany and the Allied victory in Europe a few months later in May 1945.

One of the best-known programs in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal was the Civilian Conservation Corps, but you probably didn't know there was a CCC for Native Americans. Mattea Sanders, who was an intern at the Archives earlier this year, writes about how it worked for the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation in North Carolina. Mattea is now a doctoral student in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Join us on our blog at <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue> and on our website at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

JAMES WORSHAM



MAXIMIZING OUR VALUE TO THE NATION

BY DAVID S. FERRIERO

In two previous columns, I discussed the first two of four goals of the 2014–2018 Strategic Plan for the National Archives and Records Administration.

The first was “Make Access Happen,” a review of how we’re going to make as much of our holdings as possible accessible to everyone. The second was “Connect with Customers,” our plans to engage our customers more so we can respond to their needs more efficiently and more effectively.

The third goal is “Maximize NARA’s Value to the Nation.”

It means we recognize that “public access to government information creates measurable economic value, which adds to the enduring cultural and historical value of our records. . . . We will strive to implement new business practices to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in all we do and ensure institutional sustainability.”



To achieve this third goal, we are at work on a number of fronts.

With a mandate from the Office of Management and Budget, we have directed government departments and agencies to get their recordkeeping in order in the next few years, and we have established deadlines for them to do so. We’re also helping them with guidance and assistance.

We must move more quickly toward digital recordkeeping, even as we reform records management, and develop 21st-century methods.

This is especially important as we continue the transition to a digital government in which all records will be electronic, not on paper. That includes emails, too. And we have already begun the long, labor-intensive task of digitizing the 12 billion pieces of paper created since our government began.

With records preserved in an orderly fashion, it’s easier for any private individual to use them for personal use. And it’s easier for businesses to use them for research or commercial use that creates economy activity.

And we’re also at work seeking to develop a means to measure the economic impact of the repeated use of the records in our

custody—especially to the local economies where our 40-plus facilities are located.

But the heart of our efforts to “maximize NARA’s value to the nation” is our unshakable commitment to the cultural and historic values of the records, values likely to increase. It is a commitment not only to preserve them for generations to come but also to make them as accessible as possible to today’s generations.

Actions we have taken, and will take, regarding the records will further enhance the ability of researchers to generate new scholarship and of families to trace their history. And we’ll provide them with the records they need in whatever format they want, as quickly as possible anytime and anywhere.

We are constantly striving for increased efficiency and effectiveness in all our work, both internally and externally. This, of course, is especially important in an era of diminishing federal resources.

One way to be more efficient and effective will be better utilization of our brick-and-mortar

facilities to bring in revenue, just as we already do when we allow outside groups to use our downtown Washington, D.C., building for events.

We also want to learn more about the effectiveness of our programs, products, and services, an intangible that is difficult to measure. But we are working on ways to help us do so.

For our customers to appreciate “NARA’s value to the nation,” they need to know more about us. That’s what traveling exhibitions and loaned documents are all about—showing Americans what’s in their national file cabinet, much as the Freedom Train did in the late 1940s when it crossed the nation.



To “maximize NARA’s value to the nation,” we will need to develop an entrepreneurial culture and make a business case for what we do, especially in these austere fiscal times.

But we have the advantage of already being for Americans a trusted source—with those founding documents that guarantee their rights, hold government officials accountable, and preserve the story of the nation.

These records, then, make up part of the wealth of our nation. It is wealth to be treasured—and to be shared.



Join the Archivist at his own blog at

<http://blogs.archives.gov/aotus>

and visit NARA’s website at www.archives.gov

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Ferriero".

Archivist of the United States

Winter

Volume 46 Issue No. 4

2014

Features

6 Henry Ford: Movie Mogul?

Phillip W. Stewart explores the film collection of auto industry baron Henry Ford—a collection now part of the National Archives.

14 Spirited Republic

Bruce I. Bustard previews a new exhibit at the National Archives in Washington about alcohol's role in American history.

24 "I got to do something to keep my family up"

Mattea V. Sanders recalls the efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps to help struggling families of North Carolina's Eastern Band of Cherokees.

36 The Bloodiest Battle

Photographs tell the story of the bloodiest battle of World War II—the "Battle of the Bulge" 70 years ago this winter.

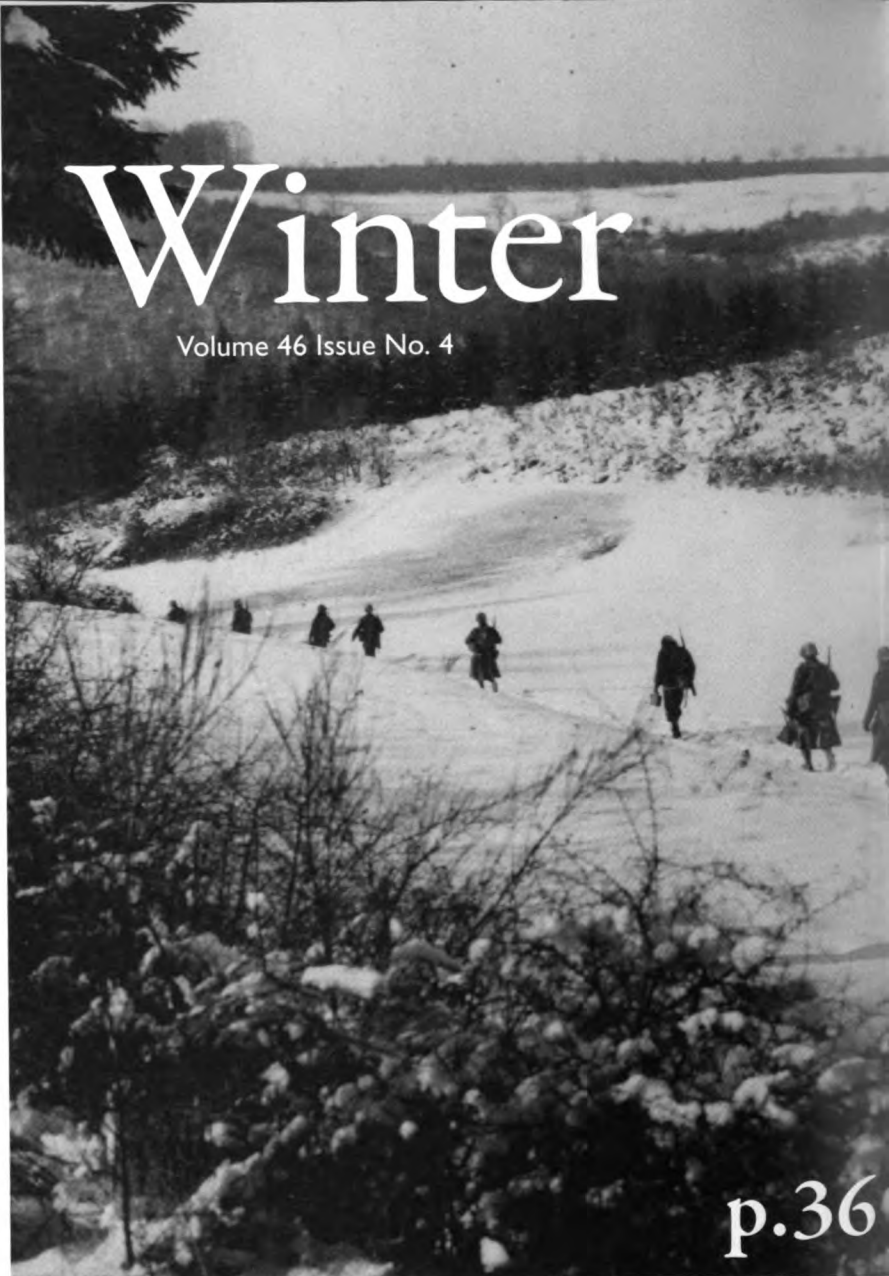
46 The Christmas Shootings on Guam

Tina L. Ligon recounts the Christmas riots on Guam in 1944—and the aftermath.



In every issue

- 2 **From the Archivist**
The Archivist outlines how the agency is increasing its value to the nation.
- 52 **Genealogy Notes**
Jean Nudd tells how to use migration records in genealogy research.
- 58 **Authors on the Record**
David O. Stewart describes his study of James Madison's key role in the formation of the young republic in *Madison's Gift*.
- 60 **Events/News & Notices**
- 64 **Foundation for the National Archives**
A report from the Foundation's President and the latest Records of Achievement Award recipient.
- 66 **Index**
- 72 **Pieces of History**
Two hundred years ago, the Treaty of Ghent brought peace between the United States and the United Kingdom.



**To subscribe or view online
articles, log onto**

www.archives.gov/publications/prologue

Front cover: Detail from a February 1864 patent drawing for Simon Crow's Pure White Wheat Whiskey designed for whiskey barrels in order to "protect the Consumer" from "the many worthless imitations now being forced on the market." See a story about the new National Archives exhibit on the history of alcohol consumption in America on page 14.

Inside front cover: Infantrymen move up to cut off the German counterthrust in Belgium, December 17, 1944, during the Battle of the Bulge.

Back cover: A label for North Pole Beer submitted for a patent, ca. 1933, as breweries began to ramp up production when Prohibition ended.

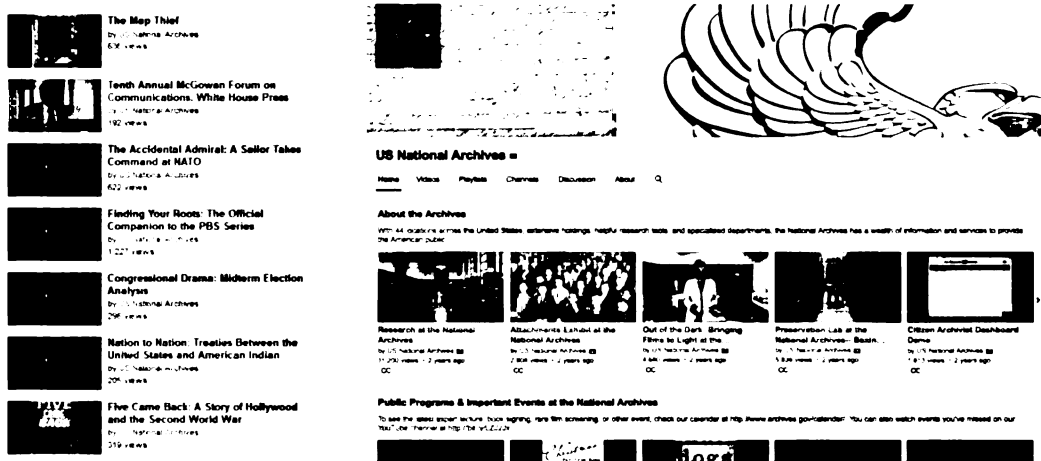
YouTube

Watch our lectures and programs live on YouTube!

We are now livestreaming from the William G. McGowan Theater in Washington, DC. See our book lectures, genealogy programs, and major events from the comfort of your own computer screen.

Recent guest speakers include Henry Louis Gates, Jr., of *Finding Your Roots*; Rebecca Frankel of *War Dogs*; and Tim Gunn of *Project Runway*.

Direct links to each program can be found at www.archives.gov/calendar/.



The National Archives on the Web:

visit www.archives.gov/social-media

Subscribe



Prologue
on Zinio



Prologue
on Scribd



RSS Feeds



Blogs



Facebook



Tumblr



Twitter



Google+



Instagram



Pinterest

Access



Archival
Videos



Archival
Photos

Henry Ford: Movie Mogul?

A Titan of Industry Conquers Filmdom

By Phillip W. Stewart

When you remember Henry Ford, you probably think about the Ford Motor Company, cars, trucks, tractors, industry, Detroit, the five-dollar-a-day wage, or maybe the fact that Ford was the first to use the assembly line in automobile production.

However, there was a time between 1915 and the mid-1920s when Henry Ford was a movie mogul, overseeing the largest motion picture production and distribution operation on the planet. During those years, roughly one-seventh of America's movie-going audience watched Ford films each week! The opening titles and subsequent subtitle cards of many of these silent movies were also translated into 11 different languages and shown around the world.

Today, these motion pictures and other films produced or acquired by the Ford Motor Company between about 1914 and 1954 are preserved at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland.

Ford motion picture cameramen use their movie cameras in and around a Ford Model T in front of the Ford Motor Company's Highland Park Plant on March 20, 1916.



These films have superb historical value because they depict a broad range of subject matter. Almost every facet of the American experience from the mid-1910s through the early 1920s is portrayed, including business, city life, farming, manufacturing, news events, recreation, rural life, sports, transportation, and VIPs. In addition, as you would expect, the evolution of all industrial processes related to the automobile is extensively documented. Overall, the moving images contained in these films are truly Americana in motion.

Ford Buys Movie Camera, Consults with Edison

How did Henry Ford get into the movie business?

Well, that's a story that began during the summer of 1913. Ford watched a movie production crew filming some of the operations of his Highland Park, Michigan, plant. He was in one of the scenes, which afforded him an up-close look at the movie-making process. Intrigued by the possibilities of using this technology to train his large workforce, Ford also thought it might be a way to communicate the news of the day to the public, to educate them about the world in which they lived, and of course, to illustrate the wonders of Ford automobiles.

In true Henry Ford style, he bought a movie camera that September, tinkered with it, started filming family and factory scenes, and consulted with visionaries like the inventor of the commercial motion picture, Thomas A. Edison.

In April 1914, Ford told Ambrose Jewett, head of the company's advertising operation, to set up a "moving-picture" department. Within months, the department acquired modern 35mm cameras, and the initial two-man staff grew to a talented crew of over 24. In addition, Ford built a state-of-the-art film-processing laboratory along with an equally impressive editing laboratory at the Highland Park plant.

Overall, it did not take long before the production capability rivaled that of any

Hollywood studio. Thus, Henry Ford's Motion Picture Laboratories were born, and Ford became the first American industrial firm to possess a full-service motion picture facility. The first film produced, *How Henry Ford Makes One Thousand Cars a Day*, was released later that summer. Sadly, this film is not part of the Ford film collection.

For the next two years, the laboratories' primary production effort was the *Ford Animated Weekly*. Through the use of independent film distribution companies, and at no charge to the theater owners, movie houses around the country could show this 10-to-15-minute informational newsreel.

The *Weekly* consisted of three to five stories that featured news events of the day, general interest items, and an occasional Ford Motor Company feature. The theater-going public responded quite favorably to stories like *Helen Keller Visits with Henry Ford* (1914, FC-FC-440); *Thomas A. Edison, Guest of Honor, World's Fair, San Francisco, California* (1915, FC-FC-1172); *Buffalo Bill Circus* (1916, FC-FC-40), *Galligan-Finney Wins Long Swim* (1918, FC-FC-647); *What Uncle Sam Had Up His Sleeve* (1919, FC-FC-724); *Between Friends—Juarez, Mexico* (1920, FC-FC-291); and *Henry Ford Pilots Big Locomotive* (1921, FC-FC-2245). According to the July 1916 issue of the *Ford Times*, four million people in over 2,000 theaters regularly viewed the *Weekly*. Although the reel contained no advertising, a rendering of a Ford Model T radiator was the background for the film's superimposed titles—subtle promotion at its best!

Ford Motor Co. Becomes World's Largest Film Distributor

In late 1916, Henry Ford decided to slow down the hectic and expensive production pace required to make newsreels and replace the *Animated Weekly* with less costly "ever-green" historic and educational films (but as you can tell by the production dates noted above, the newsreels never really disappeared).

The *Ford Educational Weekly*, which focused on short in-depth coverage of a single topic

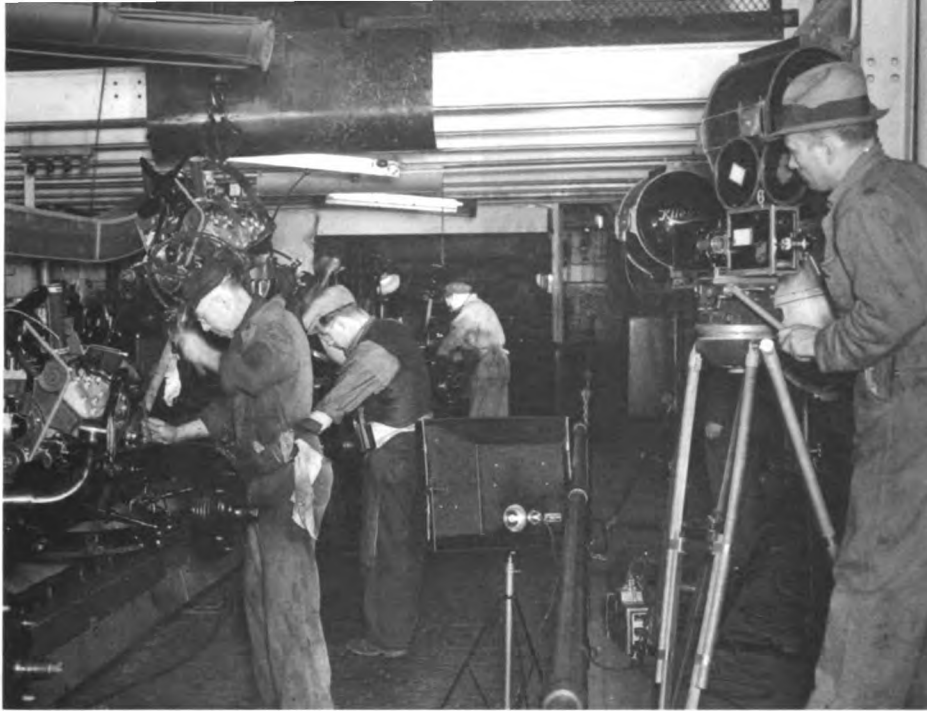
such as travel, industry, history, geography, and agriculture, was the result. The *Detroit News* reported that theater managers were very reluctant to show "dry, educational stuff" to their audiences.

However, film titles like *A Visit With Luther Burbank*, *The Great American Naturalist* (1917, FC-FC-2439); *The "Tail" of a Shirt* (1917, FC-FC-21); *Heroes of the Coast Guard* (1918, FC-FC-6); *Bubbles, I'm Forever Using Soap* (1919, FC-FC-2461); *From Mud to Mug—The Story of Pottery Making* (1919, FC-FC-2450); *Chu Chu—Making Chewing Gum* (1920, FC-FC-2489); *Home of the Seminole* (1920, FC-FC-2481); and *Hurry Slowly* (1921, FC-FC-2405) proved to be popular. As with the *Animated Weekly*, the *Educational Weekly* series was provided at no cost to the theater owners and was commercial free, except for a "Distributed by the Ford Motor Company" tagline on the bottom of the title cards.

In the September 20, 1917, issue of Ford's in-house newspaper, *The Ford Man*, it was reported, "Over 1,000 miles of Ford films are shown weekly . . . in more than 3,500 theaters in the United States alone—likewise throughout the Dominions of Canada, the British Colonies, South Africa, India, Japan and most of the countries of Europe. It is a conservative estimate that between four and five millions of people are entertained by the pictures in this country every week."

By mid-1918, Ford Motor Company had become the largest motion picture distributor in the world, spending \$600,000 a year—the equivalent of more than \$9.4 million today—on film production and distribution.

The production tempo of the Motion Picture Laboratories considerably increased soon after America entered World War I in April 1917. In addition to their usual tasks in support of the two *Weekly* series and plant operations, camera crews were now assigned to document Ford Motor Company's wartime efforts. A sample of these projects include the construction of the new River Rouge plant (1917); the training of recruits at the U.S.



Top: Ford movie staff set up a shot of the assembly line at the River Rouge plant, January 15, 1936.

Center: Helen Keller and Henry Ford in Detroit as Keller listens with her hands. Anne Sullivan, Keller's teacher, is shown in the background. From *Helen Keller Visits with Henry Ford*, 1914.

Bottom: Thomas Edison greets the crowd from a train in *Thomas A. Edison, Guest of Honor, Worlds Fair, San Francisco, California*, 1915.



Naval Training Station at Great Lakes, Illinois, which resulted in the multipart *The Making of a Man-O-War* (1917); the building of a fleet of Ford-designed Navy submarine chasers, the Eagle Boat class, at the River Rouge plant (1918); the making and testing of the Liberty airplane motor (1918); and the testing of the Ford-designed three-ton Army tank (1918). The overall results from this wartime effort added 136 World War I-related titles to the laboratories' film archive. Some of this footage was also used to produce stories for the *Ford Animated Weekly*.

Theater Owners Object To Ford's Fees, Opinions

In an effort to increase its share of the theater-going audience, Ford hired the Goldwyn Distribution Corporation to circulate the *Ford Educational Weekly* shortly after the Armistice in November 1918.

By the end of 1919, the series appeared on over 5,200 movie screens every week. Soon thereafter, in an effort to offset production costs, Ford began to charge theaters a dollar a week to show the one-reeler. Theater owners noisily objected, and some stopped showing the reel.

Then, in May 1920, with the publication of anti-Semitic stories in the Ford-owned newspaper the *Dearborn Independent*, more theaters discontinued the title in protest. By August, distribution numbers had dwindled to about 1,300 theaters, and the *Educational Weekly* ceased production in December 1921.

Continuing Henry Ford's focus on education, the newly formed Photographic Department, which combined motion picture and still photography operations, was directed to develop and produce the *Ford Educational Library* in 1920.





Left, top to bottom:

A factory worker helps produce soap in Bubbles, I'm Forever Using Soap, 1919.

A Ford truck speeds work in the date harvest, from Date Palms—Los Angeles, California, 1920.

Looking up Riverside Drive from 94th Street, from New York City from an Elevated Railroad, New York, N.Y., 1916.

Sailors stand ready for rifle drills on the parade ground of the U.S. Naval Training Station at Great Lakes, IL, from The Making of a Man-O-Warman, 1917.



The films were designed for use in elementary and high schools, universities, churches, and other nonprofit educational institutions. A committee of college professors identified appropriate topics for the series that included transportation, agriculture, geology, medicine, safety, and civics.

A typical title is *Journeys Through "The Valley of Hearts Delight"* (1921, FC-FC-2437), which covers, in just under 12 minutes, the regional geography, people, and businesses of the city of San Jose, California, as well as the surrounding county of Santa Clara. Another representative film is *The Hawaiian Islands* (1924, FC-FC-484), which documents life in Honolulu, local Hawaiian and Japanese cultures, sugar cane production, and the making of poi. Altogether, roughly 50 titles were produced (and another 55 *Educational Weekly* films were later added) for the *Library*.

They were sold for 5 cents per foot or rented for 50 cents a day per reel. Although the *Ford Educational Library* was extensively promoted, it was not widely accepted and faded from sight during the waning months of 1925.

As noted earlier, while cameramen were busy creating informational and educational films, other Ford Photographic Department employees documented the activities of the company and captured Ford products in action. Some of this footage was used to produce public and workplace safety messages as shown in titles such as *All for Safety* (1918, FC-FC-222) and *Safety First—We're for Safety, Are You?* (1926, FC-FC-4079).

Considerable footage also documented Ford airport operations, the manufacture of the Ford Tri-Motor airliner, and the Ford



Top: A Ford Tri-Motor airliner from *Ford Tri-Motor* at Barcelona Square, 1926.

Center: B-24 Liberator bomber manufacturing at Willow Run Plant, Ypsilanti, Michigan, from [*Willow Run Liberator Bomber Plant*], ca. 1943.

Bottom: "The Four-Seasons Fordson Tractor," 1922, is an example of Ford's distribution of films internationally.

National Reliability Air Tours of 1925–1931. *Wings of Progress—Commercial Airplane Reliability Tour for the Edsel B. Ford Trophy* (1925, FC-FC-310) is a representative title.

Ford Uses His Films To Sell Automobiles

The largest percentage of the footage, however, was edited into promotional films for Ford branch sales managers and dealers throughout the country. An example is *Keep the Boy on the Farm* (1919, FC-FC-1514), which promoted the benefits of the new Fordson tractor over doing things the old way.

Other good examples are *Golden Opportunity* (1923, FC-FC-174), which extols the virtues of the Ford Weekly Purchase Plan, and *The Source of the New Ford Car* (1931, FC-FC-2993), which introduces the new V-8 engine and the latest production methods.

While most films ran 20–30 minutes, some were longer. *The Ford Age* (1923, FC-FC-139), which highlighted Ford's worldwide industrial automotive prowess, is about an hour in length. These films were projected almost anywhere prospective buyers could gather: dealership showrooms, fraternal lodges, schools, recreation halls, county fairs, and even outdoors using the side of a building as a screen.

These films proved to be so popular, in both metropolitan and farming regions, that by the mid-1920s the Ford Motor Company estimated 2,500,000 people a month came to see them. In some of the more rural areas, the films were the first motion pictures that farmers and their families had ever seen.

In addition to the variety of topics mentioned above, a significant subject of the movie camera was Henry Ford himself. One man, George Ebling, shot most of the photographs and motion picture footage of



Henry and Clara Ford, their house at Fair Lane, their son Edsel and his wife Eleanor, their grandchildren, Ford's close friends, visiting VIPs, camping trips, and travels.

From 1918 until his retirement in 1946, Ebling, or a team of assistants under his personal direction, captured the private and family life of Henry Ford. During those years, he filmed everything from the Ford

grandchildren's birthday parties to the family visit to the 1939 New York World's Fair.

A fine example is *Henry Ford and Grandsons* (1920, FC-FC-4678), which was filmed on June 9 and stars 10-month-old Benson and an almost 3-year-old Henry Ford II. The following word picture, based on the "dope" sheet of the film, reveals the softer side of Grandpa Ford:



Henry Ford plays with his 3-year-old grandson Henry Ford II, from *Henry Ford and Grandsons*, 1920.

In the garden at Fair Lane, Henry Ford carries Henry Ford II on his shoulders as Mrs. Ford stands alongside; Ford II enters and leaves the summer pavilion at Fair Lane; Ford II chases chickens in the chicken pen; Ford sits in the garden and plays with Ford II; Ford carries Ford II on his shoulders; . . . Ford II chases cows in a pasture; Ford and Henry Ford II on a swing; . . . Benson Ford sits on a table in the garden as Ford plays with him.

Ebling's keen eye, adaptability to an often changing environment, and patience with the Ford family created an unexcelled historic visual record of hundreds of titles on thousands of feet of celluloid.

After suffering its worst sales numbers on record at the height of the Great Depression in 1932, the Ford Motor Company was forced to drastically reduce costs. As a result, it shuttered its airplane business and some other non-core endeavors, including the motion picture production facilities.

Thus, Henry Ford's movie mogul days officially ended.

Ford's Film Collection

Includes Edison Donations

A greatly reduced Photographic Department staff continued to make films that documented the company's products, operations, and special projects for internal use, while outside motion picture production companies were contracted to produce promotional and sales films.

Although the Ford Motor Company again established an in-house Motion Picture Department in 1952, it never achieved the internal or external audience impact that it had possessed when Henry Ford was the executive producer.

On November 28, 1962, the Ford Motor Company transferred all rights to their surviving 1.5 million feet of motion pictures to the National Archives, which cataloged the films as the "Ford Motor Company Collection, ca. 1903–ca. 1954."

As an interesting side note, the year 1903 was chosen because the oldest title in the collection is *The Great Train Robbery*, which was distributed in December of that year by Edison Manufacturing Company. Thomas Edison, a close personal friend of Henry Ford, apparently gave copies of some of his early films to the Ford family at some point before his death in 1931.

Over the years, these titles found their way into the Photographic Department's film vault and were then subsequently transferred to the National Archives along with all the other motion pictures.

The series title of the collection is aptly named "Motion Picture Films Relating to the Ford Motor Company, the Henry Ford Family, Noted Personalities, Industry, and Numerous Americana and Other Subjects, ca. 1903–ca. 1954."

While these films are now owned by the American people and are copyright- and royalty-free, there are a few films in the collection that were produced by Ford contrac-

A cowboy points his revolver at the camera, from *The Great Train Robbery*, 1903.

tors that may still have copyright or other use restrictions. The Motion Picture, Sound, and Video research room staff will be glad to address any questions regarding this matter.

According to the Online Public Access (OPA) catalog at Archives.gov, there are a total of 2,425 film titles on approximately 3,215 film reels in the collection. While none of the films listed in OPA contain scene or story descriptions at this point, more than 500 of them have been digitized for your viewing pleasure.

Because of the broad scope of their subject matter and the era in which they were filmed, the motion pictures contained in the Ford Motor Company Collection provide a unique look at America's past. The moving images are truly Americana in motion, produced by the original movie mogul—Henry Ford. ■

© 2014 by Phillip W. Stewart



Phillip W. Stewart is an award-winning author and recipient of the J. Franklin Jameson Archival Advocacy Award given by the Society of American Archivists for his

work promoting motion picture film preservation and research at the National Archives. He is the author of 10 NARA-related film books and has contributed two previous articles to *Prologue*. His latest book, *Battlefilm II. More Motion Pictures of the First World War Held in the U.S. National Archives* was published in July 2014.

To learn more about . . .

- Motion picture holdings in the National Archives, go

to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/summer/.

- World War I films, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/summer/.
- Film preservation at the National Archives, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2014/fall/.

From the National Archives and Topics Entertainment "U.S. MILITARY HERITAGE" Series on DVD



A collection of nine boxed sets of 4 DVDs each containing the best military history films selected by National Archives archivists from our vast motion picture holdings

Available at
Walmart, BJ's,
Amazon, and
other major
retailers
nationwide,
as well as at
selected National
Archives
Museum Shops.



- **U.S. Army: Epic Battles in History**, seven films on World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars. Features the Oscar-winning film "The True Glory" and the Academy Award®-nominated World War II film "Baptism of Fire."
- **U.S. Air Forces: Top Guns of WWII**, 10 films, many starring iconic Hollywood actors, including Ronald Reagan, Clark Gable, Burgess Meredith, Jimmy Stewart, and others.
- **U.S. Navy: War in the Pacific**, nine films highlighting the Pacific campaign during World War II. Features John Ford's Academy Award®-winning masterpieces "The Battle of Midway" and the rare extended version of "December 7th."
- **U.S. Marines: Bloodiest Battles**, 11 films on World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars. Features actual film of the Battle of Angaur, U.S. Marines landing at Inchon, and of combat operations and air strikes in Vietnam.
- **WWII: Rampage Across Europe**, eight films focusing on U.S. involvement in the European campaign. Features Academy-Award®-winning film "The True Glory" on the Allied invasion and conquest of Western Europe, as well as John

Huston's controversial war film "The Battle of San Pietro."

- **WWII: Combat in the Pacific**, 12 films covering U.S. efforts in the Pacific Theater. Features John Ford's short film on the attacks on Pearl Harbor and war footage of Admiral "Bull" Halsey, Admiral Chester Nimitz, General Douglas MacArthur, and Ernie Pyle.
- **WWII: Nazi Germany, the Rise & Fall**, seven films that recount the atrocities of Adolf Hitler's army. Features Academy-Award®-nominated film "Prelude to War," the Nuremberg Trials, and the startling "Death Mills."
- **Korea: Battles Not Forgotten**, 14 films examining U.S. involvement in "the Forgotten War." Features John Ford's documentary "This is Korea," rarely seen Korean War films, and footage of President Truman on the postwar state of South Korea.
- **Vietnam: Apocalypse in the Jungle**, 11 films highlighting the role of the U.S. military in this controversial war. Features the documentary "Vietnam, Vietnam," narrated by Charlton Heston, and "To Save a Soldier," narrated by Henry Fonda.

Spirited REPUBLIC

BY BRUCE I. BUSTARD

• ALCOHOL'S EVOLVING ROLE IN U.S. HISTORY •



Since the first European settlers arrived, Americans have enjoyed a drink. At times, many of us have enjoyed *a lot* of drinks. But other Americans, fearing the harm alcohol would do to society and to individuals, have tried to stop our drinking or limit who, when, and where we could consume alcohol.

These two different views of alcoholic beverages run throughout American history. Sometimes they have existed in relative peace; at other times they have been at war.

A new National Archives exhibition opening in March 2015, “Spirited Republic: Alcohol in American History,” uses National Archives documents and artifacts from the Archives and other museums and libraries to show how government programs and policies changed over time and to illustrate the wide variety of views Americans hold about alcohol.

“Good Creature of God” For Early Americans

In early America, drinking alcohol was an accepted part of everyday life at a time when water was suspect and life was hard. Drink was, in the words of Puritan minister Increase Mather, a “good creature of God.” Men, women, and even children swallowed “a healthful dram” with breakfast. Farmers took cider, beer, or whiskey into their fields. Employers gave their workers a mid-morning break for an invigorating swig. Ale accompanied supper, and a “nightcap” was typical before bed. And while drunkenness was seen as disruptive to community, social occasions such as weddings, barn raising, elections, christenings, and funerals were opportunities to indulge.



Opposite and above: The federal government's patent and trademark authority extends to labeling. These two beer labels were submitted as breweries began to ramp up production as Prohibition ended.

Alcohol was not just a beverage. It was often the first medicine a physician prescribed.

As the country grew, drinking so freely and often never faded away completely. In fact, in the early republic, Americans drank quantities we would consider astounding today. In 1790, we consumed an average of 5.8 gallons of absolute alcohol annually for each drinking-age individual. By 1830, that figure rose to 7.1 gallons! Today, in contrast, Americans consume about 2.3 gallons of absolute alcohol in a year.

Many of the records in “Spirited Republic” highlight positive associations with alcohol. As visitors enter the gallery they see a reproduction of a still used at Mount Vernon, George Washington's home. Washington ran a large distillery where he made brandy and whiskey.

YOU *Capt Thomas Proctor* of *Martineau* in the county of Essex, are hereby permitted to sell wine, rum, and other distilled spirits, or any of said liquors, within the western district of said county, until the *first* — day of *January* one thousand seven hundred and *eighty Ninty* in a quantity not less than ten gallons to be delivered at one and the same time; and are also permitted to sell any other excised articles in said district, for the term aforesaid, pursuant to an act of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Dated at *Martineau* this *first* — day of *January*
A. D. 17*90*

Richard Morris

{ Collector Exc. West. Dist.
Essex County.

In the early republic, regulating the sale of alcohol was largely a state and local matter. This 1790 permit to sell liquor is from Essex County, Massachusetts.

Visitors can also examine a list of liquors delivered to the Navy during the Revolutionary War, an 1803 receipt for kegs of “strong wine” signed by Meriwether Lewis for the Lewis and Clark expedition to the West, and a 1790 permit to sell liquor in Essex County, Massachusetts.

Other records detail the use of alcohol by the military and the government support given to alcohol-related businesses, inventors, and entrepreneurs. An 1885 list of “stimulants” from Fort Snelling, Minnesota, notes who was prescribed alcohol, as well as the amount and type of drink. A patent drawing for a still by Eli Barnum and Benjamin Brooks and another for pasteurizing beer, by A. A. Busch—founder of the Anheuser Busch brewing company—are displayed. An 1898 letter from a distiller to the American consulate in Oman asks about finding markets for whiskey in that country, only to be told that there was little possibility of selling alcohol in that Muslim nation.

Demonizing Drink

Picks Up in the 1800s

Even while many Americans were drinking more, others were sounding warnings about

the dangers of drink. Some religious groups in the early republic were concerned about excessive drinking, and the first U.S. temperance organization was founded in 1808. By the mid-19th century, hundreds of local temperance societies preached moderation and pledged abstinence from distilled spirits. In response, between 1840 and 1860—when the temperance movement was most active—per person alcohol consumption per year fell dramatically, down to about 3.5 gallons.

By the late 19th century, support for prohibition—totally banning the manufacture and sale of alcohol—surpassed temperance sentiment. Prohibition found support especially among rural evangelical Protestants, as well as with urban businessmen concerned with improving worker productivity and reliability. Women activists, concerned with protecting the home and family, formed a key part of this powerful coalition.

Support for temperance and prohibition as well as concern about alcohol abuse are represented in “Spirited Republic” through petitions, product labels, letters, and hospital records.

An enormous 1843 petition arguing for an end to the Navy’s “spirit ration” measures over 10 feet long and contains the signatures of almost 400 individuals. Its signers agreed that “the use of intoxicating liquors . . . creates and confirms vicious appetites, fosters habits of intemperance, and vice, [and] predisposes the human system to disease.”

An 1827 extract from a letter to Congress from leaders of the Mohican-Stockbridge tribe makes clear one of the reasons the tribe agreed to resettlement from New York to what is now Wisconsin was to “flee from” what they described as “the alarming savages of Spirituous liquors” in their community.

The plight of “dipsomaniacs”—a 19th-century term for alcoholics—inspired sympathy and supposed cures, and many products were sold that claimed to help individuals stop drinking. This growing sympathy can be seen by viewing a label for Leslie E. Keeley’s “Double Chloride of Gold Cure for Drunkenness,” the most popular cure for alcohol abuse during the late 19th century. A page from a register of patients at St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C., listing

patients suffering from dipsomania, also testifies to the growing understanding of alcoholism as a medical problem.

While many immigrants and labor organizations opposed prohibition, groups like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, formed in 1872, and the Anti-Saloon League, founded in 1893, pushed several states and localities to restrict alcohol sales. Nationally, prohibitionists rode wider waves of reform that benefited from the drive for woman suffrage and from World War I. In 1919, Congress ratified a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The original Joint Resolution for the 18th Amendment will be shown for six months in "Spirited Republic."

Could America Become A Sober Republic?

Prohibitionists believed that the ratification of the 18th Amendment would be cheerfully accepted by the American people. At first, it seemed they might be right. Consumption of alcohol declined, as did alcohol-related crime and deaths from alcoholism. Sales of grape juice and soft drinks rose. Brewers marketed nonalcoholic beer.

But America was far from dry.

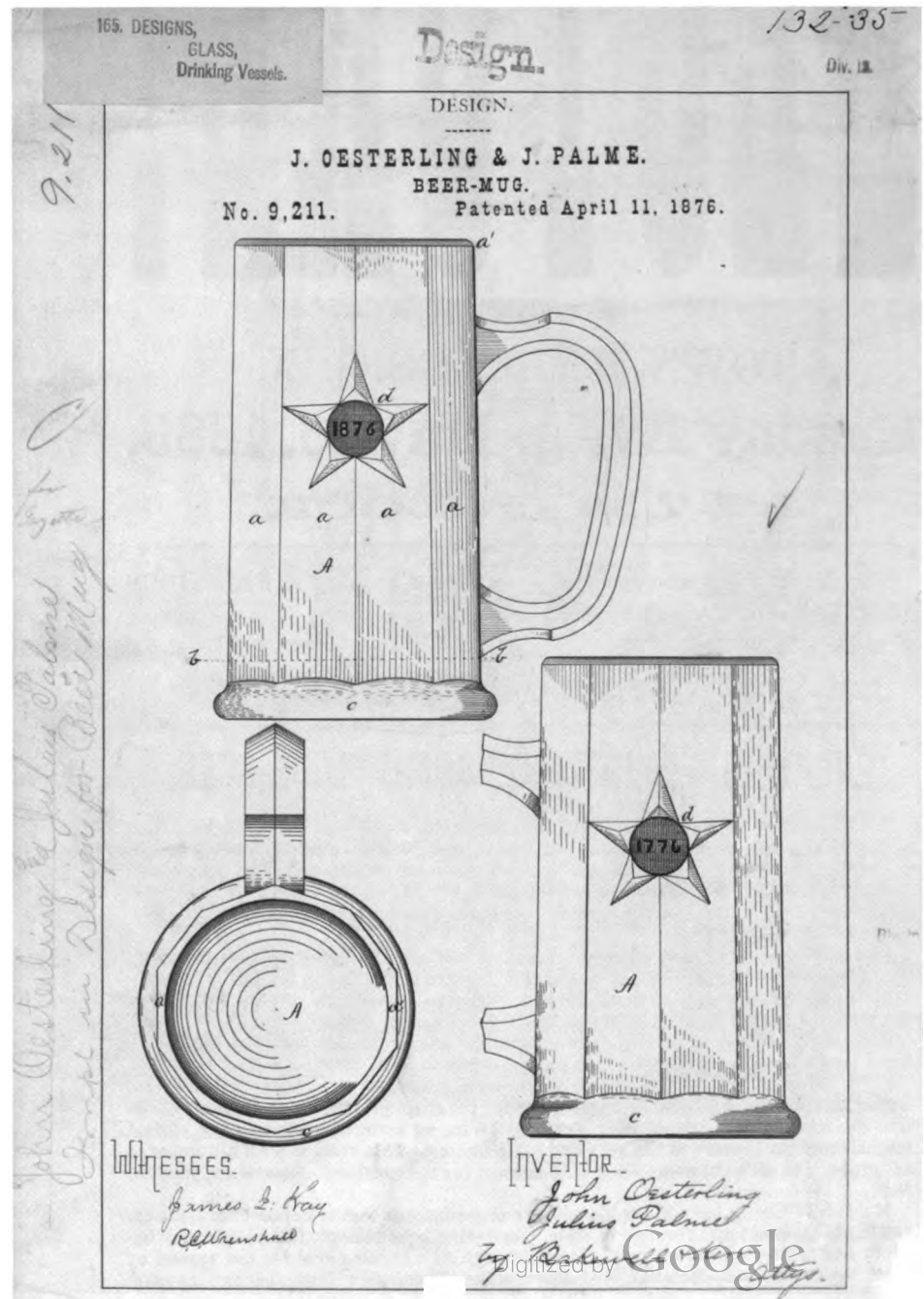
Those who wanted booze found legal and not-so-legal ways to get it. They began brewing beer or making wine at home or exploited other exceptions provided by the law, such as prescriptions for medicinal alcohol and home brewing. After the first few years of Prohibition, illegal manufacturing, importation, and sale of alcohol became big business, run by organized crime. In some states and cities federal Prohibition laws were ignored by local authorities.

Because of the federal responsibility for enforcement, "Spirited Republic" draws from an enormous number of National Archives records for its Prohibition section. Exhibited documents include a prescription for medicinal whiskey, an advertisement for beer-making equipment, and a color-coded map of one Prohibition district showing a county-by-county depiction of public sentiments toward

Inall Whelan Esq *Phlad. June 1st 1803*
for Cap Lewis - Do. of David Jackson
30 Gallons Strong Sp. Wine @ 233 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ \$ 70.00
6 Iron Bound Kegs @ 1.20 7.20
\$ 77.20

Duplicate, Received the above articles.
Meriwether Lewis
Capt. 1st U.S. Regt Inf.

Above: Kegs of "strong wine" were an important provision for Lewis and Clark's western expedition. Members of the expedition not only drank the wine, they also used it to trade with Native Americans. Below: John Osterling and Julius Palme patented this beer mug design in 1876 to commemorate the centennial of the Declaration of Independence.



UNION TEMPERANCE MEETING.

"Here's the Pledge, Oh, come and sign it, sign and keep it true,
Leave the cup, there's poison in it, misery and woe."

HON. ELIJAH A. MORSE

Of Canton, Mass., State Senator, will give a Free

TEMPERANCE

LECTURE!

—IN—

TOWN HALL, BERLIN,

Sunday Eve'g, May 16, 1886,

AT 7.30 O'CLOCK.

MR. MORSE has also accepted an invitation to give a **RELIGIOUS ADDRESS** at the Congregational Church, Sunday morning, at the usual hour of service, 10.30.

Subject: "BLESSINGS OF THE GOSPEL FROM A BUSINESS STANDPOINT," Continued.

EVERYBODY IS INVITED. ADMITTANCE FREE.

Before the Des Moines Reform Club, Sunday night, there was delivered by Elijah A. Morse (proprietor of the Rising Sun Black Lead Works, Canton, Mass.) one of the best lectures that has ever entertained a Des Moines audience. The Tabernacle was filled to its utmost capacity, but from the beginning of the lecture to the close, the speaker held his audience entranced by his eloquence, anecdotes, and logic.—*Register, Des Moines, Iowa.*

The gentleman is a fluent, agreeable speaker, and held the immense audience spell-bound for over one hour, by one of the best lectures ever made in the hall. The brilliant Massachusetts orator spoke from a Christian standpoint. At the conclusion forty came forward and signed the pledge.—*Local Option Democrat, Baltimore, Md.*

Hon. Elijah A. Morse, of Massachusetts, made a powerful, eloquent and logical address, and a large number signed the pledge.—*National Republican, Washington, D.C.*

Elliot Hall was crowded last Sunday by an audience attracted by the fact that Elijah A. Morse was to deliver a lecture under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association of Newton. Mr. Morse spoke for an hour, commanding the closest attention of his hearers to the very end. He impressed his hearers with his power as an orator, and all went away filled with respect for the speaker.—*Republican, Newton, Mass.*

We should like to have given his address verbatim, but that is impossible. He is exceedingly eloquent and forcible in style, convincing in argument, full of splendid imagery and telling anecdotes, and evinces through all a burning zeal for the spread of total abstinence and Christianity.—*Metropolitan Temperance Hall Journal, London, England.*

The first U.S. temperance organization was founded in 1808. By the mid-19th century, hundreds of local temperance societies preached moderation and pledged abstinence from distilled spirits.

making, selling, and possessing alcohol. There are also a variety of photographs and films showing federal enforcement efforts such as raids on bars and Coast Guard confiscation of illegal booze.

A display of original Prohibition Bureau ID cards allows visitors to understand the careers of agents such as "Izzy" Einstein, who, along with his partner, Moe Smith, arrested over 5,000 offenders and had a 95-percent conviction rate, and Daisy Simpson, the famous "lady hooch hunter" who used a variety of disguises in her undercover investigations.

By the early 1930s, Prohibition's modification or even repeal—once considered a fantasy—became politically possible. In the midst of the Great Depression, Americans were fed up with the skyrocketing cost of enforcement and were anxious to find ways to bolster the economy and respect for the law. The nation reversed course and moved toward an acceptance of alcohol, eventually ratifying a 21st Amendment to repeal the 18th. The campaign for repeal is documented through records such as publications, letters, and posters from repeal advocates.

Conditional Acceptance Grows after Prohibition

In 1933 Americans enthusiastically celebrated the end of Prohibition. In many cities, crowds filled the streets and bars opened their doors to a rush of customers. Anti-alcohol advocates still carried political clout at state and local levels, but there would be no return to national prohibition. Instead, a patchwork of local laws regulated aspects of alcohol policy such as Sunday sales, drinking age, and where, when, and in what form people could buy or drink.

The federal government again benefited from alcohol taxes and continued its patent and trademark functions, but other-

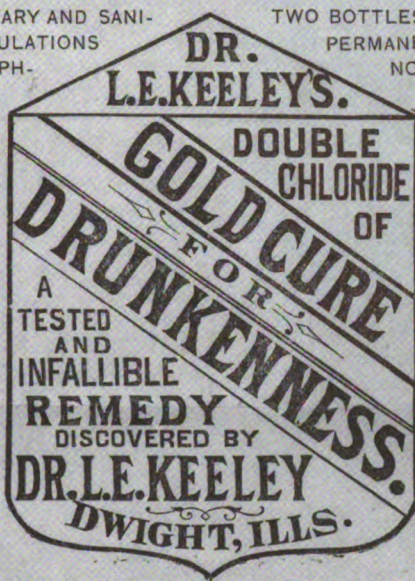
In justice to the discoverer and as a service to humanity the consumer is requested to break this bottle when empty, in order to prevent its being refilled with a worthless mixture. The **Double Chloride of Gold Cure** is the result of a scientific chemical process, and is so prepared, under Dr. Leslie E. Keeley's personal supervision, that it can in no way act injuriously upon the patient. By complying with the above request the consumer will confer a benefit on humanity, as the use of a worthless imitation would bring discredit on this valuable remedy.

CAUTION.

READ DIETARY AND SANITARY REGULATIONS IN MY PAMPHLET.

NONE GENUINE UNLESS THE SIGNATURE OF "LESLIE E. KEELEY, M. D.," IS PASTED ACROSS THE CORK.

SHAKE WELL BEFORE USING.



TWO BOTTLES EFFECT A PERMANENT CURE. NOS. 1 AND 2, PRICE, \$9.

THE GOLD CURE MUST BE TAKEN IMPLICITLY ACCORDING TO THE DIRECTIONS, IN ORDER TO EFFECT A CURE. SHAKE WELL BEFORE USING.

DIRECTIONS.

The medicine must be taken in teaspoonful doses, in half a glass of water, at least six times a day, and oftener if the desire to drink is intense. The first dose must be taken immediately on getting out of bed in the morning, the last dose just before getting into bed at night, and the other four before meals and between meals. If the medicine makes the patient sick at the stomach the first day or two, he must *reduce* the dose to half a teaspoonful till the sickness passes off; then gradually *increase* the dose to a teaspoonful as soon as possible.

PREPARED ONLY AT THE LABORATORY OF
DR. LESLIE E. KEELEY,
DWIGHT, ILL.

Leslie Keeley's "gold cure" was the late 19th century's most commercially successful remedy for alcoholism. Patients at "Keeley Institutes" around the country received injections of his serum four times daily, while others received oral doses through the mail.



Employees of Renault pose in front of their champagne vaults at Egg Harbor, New Jersey, in 1910.

CLOSE THE SALOONS



This World War I-era poster shows an avenging female figure striking out against the liquor trade.

Sometimes called the “lady hooch hunter,” Prohibition Bureau agent Daisy Simpson was known for her acting ability and her skill at disguises, which allowed her to pose as a variety of characters and attempt to buy liquor at speakeasies, hotels, and restaurants.

wise restricted its role to warning about the dangers of alcohol abuse, researching alcoholism, and investigating problems such as drunk driving.

By the end of the 20th century, the noisy political battles of earlier decades had quieted. Americans, while still sometimes uneasy with alcohol, grew comfortable with the idea that drinking was an individual's choice. Alcohol was again an accepted part of American life.

Film and photographs in “Spirited Republic” show the wild celebratory mood that accompanied the end of Prohibition, but other examples of change can be seen in the exhibit's display of 39 labels for beer, spirits, and wine submitted to the Patent and Trademark Office in 1933 and 1934—just before and after the 18th Amendment was repealed. These labels show the alcohol industry preparing to produce old favorites and introduce new brands.

A shift in attitudes toward alcohol between the First and Second World Wars is documented by a display of two military cables. Concern about the morals of World War I servicemen had helped pass Prohibition, but when America entered World War II, prohibitionists hoped history would repeat itself, and they campaigned unsuccessfully to restrict



To learn more about...

- Exhibits at the National Archives, go to www.archives.gov/exhibits/.
- Teaching about the Volstead Act and Prohibition with Archives documents, go to www.archives.gov/education/lessons/volstead-act/activities.html.
- Prohibition and the rise of gangsters, go to <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue/?p=8258>.



A well-stocked bar in Los Angeles, California, awaits the end of Prohibition in 1933.

wartime alcohol manufacture and ban drinking around military bases. Instead, as these cables attest, alcohol was seen as providing a release after battle. Beer was shipped overseas, and the government set up breweries in Europe and in the Pacific when shortages occurred there.

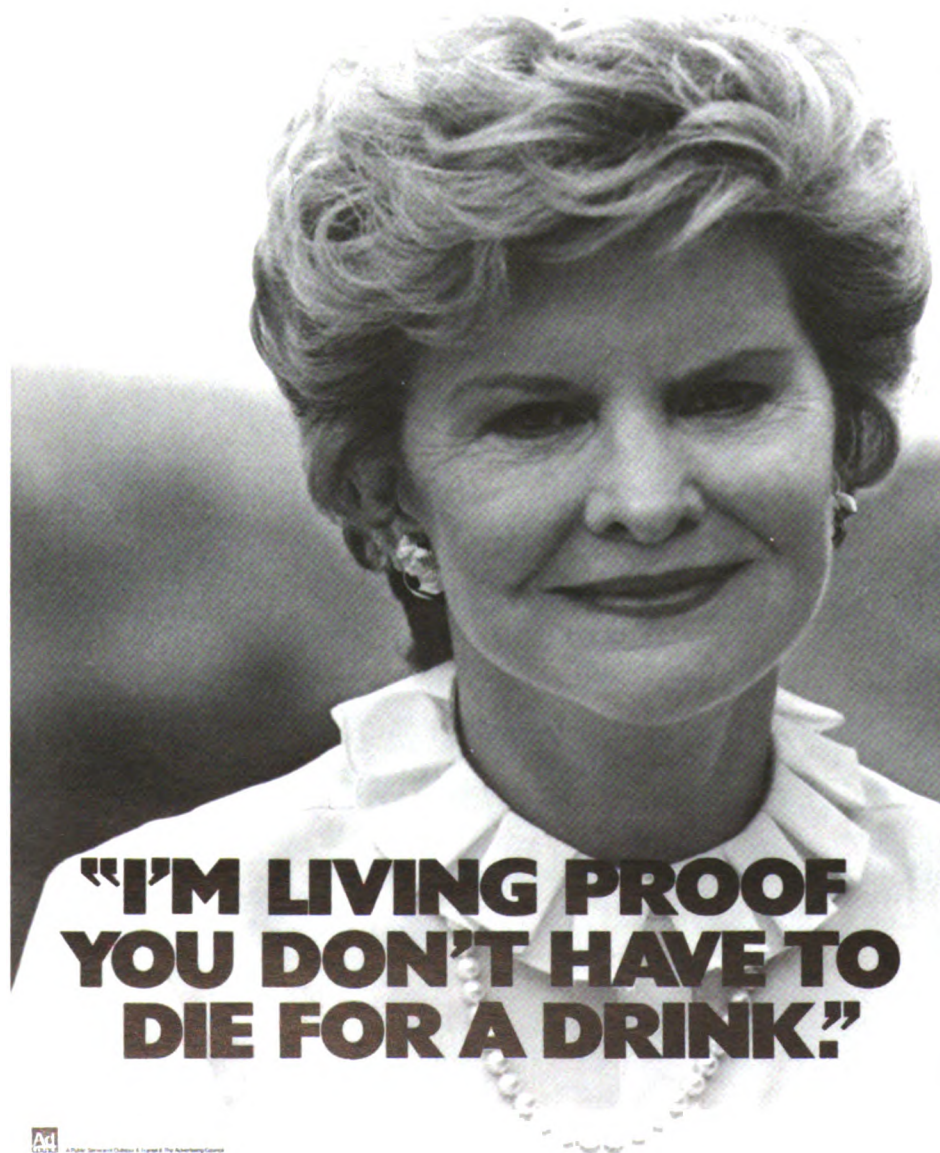
While there were still millions of abstainers, by the mid-20th century Americans became more tolerant of moderate alcohol use, and alcohol manufacturers promoted “responsible” drinking. We also worried about the societal costs and individual trage-

dies associated with alcoholism and alcohol-related crime.

More recent documentation in the exhibit highlights these concerns by exhibiting an early version of a breathalyzer—called a “drunkometer,” a first edition of the 12-step guide *Alcoholics Anonymous*, written by “Bill W,” the co-founder of the self-help group of the same name, and a letter from country music star Johnny Cash to First Lady Betty Ford, describing his struggle for sobriety.

“Spirited Republic” closes with a brief look at alcohol and the modern presidency.

When former First Lady Betty Ford publicly acknowledged her addiction to alcohol and prescription painkillers, her honesty brought greater awareness to these diseases and inspired others to face up to their addictions.



After the Prohibition era, alcohol once again became an accepted part of the President’s social and diplomatic agenda.

While modern Presidents still deal with alcohol policy such as drunk driving or mental health legislation, they are more often involved in diplomatic and social rituals that feature alcohol, such as toasting, dinners, and gift giving. Presidential gifts such as a decanter given to President Ronald Reagan and the glasses used by President Gerald Ford and Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union at their 1975 meeting in Helsinki, Finland, illustrate this acceptance.

“Spirited Republic” will be on display in the Lawrence F. O’Brien Gallery at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C., from March 6, 2015, through January 10, 2016. An eBook of the exhibition will be available through the iTunes bookstore.



In 2004 the Department of Health and Human Services created this Spanish-language poster warning of the dangers of fetal alcohol syndrome.



Author

Bruce I. Bustard is senior curator at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. He was curator for “Searching for the Seventies” and for “Attachments: Faces and Stories from America’s Gates” in 2012. He was lead researcher for the “Discovering the Civil War” exhibition in 2010.

MEMBERSHIP



Join today! archivesfoundation.org/membership

Be a part of the Foundation's mission to inspire citizens to explore the past and cultivate a deeper understanding of our civic history and civic responsibility. Members of the Foundation for the National Archives help fund cutting-edge exhibits, interactive educational activities, and high-profile public programs. In return, members enjoy special recognition and privileges, including these core benefits, plus the benefits listed under each level below:

- **Special access.** Personalized membership card giving you priority admission to the National Archives Museum and free admission to Presidential Libraries and Museums nationwide
- **Advance notice.** Receive email updates on upcoming programs and activities
- **Discounts.** 10% discount year-round, plus additional seasonal discounts, at the myArchives Store in Washington, DC, and online at myarchivesstore.org
- **Publications.** Subscription to *Prologue*, the National Archives' quarterly magazine
- **Reserved seating.** Access to members-only reserved seating in the William G. McGowan Theater at public programs

National Member (\$60)

Core membership benefits, plus:

- One reusable guest pass to the National Archives Museum
- Invitations to attend members-only events at the Archives throughout the year
- \$10 gift card to spend at myarchivesstore.org

Explorer (\$100) - Best value for families!

Core membership benefits, plus:

- Four reusable guest passes to the National Archives Museum
- Advance registration for activity days at the Learning Center, National Archives sleepovers, and other family programs
- Scavenger hunt for your first visit of the National Archives Museum, perfect for ages 8 and up
- Invitations to attend special members-only events at the Archives throughout the year

FOUNDERS COUNCIL

Madison (\$250)

Core membership benefits, plus:

- Six reusable guest passes to the National Archives Museum
- One personalized guided tour of the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom
- Invitations to attend exhibit openings and members-only events at the Archives throughout the year

Jefferson (\$500)

Core membership benefits, plus:

- All the benefits at the \$250 level, plus:
- VIP reserved seating in the William G. McGowan Theater at public programs
- Reproduction of a significant historical record selected by the Foundation

Washington (\$1,000)

Core membership benefits, plus:

- All the benefits at the \$500 level, plus:
- Invitations to attend special receptions prior to public programs throughout the year
- Invitation to the July 4th *Promise of America* breakfast and priority seating on the portico for the ceremonial reading of the Declaration of Independence

Signers Circle (\$5,000)

For more exclusive membership opportunities, consider joining our Signers Circle and experience the historical records of the National Archives in a unique way.

Featured benefits for Signers Circle members:

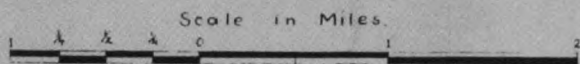
- "Off-the-record" luncheons in the Archivist's Reception Room
- Invitation for two to the annual Gala dinner
- Private tours of the National Archives Museum
- Personal family history research support

To become a member, visit us online at archivesfoundation.org/membership or call the Membership Office at 202-357-5946.

QUALLA BOUNDARY

CHEROKEE INDIAN RESERVATION

N.C.



- LEGEND**
- Trunk Highway.
 - Secondary Roads.
 - Railway.
 - Riages.
 - Creeks.
 - Reservation Line.
 - County Line.
 - Township Line.
 - Lookout Tower.
 - Telephone Line.
 - Picnic Grounds.
 - Bridges.
 - Horse Trails.
 - Truck Trail Under Construction.



'I GOT TO DO SOMETHING TO KEEP MY FAMILY UP'

The CCC-Indian Division Offers a New Deal for the Eastern Band of Cherokees

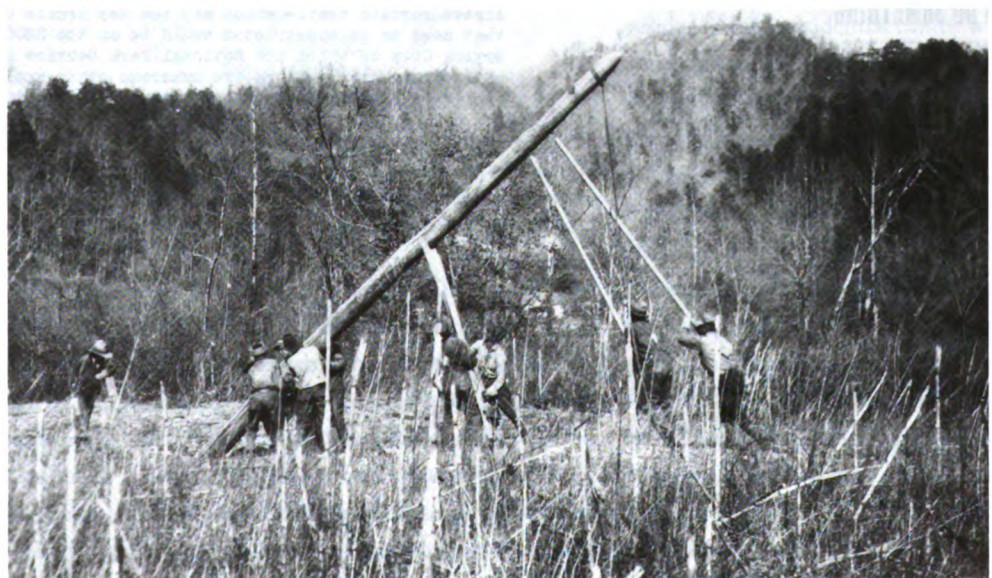
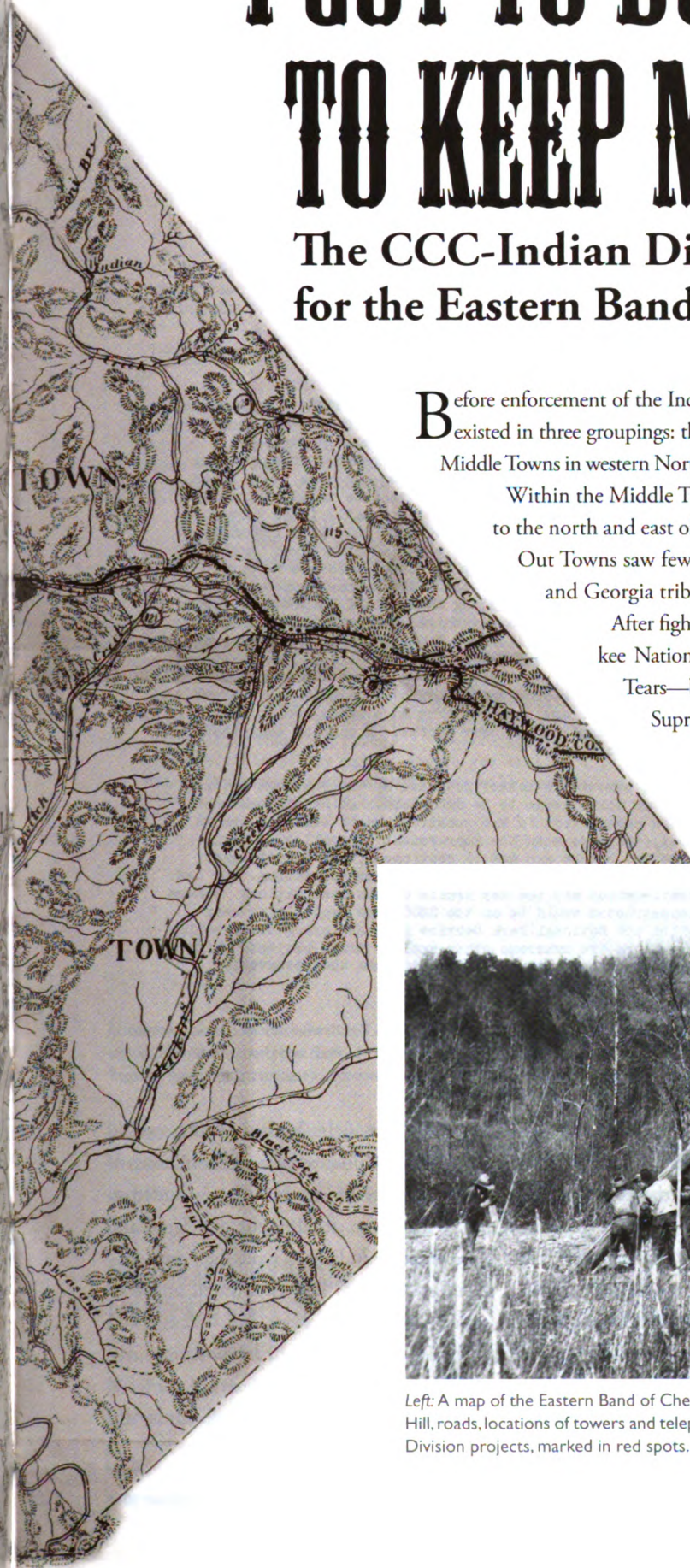
By *Mattea V. Sanders*

Before enforcement of the Indian Removal Act between 1836 and 1839, the Cherokee Nation existed in three groupings: the Lower Towns along the Savannah River in South Carolina, the Middle Towns in western North Carolina, and the Upper or Overhill towns in eastern Tennessee.

Within the Middle Towns a fourth group existed: the Out Towns, who were located to the north and east of the rest of the tribe. During the early years of the republic, the Out Towns saw few changes in relation to their fellow South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia tribal members.

After fighting the state of Georgia in federal court and winning, the Cherokee Nation was forcibly moved west—what is now known as the Trail of Tears—because of President Andrew Jackson's unwillingness to uphold the Supreme Court's decision in *Worcester v. State of Georgia*.

The high court ruled, in effect, that Georgia had no jurisdiction in Cherokee territory, and that only the national government had authority in Indian affairs. Therefore, the Indian



Left: A map of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Reservation, 1934, shows the towns of Wolf Town and Yellow Hill, roads, locations of towers and telephone lines, and sites where Eastern Band members worked on CCC-Indian Division projects, marked in red spots. Above: Workers raise a pole on the Cherokee Soco telephone line.

Removal Act of 1830 gave Jackson the power to negotiate removal treaties, which he did in 1835 with the Treaty of New Echota with the written consent of only 500 of the thousands of Cherokee tribal members. This treaty forced the Cherokee Nation to relocate to lands west of the Mississippi.

However, members of the Middle and Out Towns renounced their tribal membership and retained their lands along the rivers adjacent to the Great Smoky Mountains because of legislation by the state of North Carolina in 1783. These parcels of land, and the peoples who settled on them known as Qualla Indians, became the nucleus of what is now the reservation of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians.

By the dawn of the 20th century, federal policies of the late 19th century had taken their toll on Native populations. Many reservations were rife with poverty, widespread alcoholism, and a high infant mortality rate. Because of their already poor situation, the Great Depression had little effect on Native communities. The Eastern Band of Cherokees, long suffering from poverty and a lack economic opportunity, soon found economic opportunity through the Indian New Deal.

"I GOT TO DO SOMETHING TO KEEP MY FAMILY UP"

"I want you to let me know [about] this job down there on ECW [Emergency Conservation Work] in Snowbird," wrote an Eastern Band tribal member to the superintendent in charge of the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) agency on the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians reservation in 1935. "And I hear that they were able to use a couple more and I am asking you to let me have a job and I don't mean maybe. And I want you to let me know as soon as possible. I got to do something to keep my family up."

The writer had heard about the work opportunities and wages earned by other members on the reservation through the Emergency Conser-

Eastern Cherokee

**UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
FIELD SERVICE**

Cherokee Indian Agency,
Cherokee, North Carolina,
May 10, 1933.

Mr. J. P. Kinney,
Indian Office,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kinney:

I have your letter of May 2, 1933, regarding the proposal to establish a camp on this reservation in connection with the reforestation projects initiated by President Roosevelt.

Our first intimation that such a step was in contemplation came through newspaper announcements some time ago. We did not take that very seriously as our newspapers do not always get things straight, but it occurred to us at that time that the establishment of camps here for Indians would be an unnecessary expense. They all have their homes convenient to the localities in which the work that we would propose to do is to be found. It would simplify the matter greatly if we were furnished a couple of trucks to convey the workers and their implements from their homes to the locality where the work is being done. Another thought that occurred to us is that it would not be possible to get 200 Indians for this kind of work under the instructions proposed according to our information for enlisting them, and I am not in favor of taking that many Indians, or even a much smaller number, and placing them in camps now. Practically all of our Indians are actively engaged at the present time in planting and caring for their crops. To take any large number of them away from these farming activities at the present time and put them in a camp would simply perpetuate their trouble through the next winter. We are pressing them to produce enough food and feed this summer to support them next winter. A camp as suggested would prevent such a result.

I am sending you herewith a letter prepared by Mr. Robinson setting forth some of the work which needs to be done here. As he states, our biggest need on this reservation is the construction of suitable trails and telephone lines, together with the improvement of small side roads so that automobiles and trucks can get to sections of our forest lands which are otherwise inaccessible for this type of transportation. He has listed certain trails which are the key trails on the reservation. Others that need to be constructed would be on the 3200 Acre Tract lying near Bryson City on which the National Park Service is considering the erection of another tower. There are numerous other smaller trail projects which should be developed at the same time in order to make the reservation

In May 1933 Agency Superintendent R. L. Spalsbury urged that Eastern Band workers not be organized in residential work camps. He argued that they could be transported to work sites, and that they should be allowed to maintain their crops to "produce enough food and feed this summer to support them next winter."

vation Work (ECW), or the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID).

The CCC-ID work that the Eastern Band member was so desperately seeking was a part of the Indian New Deal, the brainchild of John Collier, an American social reformer who was heavily involved in the American Indian Defense Association and became FDR's choice for commissioner of Indian affairs.

Seeking to promote tribal self-determina-

tion, Collier sought legislation that would allow Native nations to be semiautonomous of the federal government. His plans included an end to allotment, funding for new land, and permission for Indians to write their own constitutions for local self-government and economic corporations.

While these policies had both positive and negative effects for Native Americans nationally, locally Collier's programs did

Reforestation
Circular **REC'D OFFICE**
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

JUN 9 - 1933

COMR. IND. AFFRS.

FIELD SERVICE
Indian School
Cherokee, N. C.

June 6, 1933.

Mr. John Collier,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have just received your circular letter of May 24, 1933 concerning emergency Conservation work on Indian reservations. I am not undertaking to answer that letter at this time but I do wish to take this opportunity to express my hearty agreement with the first sentence of that letter which reads as follows: "As a general policy, it is the desire of the Indian Service to place as much responsibility on the Indian Tribal Organizations as possible."

For years I have felt that much of the dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians has been due to the fact that programs were announced without consulting them and I have previously expressed this thought in reports now on file in your office. Since assuming charge of the affairs of this agency I have encouraged the Tribal council and the chiefs to assume as much responsibility as possible. In every case they have responded well and we are constantly placing more and more reliance on these men who are the duly elected representatives of the band.

We have also recently organized a guild among them to handle and market their handicrafts. In this they will be given all the responsibility possible with such safeguards as any prudent business man would throw around an organization handling funds. Accordingly we feel quite elated that you have announced this policy and we assure you that at this agency your policy has our entire sympathy and accord. We will continue along those lines with considerably more satisfaction now.

Sincerely yours,


R. L. Spelsbury
Superintendent

Superintendent Spelsbury wrote of tribal dissatisfaction at not being consulted in the past, and was "elated" about Commissioner John Collier's policy in June 1933 "to place as much responsibility for planning on the Indian Tribal Organizations as possible."

change tribes, individual Native lives, and the relationship of tribes to the federal government.

CREATING AN INDIAN DIVISION FOR THE NEW DEAL'S CCC

Collier created the CCC-ID through the Wheeler-Howard Act, which passed in June 1934. Collier had appealed to President

Franklin D. Roosevelt for a separate unit of the CCC to aid American Indians. The original Civilian Conservation Corps was meant to provide employment for single men between the ages of 18 and 25.

The goal of the CCC was to take young men out of the breadlines and place them in healthy outdoor working environments where they would perform conservation-related work. The CCC did not serve Ameri-

can Indians, however, because state quotas dictated how many men could enroll.

As a result of the limited slots available, states did not include American Indians in their enrollment. The CCC-ID functioned out of the Office of Indian Affairs under Collier. He and his agency assumed total responsibility for administration, enrollment, work planning, and work supervision as well as day-to-day operations for the Indian CCC projects.

The central tenet of the CCC-ID was simple: self-sufficiency.

If the government gave Indian men the necessary skills, the tribes could be more successful in the future. CCC-ID camps had more influence from local communities than regular CCC camps did. The reservation's tribal council and chief—in cooperation with the Office of Indian Affairs Superintendent, not the U.S. Army—managed the camps and the work.

Issues such as pay rates, however, went through the main CCC-ID administration in Washington rather than the tribal council.

Unlike the CCC, the ages of the enrollees in the CCC-ID could be between 17 and 35, and they could be married. CCC-ID camps were also structured differently. There were camps with single men, camps where married men with their families could reside, and nonresidential camps where men were allowed to live at home with their families and travel to work. The most common of the three were the nonresidential camps where men lived at home with their families.

The CCC-ID ended July 2, 1943, after serving 85,000 Native American men, 67 reservations, and costing \$72 million.

THE EASTERN BAND GETS ITS OWN CCC-ID

The Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division program with the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians began in 1933.

The Eastern Band CCC-ID conducted projects on the reservation and in parts of

PROGRESS REPORT - February, March, April & May, 1934

Emergency Indian Conservation work ended its 11th month on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation with the close of the working month of May with 6 miles of telephone lines, 150 man days fighting forest fires, 25 miles of truck trails, seven miles of horse trails and seventy five check dams in erosion control, completed. For the first six months of this period only 100 men were on the pay roll at one time, but now, with the consent of the Washington Office the quota has showly been increased so that now we are working nearly two hundred men at a time. During the first two enrollment periods \$44,712.40 was spent for payroll, which included team hire, subsistence and computation, \$3,981.64 was spent for supervising and facilitating personnel and \$1,759.10 was spent for the purchase of heavy equipment.

Office letter of January 5th authorized this agency to erect a garage and storage shed for our equipment from A. C. W. funds. Work was started on this building the first part of February. On March 7th, while the men were busily putting the finishing touches on this new structure, it collapsed injuring six men. These men were treated at the agency hospital. One received compound fractures of the leg and was later sent to the Veterans Hospital at Olean, N.C., for care and treatment. With the exception of this man, the other injured men are up and able to get about. Two men have been discharged from the hospital as their injuries have completely healed. When this accident happened, the Superintendent wired Washington concerning it and requested an investigation be made for the probable cause. Mr. C. A. Leech, Construction Engineer, was sent here. He thoroughly investigated the case, and forwarded his report to the Washington Office. All lumber from the building has been cleared and piled up, awaiting the necessary authority to rebuild.

During the first part of February, Mr. B. C. Courtright, Special Agent, visited this agency, and inspected the records and work of the ECW.

The Project Manager, Gwenn Denton, was relieved from duty at the closing of the working day of April 30th, as per Office recommendations. The present personnel ~~xxx~~ set-up is as follows:

R. L. Spalsbury, Supt.			
W. N. Robinson, Production Supervisor.		W. C. Martin, Deputy Special Officer.	
H. N. Clark, Road Supervisor for PWA Roads, (Employed equally from ECW & PW Roads funds for route loca- tions.	1 Clerical Assistant		5 Leaders
			100 enrolled
			men ~~work~~
	1 Camp Manager		1 Mechanic
	1 Cook	2 Group foreman	2 Tractor
		(50 enrolled men	Operators.
	6 helpers	each)	

By early 1934, according to a progress report, over 200 Eastern Band men were at work at the camp on dams, trails, telephone lines, and at fighting forest fires. An organizational chart of the managers, headed by Superintendent R. L. Spalsbury, is included.

the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The nonresidential camp worked best for the Eastern Band because the men lived so close to their work sites, and they needed to maintain their small farms while still working for the CCC-ID.

The Eastern Band administration did not establish residential camps for fear of disrupting the economic, social, and cul-

tural lives of the enrollees. R. L. Spalsbury, the superintendent of the Office of Indian Affairs agency in Cherokee, wrote to J. P. Kinney, the director of the CCC-ID in Washington, D.C.:

Practically all of our Indians are actively engaged at the present time in planting and caring for their crops. To

take any large number of them away from these farming activities at the present time and put them in a camp would simply perpetuate their trouble through the next winter.

The CCC-ID was the only New Deal program that supported Native American communities. For the Eastern Band, the CCC-ID brought major changes that radically affected the reservation and left legacies that still resonate today, such as wages, labor, tourism, and revitalized lost traditions.

ADMINISTRATION SEEKS TO SHIFT MORE AUTHORITY TO TRIBAL COUNCILS

The Cherokee CCC-ID functioned through the superintendent of the agency, who was appointed by Collier; the tribal council; a small administrative staff; and 20 hired Eastern Band members who worked in staff positions such as foreman, sub-foreman, tractor operator, trail locator, stone mason, and clerk stenographer.

Spalsbury, who was both the first superintendent of the Eastern Band CCC-ID and superintendent of the Office of Indian Affairs in the Eastern Band, wrote openly about the past issues of the office in particular and the federal government in general: "For years, I have felt that much of the dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians has been due to the fact that programs were announced without consulting them."

In an effort to correct this oversight, the superintendent consulted with the Eastern Band by calling an annual meeting of the tribal council to discuss the proposed CCC-ID projects for the coming year. The superintendent at Cherokee understood that tribal self-governance took time and that the federal government should transition gradually. In a letter to Collier, he noted with "delight your agreement with the general policy of placing as much responsibility on the Indian Tribal Organizations in so far as this emergency work is concerned."

Collier also emphasized placing responsibility on the Native nations for managing programs and approving projects and appropriations. In a letter to the superintendent of the OIA agency for the Eastern Band, Collier described what he expected: "encourage the Tribal council and the chiefs to assume as much responsibility as possible."

The CCC-ID also hoped to strengthen the tribal government structure of the Eastern Band. Collier wrote extensively about the importance of placing responsibility on the tribal structure. For the Eastern Band, the CCC-ID promoted responsibility within the tribal government by hiring the chief, Jarrett Blythe, as the "additional sub-foreman that will place additional responsibility on the Indians themselves."

Their choice to make him the sub-foreman reinforced his authority as chief. By becoming an integral part of the program, Blythe demonstrated his personal and professional approval of the program. Bringing the tribal governmental structure into their own program gave the CCC-ID more power within the reservation. This way of using the Eastern Band to gain social and cultural approval for the program occurred especially in relation to the labor practices of the CCC-ID.

CCC-ID'S LABOR PRACTICES COME UNDER SCRUTINY

The superintendent of the Eastern Band OIA wanted to promote an economically sustainable and self-determined Eastern Band through creating opportunities for wage labor. Although the recruits of the CCC-ID received half the pay that those in the traditional CCC did, the administration of the CCC-ID wished to give as much work and income to as many enrollees as possible.

With the establishment of the CCC-ID for the Eastern Band, the superintendent received strict instructions from the director of the CCC-ID in Washington to spread

CCC-ID

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
FIELD SERVICE

Cherokee Agency
Cherokee, N.C.
February 20, 1940

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: Att: D. E. Murphy

During the two months just past, the Cherokee Indian Reservation has experienced its most severe winter in fifty-one years. Temperatures went from 10 to 20 degrees below zero (unofficial readings) . This is 20 to 30 degrees lower than normal winter temperatures. As a result of this subnormal temperature, the Indians have suffered greatly from loss of foodstuffs. Canned fruit and vegetables, potatoes and other root crops have frozen. This has all meant that a greater number than ever before have needed assistance in the way of labor on the CCC and other work projects. The Roads department was shut down during most of this time and there have been numerous cases of actual need among the Indians.

Ordinarily the CCC payroll is considerably curtailed through the winter months but under the existing conditions no such curtailment was possible and as a consequence, we shall need additional funds to carry our present enrollment to June 30. Since there is not a man on the CCC roll that does not need the work any reduction in the roll would work a serious hardship on the enrollees involved.

For the past two weeks, the weather has been a series of freezes and thaws which have raised havoc with our truck trails. Ditch lines have sloughed full, road beds have rutted, gravel surfaces have sunk out of sight. The only truck trails that have not suffered are those higher in the mountains which are still covered with snow.

In his February 20, 1940, letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Camp Superintendent C.M. Blair asked for additional payroll funds during the exceptionally cold winter that created hardships for Eastern Band families.

wages out to as many members of the Eastern Band as possible: "Projects and employment should be distributed to spread the pay to as large a proportion of the Indians needing work as possible."

One hundred and fifty men worked a month, but they were allowed to work only two weeks a month to stretch the income to as many people as possible. In many cases, this meant paying enrollees less to provide

work to more. Even when money became scarce in the OIA for the CCC-ID program, the agency made an effort to try to spread out the work. As a later superintendent of OIA agency for the Eastern Band wrote to Collier:

From the standpoint of relief for the Indians, the situation is not encouraging. Our average CCC-ID payroll for

the past six months has been \$3,970.86. With the exceptions of supervising personnel, leaders, assistant leaders, we had up to December 1, 1937, worked the enrollees in two shifts of one-half month per shift. Starting December 1, 1937, in an effort to keep down the payroll and still give employment to a maximum number of men, the month was divided into three shifts of ten calendar days per shift.

In 1938, funding became even more restricted, and the program reduced the number of enrollees to 25 men. The lack of

steady wages caused Cherokee men to rely heavily on different types of work, including agriculture, to feed their families.

The CCC-ID also attempted to eliminate as much overhead as possible to reserve funds for salaries. In 1937, the director of CCC-ID programs congratulated the superintendent of the Eastern Band on the significant portion of money he successfully budgeted to the Eastern Band: "An analysis of your expenditures for the past fiscal year shows that approximately 60% of CCC-ID funds went to the enrollees, 18% to supervising and facilitating skilled workers, and 20% for materials and supplies."

It was a budget goal of the superintendents to keep their costs down and ensure that the enrollees were the central beneficiaries of the program. In 1938 the superintendent of the Eastern Band calculated the annual cost per enrollee to be \$1,015. In addition to wages, enrollees received: "subsistence, clothing, (and repair thereof), transportation, and hospitalization and medical treatment."

The heavy labor involved in the enrollees' work brought safety and health risks. In 1934 a warehouse that the enrollees were in the process of constructing fell on six enrollees, injuring them. A report sent to Washington demonstrated the extent of



Left: Eastern Band workers breaking the Soco Gap truck trail. The trails and truck roads were largely cut by manual labor.

Above: Construction of lookout towers was a priority for forest management and fire prevention.

the damage: "This report shows that six men were injured. The Office records do not indicate that report of injury has been received as to any of these men. Please report fully, submitting the required forms properly executed."

The federal government also had to go to court because of situations that occurred among enrollees or between enrollees and employees of the OIA agency. Sibbald Smith, an Eastern Band enrollee, was called to be a witness in a 1934 suit brought by two other enrollees against one of the Eastern Band CCC-ID employees. The CCC-ID program paid his wages while he took time off to serve as a witness for this case.

Ultimately, the court decided in favor of the Eastern Band enrollees, and they received compensation; however, this case shows that the United States government could see American Indians as laborers deserving of fair treatment in the workplace.

When the Eastern Band fell on particularly hard economic times, the federal government was ready to step in. The superintendent maintained a surprisingly open relationship with the enrollees, and they reached out to the OIA agency if they were not receiving enough work to make ends meet.

If the superintendent could not provide more work, he appealed to Congress for greater appropriations, such as during the harsh winter of 1940, when the temperatures dipped below 20 degrees Fahrenheit and food became scarce.

"[T]he Indians have suffered greatly from loss of foodstuffs," wrote the superintendent, and "canned fruit and vegetables, potatoes and other root crops have frozen." He received more appeals for work than ever before.

However, the superintendent's ability to distribute work evenly was tested as appropriations for Roosevelt's programs trailed off in the late 1930s. In the early years of the program, the CCC-ID paid enrollees for their weekends in addition to their regular pay. By 1940, this practice had ended, and the CCC-

ID routinely had crews work 10 days straight with no time off on the weekend.

THE CCC-ID PARTNERSHIP WITH THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The CCC-ID program conducted extensive work for the National Park Service. In March 1942, the superintendent asked for a considerable increase in funding to cover their work for the National Park Service and the National Forest Service. He wrote:

Our projects are an integral part of the protection and development of the valuable timber resources. The Reservation is practically surrounded by the National Park and the National Forest Service lands and there is no doubt that we will be called upon to fight fires on these lands.

The Eastern Band fought fires on both the federal land and their own land and made firefighting a priority not only for safety reasons but also for economic reasons—to preserve timber.

The National Park Service relied on the CCC-ID to help it protect the land from forest fires. In exchange for fighting fires for the Park Service, the Eastern Band acquired equipment.

In 1942, the CCC-ID wanted to enlarge the Lookout House at the Barnett Knob Tower. This project involved constructing "a 18' x 16' addition to the present 14' x 16' frame house which is altogether too small for a man and his family." Furnishings for the house came partly from the CCC-ID, but the "doors windows, and some of the hardware will be donated by the Park Service."

The relationship with the Park Service also brought the Eastern Band economic stability through the tourist industry that blossomed after the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

The National Park Service also hired CCC-ID enrollees. In 1942 the CCC-ID furnished five enrollees "to assist in operating the United States Park Service Nursery at Ravensford, North Carolina." In exchange for the workers, the CCC-ID received "free of charge enough seedlings and transplants



The Eastern Band CCC-Indian Division baseball team, undated.

J. PROGRESS ON PROJECTS

Class and Project Number	Man-days	Description	Size of Projects		Per cent completed	
			Number	Units	this week	to date
42-2	7	Enrollee Program.				
140, 42-3	5	Telephone Line Operation and Maintenance.	40.6	Miles.	4%	75%
206, 42-4	4	Foot Trail Maintenance.	40	Miles.	1%	31%
602, 42-5	36	Fire Lane Maintenance.	-	-	16%	82%
202, 42-6	28	Truck Trail Maintenance.	40	Miles.	1%	75%
202, 42-7	56	Washington Creek Truck Trail, Construction.	1.7	Miles	2%	5%
202, 42-11	18	Stock Piling Gravel. 19	15,200	Cu. Yds.	1%	67%
104, 42-15	20	Will West Long Bridge.	2 x 4	Decking.	5%	83%
A 21 1/2 49 1/2	49 1/2	General Administration and Office Expense.				
B 5	5	Operation of CCC-ID Cars and Trucks.				
	227 1/2					

An Indian Division progress report dated February 10, 1942, identifies the kinds of projects under way—including foot and truck trails, telephone line maintenance, and bridge construction—and the extent of work completed.



Eastern Band of Cherokees work at flooring the connecting link between the Lower Bunches Creek section and Upper Bigwitch in the Wrights Creek section.

to equal the wages and subsistence of the enrollees that were engaged on such work.”

The CCC-ID enrollees also received training through the Park Service, as the superintendent of the Eastern Band OIA wrote to the director of the CCC-ID in Washington: “Tree nursery work would fit in well in educating our Indians in this class of work. There is a movement now on planting Rhododendron plants to sell to the tourists. Our Indians could learn about this at the Nursery where they have had experience with it for the past several years.”

Working for the National Park Service also gave the Eastern Band CCC-ID the opportunity to come into contact with the regular CCC, and the two groups regularly played baseball games against one another. CCC regulations charged corps area commanders to create athletic programs in their camps, and sports included baseball, boxing, and basketball. These activities became tremendously popular, often producing intense rivalries.

PROJECTS ON THE RESERVATION ARE PART OF CCC-ID'S WORK

Collier hoped that Native communities would be more self-sustaining, and to this end, he advised superintendents to choose projects that would better use natural resources for economic gain on the reservation.

Projects included building bridges, garages, lookout cabins and towers, telephone lines, latrines and toilets, utility buildings, trail shelters, fences, guardrails, dikes, levees, and foot and horse trails; checking dams; engaging in erosion control; planting and seeding fields; improving forest stands; conducting nursery operations; combating forest fires; reducing fire hazards; developing public picnic grounds; promoting forest education; establishing boundaries; and preserving trees.

One of the projects introduced new crop practices to farmers, such as strip cropping and terracing. In the case of the terraces, the CCC-ID took special care in preparing the outlets

for the terraces so that "the runoff water will not cause the formation of a gully." The CCC-ID also built dams to try to redirect water out of the already formed gullies. To combat soil erosion, they investigated plants that would create root systems and enrich the soil.

Chief Blythe proposed a project for a community building at Big Cove through the CCC-ID. Blythe argued for the project: "The CCC program provides specifically for the conservation of natural resources and since our young Indian people constitute our greatest natural resources, I feel that it especially desirable to provide some means to furnish them decent recreational facilities."

The existing recreational facility for young people was not accessible to most of the reservation. Blythe believed that investing in a building for young Eastern Band members was important because "[m]ost of them have no means of transportation and lacking recreational facilities at home, far too many of them are walking the roads at night, getting drunk, causing trouble. It is believed that with a suitable building where they can gather for games, box suppers, and dances, they will have less desire for the periodic carousels which now constitute too great a part of their leisure time activities."

The CCC-ID also worked on a project to improve horticulture on the reservation. Previously, the Eastern Band relied on wild fruits to sustain their diet, but the federal government did not view this as a profitable or sustainable practice. The new project was described in a report of the projects of the Eastern Band CCC-ID issued by the inspector general for the entire Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division:

Each year some trees are planted. These are ordered by the individual Indians, mostly from a salesman for Stark Bros. [a Missouri orchard and nursery company], who works in a store on the reservation. A few men have purchased small quantities of other fruits, with the intention of increasing their plant-

ings by propagation from these plants. Four farmers have been increasingly cutting their grapes, one having rooted and set out 400 cuttings in 1938.

The same inspector general's report stated that the CCC-ID program attempted to train Eastern Band farmers to furnish "sufficient fruits and berries for the homes, with a surplus of quality

products for sale," but the Eastern Band retained their traditional partiality to a diet of wild berries. The inspector noted that "The crop of wild berries was very abundant, especially blackberries and strawberries. Some families have planted improved varieties of strawberries in their gardens, to have larger berries close at hand, but the flavor of these is . . . inferior to that of the wild berries." While the CCC-ID program tried

CCC-ID

Mr. Paul T. Jackson
Supt., Chawawa School

Dear Mr. Jackson:

In view of the fact that CCC-ID has been placed on a war basis and work restricted to (a) aid in war work construction, and (b) war resources protection and development of natural resources, it does not appear that we shall be able to continue CCC-ID work at your school during the next fiscal year.

If you can present projects which will meet these requirements, you should do so. If not, please arrange to close out your CCC-ID work as soon as possible, advising us the date on which the work will stop and the amount of funds which may be withdrawn.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) D. E. Murphy

D. E. Murphy
Director, Indian Division, CCC

DE:eh
4/22/42
cc-Mr. F. E. Lenzie

APR 27 1942

314

Primary
Cornwell

The work of the CCC-Indian Division was largely terminated with the start of World War II. An April 27, 1942, letter from D. E. Murphy, Director of the Indian Division, CCC, lists the new priorities of "war work construction" and "war resources protection."

to introduce different varieties of berries to the Eastern Band, the tribal members felt that they did not have the same taste as the wild ones. As a result, the inspector noted that "No attempt has been made to expand the planting of berries, except raspberries, on account of the profusion of the wild growth."

In addition to horticulture, the CCC-ID tried to reintroduce some of the natural species that had declined. One of the ways they did this was through stocking the streams with fish. In the fall of 1939 alone, Moris Burge, a non-Indian employee of the CCC-ID, noted that "more than 45,000 brook and rainbow trout were planted in the streams on the reservation." Brook and rainbow trout are both native to western North Carolina, but the main reason the CCC-ID chose these fish was their desirability for recreational fishing.

The Eastern Band hoped that the tourists would view Cherokee as a fishing destination, especially because the National Park was off-limits to fishing and hunting. The CCC-ID also attempted to stock the reservation with deer, but Burge also noted: "The National Park objects to the Pisgah deer because these animals are said to be mixed species and this mixture does not come under the National Park policy of propagating only native species."

WORLD WAR II BRINGS THE END OF CCC-ID

In April 1942, the CCC-ID was placed on a war basis and could only do work that

would "aid in war work construction, war resources protection, and development of natural resources." With the restriction, the CCC-ID at Cherokee began to curtail the projects they undertook. The superintendent declared that "if you can present projects which will meet these requirements, you should do so." However, many projects, including the cooperative projects with the schools, ended: "please arrange to close out your CCC-ID work as soon as possible, advising us the date on which the work will stop and the amount of funds which may be withdrawn." In a reflection about the work of the CCC-ID for the Eastern Band, Chief Blythe wrote:

As I have said before, our farms are small, but very productive, with lots of work they provide us with enough to eat, but there are some things we have to have that we can not grow, and the Emergency Conservation Work has made it possible for our Indian people to obtain these things.

The CCC-Indian Division came to a quick and sudden halt as America entered World War II. In its nine-year history, from March 1933 to July 1942, the Cherokee CCC-ID spent \$594 million in federal funds. Per member, they spent \$164,000, or "approximately \$10.40 per acre of tribal land in conservation improvements."

The Indian New Deal demonstrated to the federal government the importance of Native American participation in their own governance and sovereignty, and they realized that Native Americans had the right to govern themselves. The Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division was one of the largest single federal government programs specifically for Native Americans. The presence of the Cherokee CCC-ID, the only one east of the Mississippi, demonstrates the federal government's commitment to the Eastern Band.

© 2014 by Mattea V. Sandres

NOTE ON SOURCES

This article is primarily based on the Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division in Records of Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. The Records of and Concerning the Eastern Cherokee Enrolling Commission and the Orders, Circulars, and Circular Letters also informed this work. These documents include correspondence between the superintendents of the Office of Indian Affairs for the Eastern Band, the commissioner of Indian affairs, and the director of the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division in Washington, D.C. The most-often-cited letters in this article are those written by R. L. Spalbury, superintendent of the Eastern Band Office of Indian Affairs, to the commissioner of Indian affairs and the director of the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division in 1933. This article also quoted from a "Narrative Report" written in February, March, April, and May of 1934 and an inspector general's report of project descriptions written in 1934.

The baseball image came from the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Archives. Secondary sources of particular use to this project included: Graham D. Taylor's *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), Harley E. Jolley's *That Magnificent Army of Youth and Peace: The Civilian Conservation Corps in North Carolina, 1933-1942* (Raleigh: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2007), Christina Taylor Beard-Moose's *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), Jennifer McLerran's *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), and Peter Iverson's *"We are Still Here": American Indians in the Twentieth Century* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1998).



Mattea V. Sandres is a doctoral student at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, in American studies. She holds a master's degree from American

University in American history with a concentration in public history and a bachelor's degree in history from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She has worked and conducted projects for the National Park Service, the National Archives and Records Administration, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Currently, Mattea sits on the Executive Council of the Society for the History of the Federal Government and on the Membership Committee for the National Council on Public History.



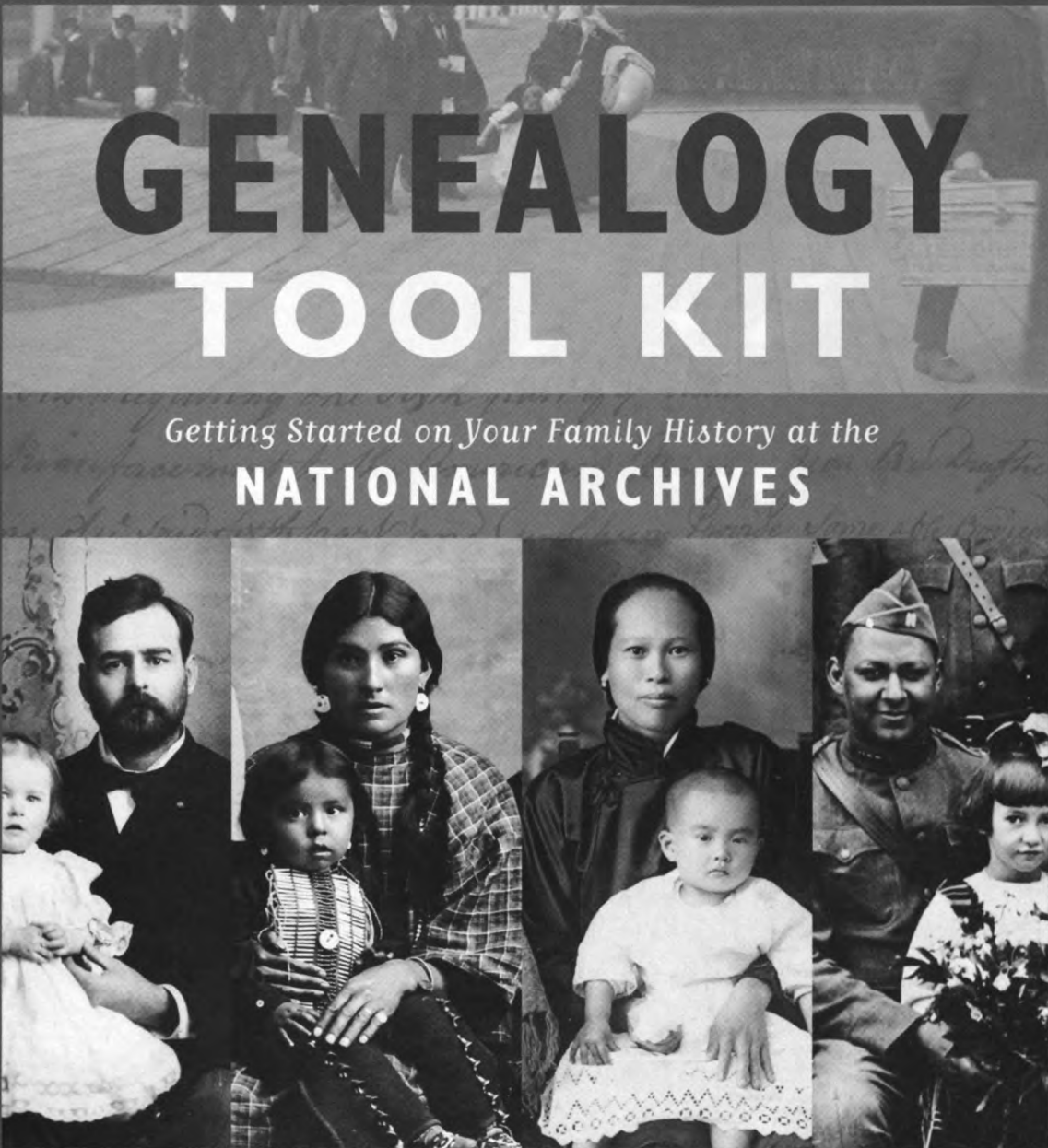
To learn more about...

- Native Americans scouts for the U.S. military, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2009/summer/indian.html.
- Native Americans in the military in the early 1800s, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2007/winter/indians-military.html.
- Records in the National Archives about Native Americans go to www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/075.html.

1 Name in full
2 Name
3 Date of birth

the key to finding your ancestors,
THE GENEALOGY TOOL KIT
will help you navigate the records of the National Archives

BY JOHN P. DEEBEN



GENEALOGY TOOL KIT

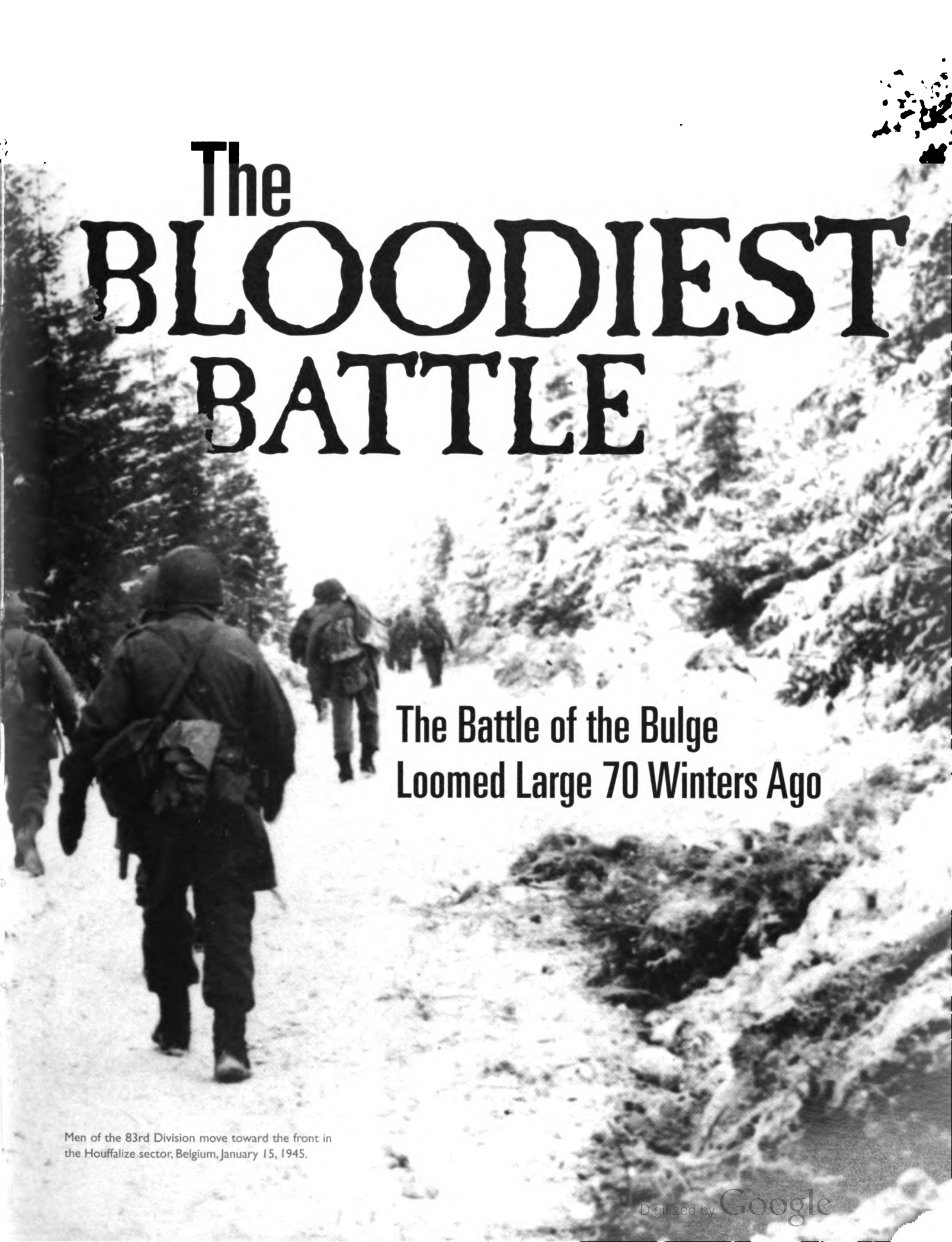
Getting Started on Your Family History at the
NATIONAL ARCHIVES



ORDER FROM THE ARCHIVES SHOP

202.357.5271 / nationalarchivesstore@nara.gov





The BLOODIEST BATTLE

The Battle of the Bulge
Loomed Large 70 Winters Ago

Men of the 83rd Division move toward the front in
the Houffalize sector, Belgium, January 15, 1945.





Above: German infantrymen run across a Belgian road strewn with Allied armor and artillery. Left: The German advance along American lines in Belgium's Ardenne Forest in December 1944 created a dangerous "bulge," as shown in this Army map.

The Germans called it the "Operation Watch on the Rhine." The French named it the "Battle of the Ardennes." And the Western Allies termed it the "Ardennes Counteroffensive."

But because of the way the map of Western Europe looked at the height of the battle, it became known to history as the "Battle of the Bulge."

It was the winter of 1944–1945, months before the war in Europe would end.

Despite the protestations of his generals, Adolf Hitler decided on one final attempt to turn World War II in favor of his German Third Reich. For this, he ordered resources diverted from other battle fronts—including his losing campaign against the Russians in the east.

The Allies were caught off guard, as Hitler had hoped. Thousands of U.S. troops were surrounded at one point. In the end, the Allies committed enough troops that the tired, ill-equipped German army was overwhelmed.

Indeed, the Battle of the Bulge was an important turning point in the war in the Allies' favor, but it was not without its cost. The Battle of the Bulge is considered one of the bloodiest battles of World War II.



From D-day on, the Allies had swept quickly across Europe—sometimes getting too far ahead of their supply line and grinding to a halt. Nonetheless, they pushed hard toward the German homeland, liberating Paris and much of France along the way.



Above: U.S. troops march behind tanks somewhere in the Ardennes. Below: An American soldier holds his rifle on German prisoners taken in the "Bulge."

By December 1944, the Allies had pushed inland from the French coast to the German lines. They were ready to cross into German territory and move toward Berlin to deliver the final blow to Hitler's Third Reich.

Although the Canadians and the British anchored the front in the north and the Americans in the south, in between was only a thin, weak line of troops. U.S. commanders counted on the Ardennes Forest to help them block any German offensive.

But the thin line and the forest were no match for German troops and tanks. Hitler had brought in troops and weaponry from other locations in an attempt to burst through the thin Allied lines and create a path to Antwerp, Belgium, an important harbor for his Third Reich. Along the way,



Nazi troops would disrupt the Allies and their supply lines.

Early on the morning of December 16, 1944, the German army began a heavy attack on the Allied troops in the Ardennes—surprising the troops there as well as their

commanders, including Supreme Allied Commander Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.



The battle was joined. It would last for more than a month. Americans would read

their newspapers, listen to their radios, and flock to newsreels in movie houses for the latest reports from the Battle of the Bulge, where so many of their cousins, uncles, sons, husbands, and fathers were fighting.



Pfc. Gargerum walks through a peaceful forest near Bastogne as he returns to the front lines, December 27, 1944.



Bomb damage, the result of a 10-day siege of the 101st Airborne Division in Bastogne, Belgium, December 26.

As the fighting wore on, some Allied units were pushed back, while others held their ground.

Eisenhower met with his top staff. It included his old friend from West Point, Gen. Omar Bradley; British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery; and Lt. Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. Patton had been listed as commander of an imaginary army, created to make the Germans think there were more Allied troops than there really were.

Now, Eisenhower gave him the Third Army, about 230,000 men strong, and ordered it to head for the "Bulge." Even before Eisenhower unleashed him, Patton, champing at the bit to command an army,

was ready for just such an assignment. He had already seen to it that the troops were ready to go.

One of the places where German and Allied troops clashed was the small Belgian town of Bastogne. Soon, thousands of Allied troops in Bastogne were surrounded by the Germans. Eisenhower sent more troops to rescue those encircled. He ordered the famed 101st Airborne Division and other units to Bastogne.

When the Germans sent a message demanding the surrender of the 101st on December 22, they got a one-word response from its commander, Brig. Gen. Anthony McAuliffe: "Nuts!"

This was interpreted by German officers as a more colorful—and negative—response to their demand.

(To hear McAuliffe's account of his response to the German demand for surrender, go to <http://research.archives.gov/description/2326663>.)

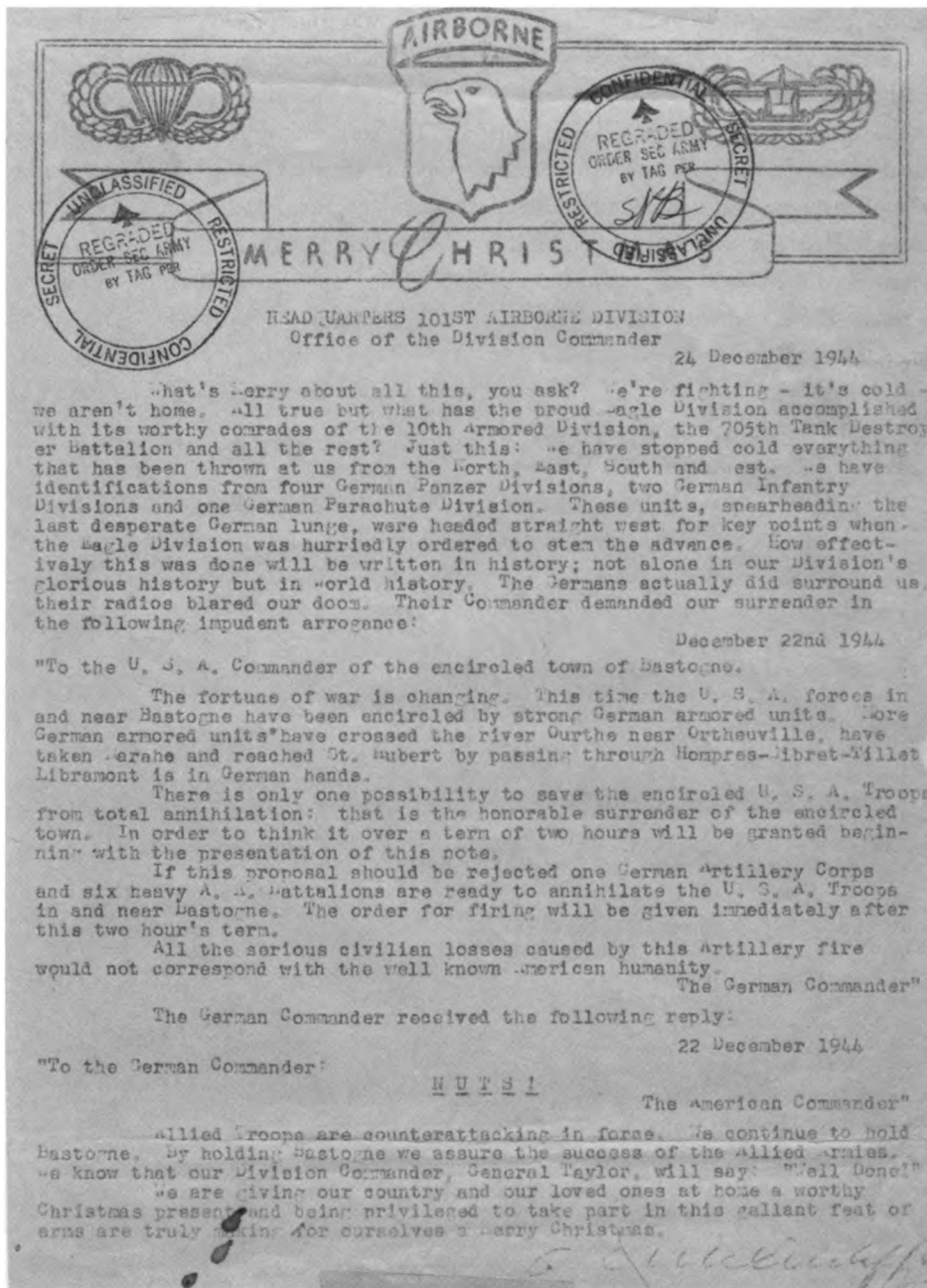
The day after Christmas, units of Patton's rapidly approaching Third Army finally arrived, broke through the German lines, and rescued the troops.



The fighting would continue for another month, but Hitler's last chance at stopping the Allies advancing from the west was lost.

The 26th Division Engineers return to their normal assignments after a brief tour of duty as infantry, January 15, 1945.





Left: Brig. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe relayed to his troops his response of "NUTS!" to the German demand for surrender, stating that "[B]y holding Bastogne we assure the success of the Allied armies."

Above: Lt. Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. (left), pins the Distinguished Service Cross on Brig. General McAuliffe, commander of the 101st Airborne Division under siege at Bastogne, Belgium.

canal, and Iwo Jima. Overall, the United States had 75,000 casualties, while the Germans had 80,000 to 100,000 casualties, according to the Army Center of Military History.

"The Ardennes campaign of 1944-45 was only one in a series of difficult engagements in the battle for Europe," wrote John S.D. Eisenhower, son of the supreme allied commander, in his 1969 book, *The Bitter Woods*, noting that there were other campaigns in the war against the Nazis that required extraordinary efforts from commanders and their troops.

"Nevertheless, it can be said that the Ardennes campaign epitomized them all," he added. "For it was here that American and German combat soldiers met in the decisive struggle that broke the back of the Nazi war machine." **U**

To learn more about...

- How to find out about your or a relative's

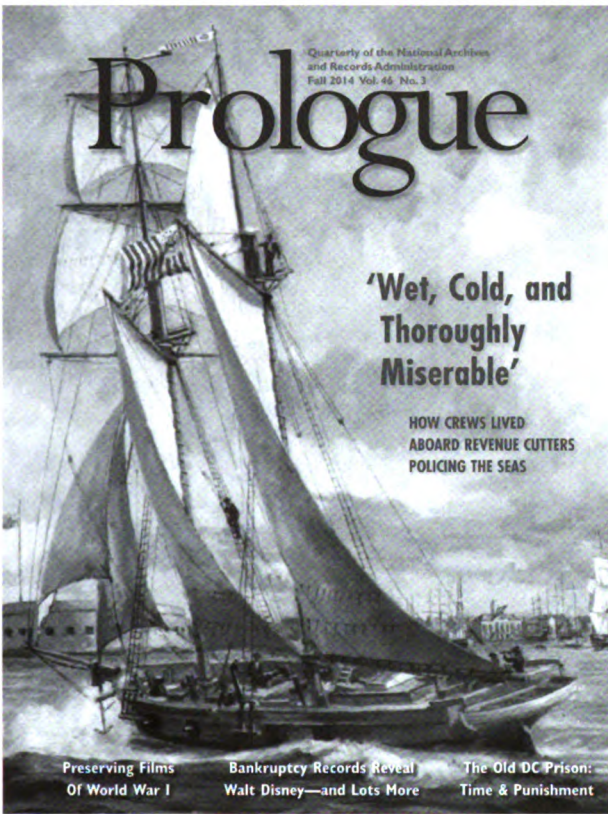
personal participation in World War II, go to www.archives.gov/research/military/ww2/ww2-participation.pdf.

- Requesting your military service record, go to www.archives.gov/veterans/military-service-records/.
- The real Monuments Men, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2013/summer/monuments-men.pdf.

By the end of January 1945, the Allies had retaken all the territory lost to the Germans and were headed toward Berlin.

Meanwhile, the Russians pushed toward Berlin from the east. The war was essentially lost for Hitler, and he committed suicide on April 30. The war in Europe was officially over on May 8, 1945.

The United States suffered 19,276 fatalities in the Battle of the Bulge, more than in any other battle in the war, such as those in the Pacific, including Okinawa, Guadal-



Quarterly of the National Archives
and Records Administration
Fall 2014 Vol. 46 No. 3

Prologue

'Wet, Cold, and Thoroughly Miserable'

HOW CREWS LIVED
ABOARD REVENUE CUTTERS
POLICING THE SEAS

Preserving Films
Of World War I

Bankruptcy Records Reveal
Walt Disney—and Lots More

The Old DC Prison:
Time & Punishment

In every issue you will find thought-provoking and entertaining articles—based on research in the Archives' magnificent holdings of original documents—on American history and on the activities of the agency.

- ★ What happened when the “Monuments Men” discovered treasures of the Third Reich after World War II.
- ★ What it was like being German American in America while the nation was fighting Germany in World War I.
- ★ How and why aluminum ended up at the tip of the Washington Monument.
- ★ An important “P.S.” from a future President to a sitting President.
- ★ How submarines became rescue ships for downed pilots in the Pacific.

VISIT US ONLINE AT: www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/

To start your subscription, mail this form to the National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (BCT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Make checks payable to the National Archives Trust Fund. Credit card orders may also call toll free 1-800-234-8861 or 202-357-5482 weekdays, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. eastern time.

Check ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express ☐

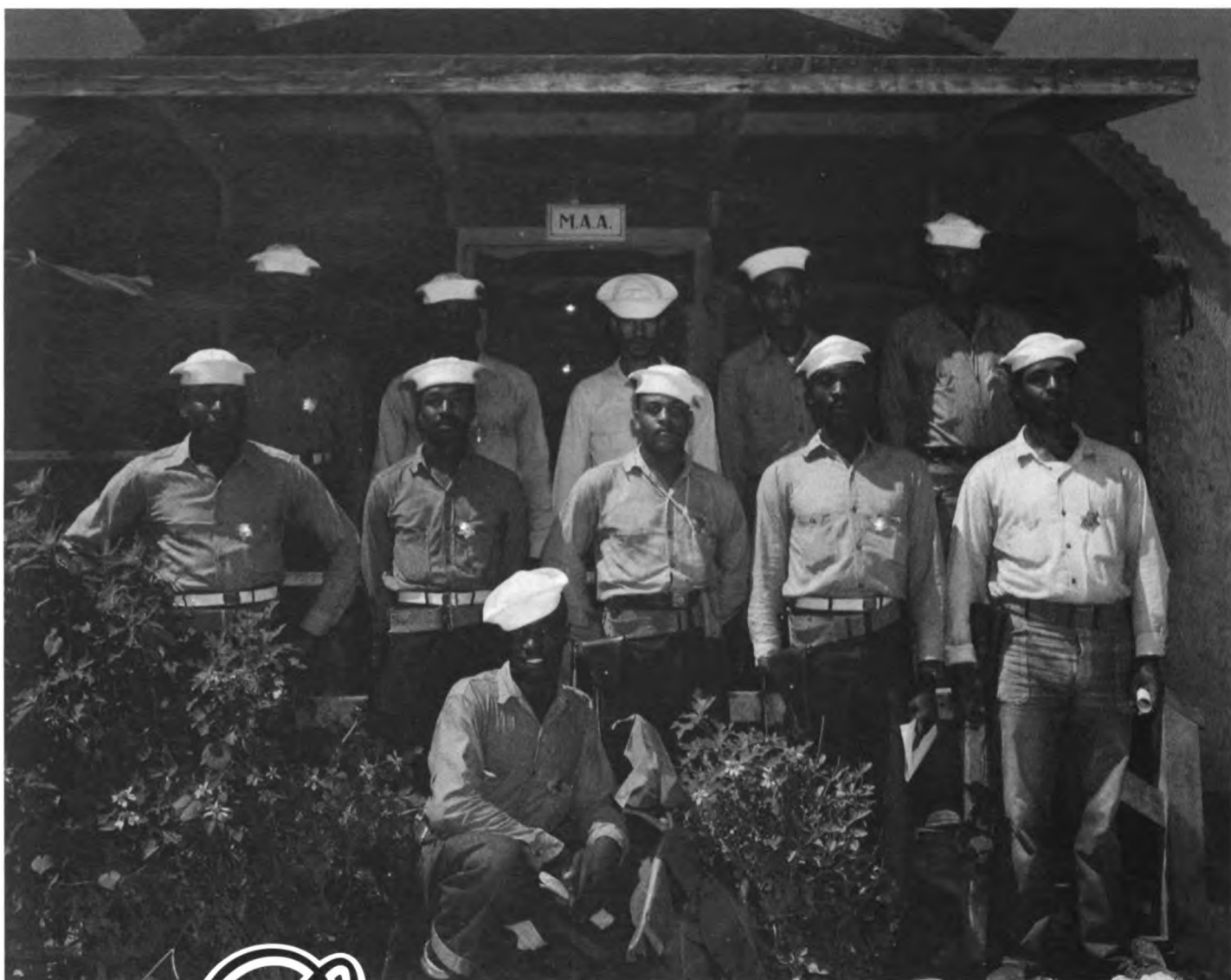
Account number Card expires

Signature _____

[illegible]

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Digitized by Google



The Christmas Shootings on Guam

Charges of Unlawful Assembly and Rioting Followed

By Tina L. Egan

Camp Security Force personnel pose in front of the Master at Arms building, June 8, 1945. They are armed with M1911-type pistols and are wearing police badges.

On the night of December 25, 1944, a group of 44 African American sailors and marines from Guam's Naval Supply Depot blocked a public highway near the capital city of Agaña.

These men had reached a boiling point after months of mistreatment by white officers and sailors on the base, and they were determined to take a stand against racial injustices they had experienced since arriving on the island.

They stole two Jeeps and left the base without permission, intending to bring attention to their mistreatment. The men got nine miles from the base before they were surrounded by military police. All 44 men were arrested and charged with unlawful assembly and riot.

Three years earlier, when the United States entered World War II in December 1941, African Americans rushed to support the war effort. They purchased war bonds, participated in rationing programs, and worked in the defense industries. Many African American leaders urged others to use the wartime activity for the betterment of all. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, a widely circulated black newspaper, issued a call for victory at home and victory abroad to defeat fascism in Europe and discrimination in America.

The spark that set off this protest was a series of three shootings, apparently racially motivated, in the preceding days.

The "Double V" campaign, as it was called, encouraged African Americans to support America's war efforts and bring attention to equal rights. The "Double V" campaign had the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and by other black newspapers. African Americans also supported the war effort by volunteering for the armed forces. Thousands of black men enlisted in the Army, Navy, Army Air Force, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard. They served in segregated noncombat units and were stationed within the

United States, in Europe, and in the Pacific. They were assigned to service duties in the supply, maintenance, and transportation divisions. By 1945, due to the depletion of white troops, African American men began serving in the infantry and as pilots, tankers, medics, and officers. Even black women joined the military, in segregated auxiliary units.

The U.S. Navy was slow to accept African Americans into general service until 1942. For decades the Navy had limited black Americans' service to the rating of mess attendant, but the secretary of the Navy during World War II began to accept more black sailors for general service and as noncommissioned officers. The involvement in the war created a shortage of manpower, and changing attitudes toward race forced naval officials to begin allowing African American men into the Navy. Thousands of black men were trained for naval service in segregated camps around the country. They were inspired to join the Navy after hearing about the heroics of black sailors Dorie Miller and Leonard Roy Harmon. After training, African American sailors were sent to sea or to naval ammunition depots as messmen or in other menial positions. Black sailors were not given an equal opportunity to excel. Much as in the other branches of the military they experienced racism and harassment and were denied leadership positions in the Navy.

The Christmas night protest on Guam was the culmination of years of racial injustices,

Top: Seaman First Class M. D. McShore operating a fork lift at Guam's Naval Supply Depot, June 8, 1945.

Center: Quartermaster Second Class J. H. Crooks (left) and Quartermaster Second Class H. E. Fitts serving as Junior Officers of the Day during leadership training at Guam's supply depot, June 8, 1945.

Bottom: Working at galley racks made by depot sailors at the Guam Naval Depot, June 1945. African Americans were generally assigned to service duties in the supply, maintenance, and transportation divisions.



RECEIVED
JUL 18 2 13 PM '45
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
July 16, 1945

Secretary of the Navy Forrestal,
Navy Department,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Forrestal;

It is impossible for the average civilian to get at all the facts in a case such as the one described in the enclosed statement, but if half of what is told us here is true it is a burning disgrace to the authorities responsible for preserving the principles of Democracy and upholding the Constitution of the United States.

When such a story is broadcast over the C.B.S. as this story was the other day it stirs thousands of Americans to anger. Our sons are fighting side by side with Negro Americans. My son wrote me that his outfit recently was saved by a Negro outfit in a most serious situation. Yet a nephew of mine, an officer in the Navy, tells me of sad discrimination against Negro members of the Navy which he has seen himself.

In the last war I served over-seas for a while as chaplain to a Negro outfit, and my admiration of the heroism and devotion of those Negro soldiers under most trying conditions has influenced me ever since.

Every thoughtful American knows that one of our most serious problems when the troops come home is going to be this matter of justice regardless of race or color. The Navy has made long strides in this war toward eliminating unfair discrimination against Americans because of color. The problem, as I well know, is not simple. I have served on large troopships and on a destroyer, so I know something of this problem.

But it would hearten me to get some word from your office that the sort of thing described here is being dealt with, and that steps are being taken to prevent such insults and injustice being visited upon men wearing the uniform of their country in such an hour as this.

I have another copy of the enclosed so you may file this one.

Sincerely yours,

S. Ralph Harlow
S. Ralph Harlow

SRH/hs

11 855

S. Ralph Harlow of the NAACP wrote to Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal asking for confirmation that actions were being taken to eliminate discrimination, that "if half of what is told us here is true, then it is a burning disgrace to the authorities responsible."

institutional segregation, poor training, and limited access to career opportunities in the U.S. Armed Forces.

The spark that set off this protest was a series of three shootings, apparently racially motivated, in the preceding days. The protest escalated into violence, the protesters were arrested, and a military court of inquiry

investigated the incident. The court's proceedings have left a record of the racial tensions among black and white servicemen at the Naval Supply Depot on Guam, in the western Pacific Ocean.

From the beginning, there were tensions between white sailors and black marines when the all-black 25th Marine Depot

Company arrived on Guam in August 1944. African American servicemen were forced to stay in segregated housing, perform menial duties, and had their every move monitored by white officials. Additionally, black sailors and marines endured racial slurs, physical abuse, and had to function in an oppressive environment. Several of the black marines compared the unbearable conditions of the naval depot to the Jim Crow South.

Shootings on Christmas Day And on Christmas Night

Just days before Christmas, the simmering tensions erupted into violence. Sailors and marines, both black and white, kept company with native women in Agana, but white enlisted men did not like it when black men visited the same women.

On December 22, African American Pvt. Elliott J. McMorris, Marine Corps Reserve, visited a house in the city to inquire about a local woman. A white private, James Lyle Perry, told McMorris that the woman did not want to see him and he should leave the premises. McMorris left, but returned 30 minutes later with four other black marines. The African American men advanced toward the house. Perry ordered the men to halt, but they did not. He then fired a semiautomatic rifle at the men, killing McMorris.

The murder of Private McMorris did not go unpunished. Private Perry was tried by the general court-martial and convicted on voluntary manslaughter on January 23, 1945. He was sentenced to five years in prison and given a bad-conduct discharge. Perry's sentence was later reduced to three years, and then reduced further to 18 months of probation.

Two days after McMorris was killed, another shooting fanned racial tensions. In the early afternoon of December 24, a white marine, Pvt. Perry F. Hayes of the First Military Police Company, fired a pistol into a crowd of African American



JAG:THAS:ps

Two.

AND REFER TO
NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

26 July 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL:

Subj: Court of Inquiry in the conduct of enlisted men at the Naval Depot, Guam, and resulting general courts martial.

1. The two attached letters, one from Mr. Walter White and the other from Mr. S. Ralph Harlow, both connected with the NAACP, were referred to this office for preparation of replies for the signature of the Secretary of the Navy. From an examination of the contents of these letters, it appears that the complaints are not directed so much toward the Court of Inquiry and the general courts martial as they are to preceding events that lead up to them, and which the writers claim nothing was done ~~about them~~. Criticism seems to be directed toward the administration of discipline on the island of Guam and the persecution of colored personnel.

2. A check has been made of the general courts martial and the court of inquiry referred to. Colored personnel mentioned have been tried and convicted for the offenses as alleged. The court of inquiry and other records show the following relative to the accusations by Mr. White ~~that~~ -

(a) The throwing of a smoke bomb into a fuel dump -

For this offense Charles S. Marlott, Jr., Pvt, was tried by summary court martial on 24 January 1945 and was sentenced to confinement for 20 days and one month with extra police duties. The confinement was remitted.

(b) The killing of one negro serviceman on Christmas morning -

The facts of this case, briefly stated, are as follows: James L. Perry, Vol 12c, and a companion were visiting some girls in Agana. Elliott J. McMorris, Pvt, USMC, (colored) came to the door and asked for "a lady." He was told to leave and did leave after the girls told him they did not want to see him. About thirty minutes later McMorris and three or four companions (all colored) returned and advanced toward the house. They were told to halt by Perry but as they continued to advance toward the house Perry picked up a carbine and fired it, killing McMorris. Perry was tried by general court martial on 23 January 1945 and convicted of Voluntary Manslaughter. He was sentenced to confinement for five years and a bad-conduct discharge. The confinement was reduced

to three years, and further reduced to eighteen months, and probation for eighteen months as to the remainder of the confinement, if his conduct during the ~~remaining~~ confinement was satisfactory.

(c) Shooting of a negro on Christmas afternoon -

The Court of Inquiry shows that Perry F. Hayes, Pvtlc, on the afternoon of 24 December 1944, fired a pistol at some colored enlisted men without injuring anyone. He was recommended for trial by general court martial. There is no record of trial in this office. It is believed that this is the case referred to by Mr. White although not definitely identified as such. Marine Corps adviser that Hayes had given 10 days confinement at office hours on 25 May for this offense.

(d) Shooting of Shelton by a colored sentry -

This event was not mentioned either by Mr. White or Mr. Harlow since it involves the killing of a white marine by a colored marine. W. R. Shelton, Pvtlc, was shot by Willie Goolsby, negro pvtlc, on 24 December 1944. Shelton died on 29 December. Goolsby was convicted by general court martial of Voluntary Manslaughter on 13 March 1945 and sentenced to confinement for three years and a bad-conduct discharge. In this connection it is to be noted that no mitigating action appears to have been taken in the case of Goolsby, whereas the confinement in the case of Perry was reduced to eighteen months if he behaves himself while confined and put on probation as to the bad-conduct discharge.

3. During the course of the inquiry Mr. White acted as counsel for some of the defendants. The court conducted a very thorough investigation of the affair. Apparently to insure that Mr. White was satisfied with the inquiry, he was asked:

"Mr. White, as a participant in the investigation and from your observation of this court of inquiry, would you state for your opinion as to whether or not this investigation has been a full, fair and complete investigation, so far as has been possible?"

To this query Mr. White replied:

"Yes, sir, I do so state. I had planned at a later point in this procedure to make a statement to that effect about the thoroughness with which the court has gone into the evidence."

4. In view of the nature of the complaints made by the writers of

Printed on _____

The findings of the January 1945 court of inquiry were reported in a July 1945 memorandum that reveals the extent of the investigation, recounts the circumstances of the several Christmas Day shootings on Guam, and identifies some of the servicemen involved (pages 1 and 2).

servicemen. No one was injured, but his actions heightened tensions between black and white sailors and marines. Hayes was arrested and charged with unlawful and unauthorized possession of a gun in the town of Agana. He received 10 days' confinement but did not have to face a general court-martial.

Later that day, in what was possibly a response to the Hayes shooting, a black marine, Pvt. Willie Goolsby, shot and killed a white marine, Pvt. W. R. Shelton. Goolsby was charged with both voluntary manslaughter and involuntary manslaughter. A general court-martial convicted him for voluntary manslaughter on March 13, 1945. He was

sentenced to three years' confinement and given a bad conduct discharge.

Unlawful Assembly and Riot: The Christmas Night Riot

Months of frustration from intimidation and unjust violence, combined with these recent shootings, set the stage for the Christmas night riot.

The African American sailors and marines had endured conflict, both verbal and physical, with white servicemen and officers grounded in racial prejudices. The black men constantly complained to military officials about unfair discipline policies, a lack of African American leadership, and inadequate training.

Nothing was done to resolve the complaints.

On the night of December 25, tensions over racial segregation, discrimination, and harassment peaked. African American sailors and marines seized two naval supply trucks and an assortment of weapons and ammunition.

The protesting marines and sailors gathered on a bridge and blocked the main highway in Agana. They refused all orders from the military police to disband and return to their stations. Several shots were fired from both sides. The black men were surrounded by military police, arrested, and charged with unlawful assembly and riot.

PRE SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
President
MARY WHITE O'VINGTON
Treasurer

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Telephone ALgonquin 4-3530

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Atlanta Baltimore Berkeley, Calif. Birmingham, Ala. Boston Chicago Cincinnati Des Moines, Ia. Detroit	Eugene M. Morris Carl Murphy Sue G. Gallagher Dr. E. W. Yagott Dr. John B. Hall Julian D. Steele Earl B. Dickerson Bishop W. J. Wells Theodore M. Berry S. Joe Brown Dr. James J. McClendon R. J. Thomas	Fells Village, Conn. Greenwich, Conn. Hartford, Conn. Jamaica, N. Y. Newark, N. J. New York Lillian A. Alexander Hon. Jane M. Bolin Ester A. Carter Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers Marion Culbert Russell W. Davenport Hon. Hubert T. Delaney	New York Douglas P. Falconer Lewis S. Gannett John Hammond Rev. John Haynes Holmes Hon. Herbert H. Lehman Dr. O. Clay Maxwell Mary White O'Vington A. Philip Randolph Rev. James H. Robinson Amy E. Salinger Arthur B. Spingarn	New York Northampton, Mass. Oklahoma City Philadelphia Richmond, Va. St. Louis Tapeake, Kans. Washington	Dr. Channing H. Tobias Hon. Charles E. Toney Dr. Louis T. Wright James H. Wright Theodore Spaulding Dr. J. M. Tinsley Sidney R. Redmond Hon. Arthur Cooper William H. Hoar Charles H. Houston Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb
---	---	--	--	---	--

July 11, 1945

NAACP CHARGES HALF NOT TOLD IN CONVICTION OF 43 NEGRO SAILORS

New York--NAACP Secretary Walter White charged Guam authorities today with conspicuously failing to reveal the long series of unprovoked and unpunished attacks which led up to the courts-martial of 43 Negroes attached to the United States Naval Depot, convicted of charges including rioting and unlawful assembly. Announcement of the sentences, ranging from four months to four years, came on the heels of Mr. White's radio report Saturday over the Columbia Broadcasting System in which he told of what had taken place on a Navy Board of Inquiry on which he served as defense counsel, investigating a clash between white Marines and Negro Navy Base Company personnel. In describing the details leading up to the incidents which occurred December 25 and 26, 1944, Mr. White said:

"For weeks a few Marines had been throwing bricks, empty beer bottles, and upon three occasions, hand grenades and smoke bombs into camps occupied by Negro Navy men. When no attempt was made by the authorities to stop the attacks or punish the attackers, the colored men in despair determined to defend themselves when next attacked."

"The next assault took place a few days later on Christmas Eve when a group of white servicemen fired upon colored servicemen and ran them out of the main town on the island. Shortly after midnight, a truckload of white Marines went to the Negro camp charging that one of their number had been hit by a stone thrown by a Negro Navy man. The Marines threatened to 'take the matter into their own hands.' On Christmas Day one Negro serviceman was shot and killed and another shot by white servicemen. These and other assaults infuriated the men who had been attacked to the point that twice they went into town to take vengeance. On one occasion they were turned back; on the second they were arrested, charged with rioting and unlawful assemblage."

When the NAACP request for a copy of the transcript of testimony and findings by the Board of Inquiry was turned down by both the Island Commander in Guam and Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, White took the matter up personally with President Truman in his White House conference on May 25th. At that time the President promised, the NAACP would be given the desired information. The first official knowledge however came in a wire service release, July 11. Accordingly the Association has announced renewal of its original request for a full report of the testimony and findings in order that the Legal Committee can determine procedure to be taken in behalf of the 43 convicted Negro sailors. Mr. White declared in commenting on the entire situation that, "while the NAACP makes no defense for any illegal acts which the defendants may have committed, we do charge that these men were goaded by attacks and failure of island authorities to check repeated physical and verbal attacks on Negro sailors or to punish these attackers."

Defense attorney Walter White of the NAACP, in a press release dated July 11, 1945, emphasized the harsh conditions of discrimination at the naval depot and the military's neglect of "the long series of unprovoked and unpunished attacks [by white sailors] which led up to the courts-martial of 43 Negroes."

A search of the Naval Supply Depot warehouse and the living quarters of the black sailors and marines made on December 26 found seven .45-caliber pistols, one .38-caliber pistol, one .22-caliber pistol, one Thompson submachine gun, one carbine, 150 knives, one bayonet, five axes and hatchets, and six smoke grenades.

Three servicemen admitted to stealing 12 pistols from the Guam Naval Supply Depot. One of the arrested servicemen admitted to selling two guns to other sailors and marines. Several .45-caliber pistols and one .22-caliber pistol were found in the possession of three more black marines.

NAACP Provided Legal Support During Court Martial Proceedings

The 44 arrested men went before a court-martial hearing on their actions. The island commander ordered the creation of a court of inquiry to investigate the case and the events leading up to it. Col. Samuel A. Woods served as president; Lt. Comdr. Stanley B. McGune and Lt. Allen G. VanWye were additional members; and Lt. Comdr. James P. Swift was appointed as judge advocate. On Monday, January 1, 1945, the court of inquiry reconvened. Lt. Robert W. Zivnuska, U.S. Naval Reserve, served as the counsel for Navy, and Walter White, executive director of the NAACP, served as counsel for the black sailors and marines.



To learn more about...

- Jackie Robinson's court-martial in 1944, go to

www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/spring/

- A World War I "mutiny" by black soldiers in South Carolina, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2013/summer/
- African American sailors in an integrated Civil War Navy, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/fall/

The NAACP worked as legal support on many cases related to racial discrimination and injustice. White decided to defend the African American sailors and marines after receiving several letters about the pending court-martial from supporters and family members. These letters contained details to prove that racial tensions existed between white and black servicemen on the Naval Supply Depot. White arrived in Guam within a week after the arrest of the 44 servicemen and began to investigate the circumstances that caused the protest and to prepare his defense.

The protest along the Agana highway on Christmas night showed that African American sailors and marines had reached a boiling point over the conduct of white servicemen. For example, there were constant verbal confrontations between white sailors and black truck drivers on a daily basis.

Also, many of the African American servicemen testified about the various forms of intimidation they experienced while on duty at the Naval Supply Depot. On one occasion, on December 29, three white sailors each threw smoke grenades at the fuel dump in an attempt to scare the black servicemen who worked there. The servicemen complained to military officials about the harassment, but no actions were ever taken.

Defense counsel White wanted to prove that months of racial segregation, verbal and physical abuse, and unequal opportunities had led to the protest on the Agana highway. Witness testimonies supported his arguments. While under oath, white servicemen admitted to using racially insensitive terms including "nigger" and "jiggaboo" in the company of their fellow white counterparts. These white servicemen also stated that they never used this language in the presence of "colored" troops.

Additionally, several white officers and members of the military police acknowledged during the court-martial hearing

that they had received complaints from African American sailors and marines about racial discrimination and harassment. In reports, memorandums, and testimony, white servicemen and military police maintained that there was racial segregation, but there was no evidence of organized racial discrimination. The evidence presented during the trial supported the claims that there were isolated incidents of racial violence from both white and black sailors and marines.

Court of Inquiry Dismisses Charges of Racism, Harassment

The unlawful assembly and riot hearings became more of a case about racism and harassment in the U.S. Navy than the actual riot and shootings. After reviewing all the facts in the case, the court of inquiry ended its 25-day proceedings on January 30, 1944, and issued its opinion.

Lieutenant Commander Swift and the other members of the court stated that the unlawful assembly and riot was indirectly motivated by interracial conflicts between black and white servicemen. The court, however, dismissed allegations of racial discrimination and harassment, stating that there was no substantial evidence to support the accusations.

The judge advocate did not ignore the fact that some forms of racial discrimination did exist on the supply depot, but it could not find proof that it was organized or identify anyone who was guilty of the accusations. The court did suggest that there might be a need for more training for all military personnel on these types of racial issues and concerns.

All of the 44 African American sailors and marines were court-martialed for their involvement with the Christmas night riot. They were found guilty of leaving their stations without permission and stealing weapons and ammunition from the Naval Supply

Depot warehouse. All were sentenced to several years in prison.

The court of inquiry proceedings for the unlawful assembly and riot charge against African American sailors and marines showed that there were deeper issues of race and racism evident at the Guam depot.

The protest that took place on Christmas 1944 highlighted the injustices that black military personnel endured during their service in World War II. This particular event, however, showed that both black and white soldiers were guilty of racial violence and harassment. Walter White and the NAACP continued to fight on behalf of the 44 convicted men.

The organization brought a complaint to the Department of the Navy and to the White House about the court of inquiry's findings relating to discrimination and harassment. The pressure on the home front was successful. The guilty verdicts were overturned, and all the black men were released from prison in 1946.

NOTE ON SOURCES

The account of the black sailors and marines is told through Judge Advocate General "Spot" files. The records of case number 35227, "Unlawful Assembly and Riot and Attending Circumstances which occurred at the Naval Supply Depot, Guam, Marianas Naval Air Station Islands," are located in Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Navy), 1799 to 1950, Record Group 125, in the National Archives at College Park, Maryland. These records contain memorandums, administrative notes, letters, court proceedings documents, and general summaries. They were created by high-ranking naval officers, including Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal and Capt. H. A. Sailor, court of inquiry officials, and Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).



Author

Tina L. Ligon is an archivist at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland. She has a Ph.D. in history from Morgan State University. Tina also has a master's degree in history from North Carolina Central University, a master's of library science degree from the University of Maryland, and two bachelor's degrees from the University of Cincinnati.

GENEALOGY NOTES



Knowing other pieces of information such as land ownership can also help you in your research. Deeds and federal land records can give us ideas of where people lived during certain times. And if they owned land, they are more likely to have made a will that might identify children's names.

Look into not only where they went or came from, but why they moved. Locating migration routes can uncover information on family relationships, not only how ancestors met one another but also how some lines interconnect.

Let's start with a simple example of a migration study by using a census record to look at a family that moved a relatively short distance, from Ohio to Iowa. Federal census records are easy to use because a number of websites have made complete indexes available.

WHAT CAN A SINGLE CENSUS SHEET TELL US?

Israel Goodman, born in Pennsylvania in 1824, moved with his parents, Jacob and Roseanna Goodman, to Ohio in the 1830s.³ He married his wife, Elizabeth Finley, in Delaware,

5971
Vermont

Martha Ide
widow of *Israel Ide, dec'd.*

who was exempted under the Act of
and who died on the 9th October 1822
of Orleans Co. in the State of Vermont
who was a private in the Company commanded
by Captain. Ward of the regt. commanded
by Col. in the Mass. M^o.
line for 6 months.

Enrolled on the Roll of *Burlington*
at the rate of 20 Dollars ———— Dues per annum
to commence on the 1st day of March, 1836.

Certificate of Pension issued the 6th day of Jan^y
1841 *H. Everett* and sent to *H. Everett*
H. Everett 76. Ref^d

Amounts to the 1st of Mar 1841 \$ 100.00
Semi-annual allowance ending

{ Act July 7, }
1838. }

Recorded by *D. M. Curdy* Clerk,
Book A. Vol. 2. Page 43.

A Revolutionary War pension file cover for Martha Ide, widow of Israel Ide. Pension files can provide early family information, including place of birth for the soldier, wife, and children.

Page No. 57

SCHEDULE 1—Free Inhabitants in Richland Township in the County of Mahasha State of Iowa enumerated by me, on the 19th day of July 1860. Amos Wright Agent

Post Office Preria

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Sex	Age	Name	Color	Place of Birth	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Place of Birth	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Place of Birth	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate
M	37	Israel Goodman	W	Mass.		100	120	Mass.					
F	32	Elizabeth	W	Mass.				Mass.					
M	14	Samuel	W	Mass.				Mass.					
F	11	Rosanna	W	Mass.				Mass.					
M	8	Israel Jr.	W	Mass.				Mass.					
F	6	Elizabeth	W	Mass.				Mass.					
M	3	Charles	W	Mass.				Mass.					
M	2	Israel	W	Mass.				Mass.					

Israel Goodman is recorded in the 1850 Iowa census as residing in Richland, Mahasha County, with his wife, Elizabeth, and their five children.

Ohio, in 1845.⁴ On the 1860 census, they are living in Richland, Mahasha County, Iowa.⁵ The census tells us their children's names, ages, and places of birth. Samuel was born in Ohio in 1848, Charles in Ohio in 1849, Rosanna about 1852, Israel junior in 1854, and Elizabeth in Iowa in 1857. We can therefore deduce that the family moved from Ohio to Iowa between 1854 and 1857.

Further research in Delaware located a civil suit for nonpayment of a debt by Israel in 1855. The debt was not settled until 1856, so we can further assume that the family did not leave Delaware, Ohio, until 1856.

A more complicated story revolves around Gideon Spencer Wells, who was born in Peacham, Vermont, in 1809.⁶ He first married Eliza Gilbert, in Forestville, New York, in 1834 and ended up in Wheatland, Michigan, in time for the 1840 census.⁷ Why did he leave Vermont for Michigan; what route did he travel to get there; and why Michigan rather than some other midwestern state?

One of Gideon's sons wrote down the family history as far as he knew it. He included some interesting tidbits that answer some of the whys of Gideon's travels. He says, "From this Michigan home during the fall and winter about 1845 or 46, a visit was made to relatives in New York and Vermont, the trip being in an ordinary farm wagon drawn by a bay and white team. The writer, with his older brother Gilbert, was left at Knowlesville, New York, with their maternal grandmother and Aunt Maria Gilbert, while our parents made the balance of the trip to Vermont and return."⁸

WHAT ROUTE DID GIDEON TAKE?

Gideon must have traveled through upper Vermont, through New York, to Forestville, in the southwestern

corner of New York, where he married Eliza Gilbert, and ended up in Wheatland, Michigan. The family history tells us his wife's mother and sister lived in Knowlesville, New York, near Lake Ontario in Orleans County, and that in 1852 Gideon married his second wife, Rachel Hall, in Geneva, Ontario County, New York. He died in Wheatland, Michigan, in 1894. And his life was far from settled!

A map shows us that it is a fairly straight shot from Peacham, Vermont, to Forestville, New York. In fact, the line goes right through Geneva, New York. His trip to Wheatland, overland in a wagon, would be more circuitous as he needed to avoid Lake Erie. But why leave Vermont in the first place?

Finding the answer takes a little more research. Using a wide variety of secondary sources, including histories of Vermont and Peacham as well as books on migration history, we can discover some interesting facts.⁹

Vermont lost quite a bit of its population during the 1830s and 1840s for a number of reasons, one being that the small-acreage farmers were bought out by large landowners. Vermont was right in the middle of a wool boom, and sheep farmers needed larger acreages. Vermont was also experiencing problems due to the "gradual exhaustion of [their] natural resources" including game, dwindling forests, and soil problems. The federal government had also started to promote western expansion, and newspapers extolled the merits of the west for settlement. Prospective settlers were urged to go west for cheap, fertile land and a healthier climate.¹⁰

Often, people do not move independently but as part

Land registration certificate for Gideon Wells in Sagana [Saginaw] District, Michigan, 1836, for 120 acres for \$150. Wells and others may have migrated to Michigan at that time for cheap land prices.

NO. 372 LAND OFFICE, SAGANA DISTRICT, Apr. 24, 1836

It is hereby Certified, That in pursuance of law,
Gideon S. Wells of Orleans Co. N.Y.
 on this day purchased of the Register of this Office, the Lot or the West half of the
South East quarter & South East quarter of the West
East 40
 of Section No. five — of Township No. Six North in Range
 No. Eleven East, containing one hundred & twenty
 acres, at the rate of \$1.25 per acre—amounting to \$ 150.00 — for which the said
Gideon S. Wells
 has made payment in full, as required by law.
 Now therefore be it Known, That on presentation of this Certificate to the Commissioner of the
 Land Office, the said Gideon S. Wells
 shall be entitled to receive a Patent for the Lot above described.

Michael Higgins
 Register.

o. 4) No 1

SCHEDULE of the whole amount of the division allotted each to himself and his family

NAMES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES	FEDERAL LANDS PERSONS, IN THE FULL PAY COLLECTION, IN THE YEAR 1840										FEDERAL LANDS PERSONS, IN THE FULL PAY COLLECTION, IN THE YEAR 1840										FEDERAL LANDS PERSONS, IN THE FULL PAY COLLECTION, IN THE YEAR 1840									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Edward L. May	2				1	1																								
Samuel Hays	2					1																								
George Hays	1					1																								
Isaac Shaw	1				1																									
John	1																													
Wm. Burbank	2					1																								
J. M. Bailey	1					1																								
David Douglass						1																								
Edgar Whitwell	3					1																								
John Humphrey	1	2				1																								
James Heath	1	1			1																									
John Bailey	1	2			1																									
George Leitch	1	1			1																									
J. S. Douglass	1	2			1																									
Amos Baker	1	1	2																											
William Atkins					1																									
Gideon Wells	1	1			1																									
Eli Eastman	1	1			1																									
David		2			1																									
Ephraim Niles	2				1																									

In 1840, Gideon Wells lived in Wheatland, Michigan, as shown in the 1840 census (line 17), with his wife and two children.

of a community. Check surnames on the census for both where your family began and where they ended up. For example, the 1820 census for Peacham, Vermont, shows 112 different surnames including Shaw, Robbins, Johnson, Gregory, Eastman, Bailey, and Burbank. When we look at the 1840 census in Wheatland, Michigan, we find these same eight among 118 surnames, indicating that Gideon probably did not move alone.¹¹

HOW DID GIDEON GET TO MICHIGAN?

Many Vermonters went west via an all-water route: steamboats to Whitehall on Lake Champlain or packet boats to Troy or Buffalo, and even on to Cleveland, Detroit, and Green Bay. Railroads were not a major factor before 1840 since there were very few of them, and most went only a short distance. However, there was a complex network of “post roads” by this time. And we know from the Wells genealogy that Gideon probably traveled on land.¹²

What is a post road?

The simplest definition is a road that links two towns. This system of roads was started in 1806 when the U.S. Government created a select committee on post roads

under the U.S. Post Office. Post roads were created and maintained to carry the mail from one town to another.¹³

But why Michigan? One reason Gideon and others from Peacham, Vermont, may have chosen Michigan was because land was cheap. In 1820, Congress passed the first federal land sales act. Federal land records are one of the most complete and underutilized records available from the federal government. Some researchers may think that because they do not have any ancestors who “homesteaded,” land records would be of no interest. Since the first homestead act wasn’t passed until 1862, technically Gideon did not homestead, but he did purchase land from the public domain.¹⁴

When your ancestor purchased public domain lands determines under which land act the General Land Office (GLO) recorded it. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM), formed after the General Land Office, was the agency responsible for the creation and maintenance of these records. Land entry papers are records created by the GLO to record land patents. These records relate only to the 30 states in which public domain lands were available.¹⁵

Beginning in 1783, the United States began selling land to raise money. Around 1800, they started a credit system through which entrymen could purchase land

[illegible]

by occupation *farmer* His occupation before

until his death. And luckiest of all, she gives us her place and date of birth—June 27, 1832, in Wilmington, Ohio.¹⁹

The National Archives holds records of bounty land warrant applications in Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, in hard copy only, not yet digitized. An index of soldiers' surnames is currently in progress; to date surnames beginning with the letters A through J are complete. Someone looking into the case of Andrew Park would need to do some extra research to locate his record since Park did not record his bounty

land warrant number. The description in the Online Public Access database (OPA) tells us that the warrants are arranged in alphabetical order by veteran's surname, so that should make them easier to search.²⁰

It is possible to find out not only when and where our ancestors moved but also to gain some insight into why they went where they did and what route they may have followed. While it is not always possible to fill in all the details from federal records, land, census, and military records can give us important information into our ancestors' migrations. 

NOTE ON SOURCES

¹ Martha Ide, widow's pension application #W21431, *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M804A, roll 1389), Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs Record Group (RG) 15.

² Jacob Goodman household, page 305, *Fifth Census United States, 1830* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M19, roll 143), Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29.

³ The family is found in the 1830 census in the South Ward of Reading, Pennsylvania, and in the 1840 census in Delaware Township, Delaware County, Ohio, p. 231, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M704, roll 391), RG 29.

⁴ Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Delaware City Chapter, "Early Marriage Records of Delaware Co., Ohio" (Delaware, OH: DAR, 1940).

⁵ Israel Goodman household, Mahasha County, Iowa, population schedules, Richland Township, p. 53, dwelling 382, family 373, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M653, roll 334), RG 29.

⁶ Unpublished Wells genealogy, p. 2 (in author's possession).

⁷ Gideon Wells household, Genesee County, Michigan, population schedules, Wheatland township, p. 64, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M704, roll 205), RG 29.

⁸ Unpublished Wells genealogy.

⁹ Its now possible to find many local histories and genealogy-related books online at sites such as Google Books and Heritage Quest.

¹⁰ Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont* (Rutland, VT: Academy Books, 1948), pp. 151–153, 157–159, 183.

¹¹ Population schedules, Caledonia County, Vermont, town of Peacham, pp. 395–406, *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M33, roll 127), RG 29; population schedules, Genesee County, town of Wheatland, pp. 64–75, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (National Archives Microfilm publication M704, roll 205), RG 29.

¹² Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont*, p. 185.

¹³ Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1816–1946, Records of the U.S. Senate, RG 46, National Archives and Records Administration. Use our Online Public Access (OPA) to locate specific records www.archives.gov/research/search/.

¹⁴ For more information on why many Vermonters, as well as other New Englanders, migrated to Michigan, see Stewart H. Holbrook, "The Land of Michigandia," in *The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration from New England*, (NY: McMillan Co., 1950), pp. 77–96.

¹⁵ Most books on land research have complete explanations of the differences between state land states and public land states and list which states go into each category. See E. Wade Home, *Land and*

Property Research in the United States, (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1997), pp. 59–60, for state land states; pp. 101–102 for federal (or public) land states. For further information on the General Land Office and land patents, see National Archives and Records Administration, *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives*, (Washington, DC: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 2000), pp. 287–291.

¹⁶ Gideon Wells household, Hillsdale County, Michigan, population schedules, Wheatland Township, p. 483, dwelling 183, family 186, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M432, roll 351); Gideon Wells household, 1860 U.S. Census, Hillsdale County, Michigan, population schedules, Wheatland Township, p. 181, dwelling 1303, family 206, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M653, roll 543); Spencer Wells household, Hillsdale County, Michigan, population schedules, Wheatland Township, p. 531, dwelling 187, family 189, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (National Archives Microfilm, Publication M593, roll 673).

¹⁷ Entry for Andrew Park, Registers of Enlistment in the Regular Army, Mexican War Enlistments, vol. 45, p. 198 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, roll 23), Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's–1917, RG 94. Andrew Park pension file, Series 7.2, Pension and Bounty Land Application Files based upon service prior to the Civil War, Mexican War, in order by surname of soldier, Records of the Veterans Administration, RG 15. One of the affidavits filed by his widow gave his date and place of death.

¹⁸ The Register of Enlistments is available both on microfilm at various National Archives facilities and online at Ancestry.com.

¹⁹ Mexican War service and pension files are indexed on Ancestry.com, but the actual records are not yet digitized and must be ordered from the National Archives. On www.archives.gov, click on the Shop Online box, and then use the Order Reproductions service.

²⁰ Volunteers at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., are compiling an index of bounty land warrant applications in RG 15 and have currently indexed soldiers' surnames beginning with letters A through J. The database is available in the Washington, D.C., research room and on Fold3.com. The surrendered bounty land warrants are in the Records of the Bureau of Land Management, RG 49.



Author

Jean Nudd is an archivist with the National Archives at Boston. She is an avid genealogist and lectures frequently on using federal records and doing genealogy. She has given presentations to the Federation of Genealogical Societies in Boston, New England Regional Genealogical Conferences, and the Ohio Genealogical Society's annual conference, among many others.

MADISON'S GIFT

BY KEITH DONOHUE



David O. Stewart

The idea that the Founders of the United States had a common vision for the creation of the United States, the Constitution, and the federal government is a myth. Only through debate and compromise were they able to hammer out a new and revolutionary political system in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. At the center of it all was James Madison.

Madison's Gift tells the story of his remarkable life through focusing on five key relationships: with Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and Dolley Madison. Drawing upon the collected papers of these figures and other historical records, David O. Stewart restores Madison to his proper place as the most significant framer of the new nation.

Stewart is an award-winning author and the president of the *Washington Independent Review of Books*.

He is the author of several acclaimed histories, including *The Summer of 1787: The Men Who Invented the Constitution* as well as *Impeached: The Trial of President Andrew Johnson and the Fight for Lincoln's Legacy*, and *American Emperor: Aaron Burr's Challenge to Jefferson's America*. Stewart's most recent book, his first novel, is *The Lincoln Deception*.

The structure of *Madison's Gift* is one of the most interesting parts of the book. How did you decide to build it around these five key partnerships in Madison's life?

I was drawn to Madison because he was such a pivotal figure in America's early history, yet so often seems to recede from view. Many of his contemporaries were more charismatic (Washington, Jefferson) or simply noisier (Hamilton, Adams). Madison, it seemed to me, was the fellow in the back room getting the real work done, not the one getting the credit—for the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Federalist essays, founding the Republican Party, even the War of 1812 (for which he got lots of blame and not so much credit).

The more I read and thought about it, I realized that Madison was comfortable with not being out front and actually followed a conscious strategy of partnering with complementary personalities. As one longtime Madison friend noted, he was "ever mindful of what was due from him to others." That's not a dominant quality in most political leaders, who trend to the narcissism end of the personality spectrum. The whole notion of partnership was central to Madison's personality and his career. He liked working with others and was adept at it. He was not a total "alpha male" character, which makes him even more interesting at a time when American leaders are having a hard time working together.

Madison's politics seemed to undergo radical changes over the course of his public career? What happened?

Every student of Madison has to grapple with three tough questions. Some writers portray Madison as consistently following a single political philosophy through his remarkably long public career. That model, however, doesn't fit his career

very well. He was sometimes surprised by events that caused him to reconsider his previous positions, which he then modified to match real-world experience. He was, after all, a practicing politician who had to address public issues as a legislative leader, a cabinet secretary, and then President.

On the question of the powers of the national government, Madison did not foresee that the new Constitution could be stretched to support as centralized and energetic a financial system as Hamilton created through Washington's first administration. Madison despised that financial system, which allowed New York financiers with inside information to enrich themselves while the nation endured a number of terrifying financial panics. (Sound familiar?) Madison insisted in 1791 that the Constitution was never intended to support such a financial structure. Over the next 20-plus years, however, Madison experienced the virtues of Hamilton's Bank of the United States as well as tremendous frustration in trying to fight a war with inadequate revenues, a broken financial system, untrained state militias, and a very small navy. Madison concluded that the bank was a good idea after all, and that a standing army and navy were essential to preserve American sovereignty. (The other two tough Madison questions? His views on state rights, and his lifelong dependence on slave labor despite his belief that slavery was immoral and potentially fatal to the American republic.)

Madison's later relationship with Jefferson seems to be key to understanding them both. What forged such a bond between these two Founders?

They had so much in common. They grew up 30 miles apart in the Virginia Piedmont country. Each was the eldest son of

a very rich man and inherited great wealth, including a lot of slaves. And each was a really smart bookworm, fascinated with government and committed to personal liberty. It would have been more remarkable if they had not become such close friends and allies.

They first met when serving in the Virginia state government in 1779—Jefferson as governor, Madison on his executive council. Both were young enough for their eight-year age difference to hold them somewhat apart. When they were reunited in Philadelphia in 1783, shortly after Jefferson's wife died, they met more as peers, as two single gentlemen who simply could not seem to get enough of each other's company. Their correspondence ranged over most fields of human thought and activity, including natural sciences, government, economics, industry, and agriculture. It's somewhat reassuring that it was not always a love fest—on occasion, one might dismiss the other's idea a bit curtly—but it was mostly an extraordinarily intimate meeting of minds and personalities. John Quincy Adams, who worked with both and who did not pass out compliments lightly, wrote of Madison and Jefferson that "the mutual influence of these two mighty minds upon each other is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world."

A fascinating thread in the book is Madison's partnership with Monroe—from Virginia friends to political rivals to Monroe's service in the fourth President's cabinet. How did Madison overcome their earlier difficulties to come to rely so heavily on Monroe?

Madison and Monroe had two opportunities to fall out from each other. In January 1789, Monroe ran against Madison for a seat in the First Congress. Madison won the race handily and seems to have borne no ill will toward the younger man thereafter. Monroe was an affable, direct person, which surely helped smooth over the confrontation. Their later contretemps was much more rancorous. Monroe, as U.S. minister to England, negotiated a treaty in 1806 on maritime and trade issues. President Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison hated the treaty and immediately consigned it to the dustbin. Monroe was so deeply offended that he allowed his name to be placed in nomination against Madison in the presidential race of 1808, and the two old friends neither spoke nor exchanged correspondence for two years. The rupture healed for largely practical reasons. In 1811, Madison needed Monroe in his cabinet as secretary of state; Monroe longed to be in high office; and enough time

had passed that Monroe was willing to ignore his injured pride. And, of course, Madison remained "ever mindful" of what was due from him to Monroe.

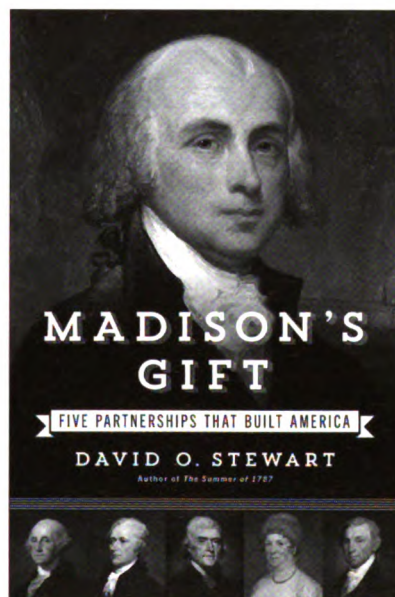
The National Archives—through the NHPRC—has long supported the publication of the documentary editions of the papers of the Founders, including Founders Online. And you relied as well upon the Documentary History of the Ratification. How did the availability of these materials online change your research and writing process?

I am a huge fan of Founders Online, which fundamentally changed my research and writing in large ways and small. Most obviously, I could view most of the correspondence of Madison and his contemporaries from home. Though I live in the Washington area and can get to the Library of Congress, working from home saves me two hours a day in commuting time. Also,

with Founders Online I can copy and paste passages that I want to quote, which reduces the donkey work of transcription and also eliminates the inevitable transcription errors. Finally, Founders Online is especially valuable in the final stages of preparing the manuscript, when you look back over your research notes and realize something about the source material that your notes don't reveal. Is that because the source document didn't say anything about the subject, or because your notes are lousy? Every history writer keeps a list of questions or problems like that to be addressed. With Founders Online, you can double-check those problems very readily. Convenience matters.

What was the biggest surprise you uncovered in your research?

This was my first attempt to study a female historical figure—Dolley Madison—and I enjoyed it tremendously. Some of that pleasure may be attributed to Dolley herself; she was an interesting and engaging figure. But some of my reaction was due to the different experiences of women during the early American period and their different ways of writing and talking about those experiences. Dolley gushed about her feelings, about her beloved relatives and friends, about her annoying slaves, and about the world around her. I felt that I was looking through a new window. Sure, Dolley sometimes kept her own eye on history (notably in a letter describing how she saved the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington from British troops intent on burning the White House). Nevertheless, the experience made me even more frustrated by the relative paucity of historical record of women's lives, and more sensitive to the importance of reclaiming it, even for people like me who write a lot about Dead White Men.



EVENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

For up-to-date event information, consult our Calendar of Events. The free Calendar is available from the Foundation for the National Archives, Calendar of Events (Room G-12), 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW 20408, or on the web at www.archives-foundation.org/signup/.

Permanent exhibit: "The Public Vaults." National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Permanent exhibit: "Records of Rights." Rubenstein Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through January 5. Featured Document Display: Gen. Anthony McAuliffe's 1944 Christmas Message to his Troops. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through February 4. Featured Document: George Washington's First Annual Message to Congress. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

February 5–March 4. Featured Document: Records from Louis Zamperini's incredible World War II story. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

March 5–April 29. Featured Document: Dr. Leale's report on the Lincoln Assassination. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Opening March 6. Exhibit: "Spirited Republic." Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

ABILENE, KANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "World War II Remembered: Leaders, Battles & Heroes." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

Continuing exhibit: "Be Ye Men of Valour: Allies of World War II." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

January 24. Battle of the Bulge 70th Anniversary, Visitors Center Auditorium. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

January 25. Winter Film Festival: *Patch Adams*. Visitors Center Auditorium. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

February 1. Winter Film Festival: *What Dreams May Come*. Visitors Center Auditorium. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

February 8. Winter Film Festival: *Lee Daniels' The Butler*. Visitors Center Auditorium. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

March 26. Lecture: "A Conversation About John Eisenhower," Mitch Yockelson. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

March 31. Lecture: "Eisenhower: The Public Relations President," Pam Parry. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.



The World War II exhibit at the Eisenhower Library.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

February 5. Lecture: James Thrush, Gerald R. Ford Journalism Prize Winner for Reporting on the Presidency. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

March 17. Lecture: David Holmes, *Faith of the Founding Fathers*. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

Continuing exhibit: "The Remarkable Life and Times of Gerald and Betty Ford." Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 22. Author lecture: Sheila McCauley Keys and Eddie Allen, Jr., *Our Auntie Rosa: The Family of Rosa Parks Remembers Her Life and Lessons*. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: Civil War objects from the museum collection. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

Continuing exhibit: "Civil Rights." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

February 25. Lecture: "An Evening with David Axelrod." Call for information. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

March 10. Lecture: "An Evening with Garry Wills." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

March 26. Lecture: "An Evening with Joseph Califano, Jr. and Bob Schieffer." Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Continuing exhibit: "To the Brink: JFK and the Cuban Missile Crisis." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

February 18. Performance: Benkadi Drum and Dance. Register to attend. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

March 14. Performance: The Irish Balladeers. Register to attend. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

Teachers workshops: Information at www.archives.gov/education/professional-development/boston.html. Call to register. National Archives at Boston. 781-663-0126.

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Spotlight on Art Educators." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

Continuing exhibit: "Conquering Cancer: A Commitment for the Ones We Love." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

Opening March 16. Exhibit: "Texas A&M Forest Service." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

Through February 1. Exhibit: "Offshore Drilling: The Promise of Discovery." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

January 29. Livestream: Reading Discovery Featuring First Lady Barbara Bush. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

February 19. Livestream: Celebrate Presidents Day with George Washington. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

March 28. College Station Easter Celebration. Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

January 15. Lecture: "The Ford Class—The Next Generation: The Evolution of U.S. Aircraft Carriers." Retired Vice Admiral David Architzel. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.



An educator at the Bush Library's Art Educators exhibit.

Continuing exhibit: "Growing Up Grand." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

Continuing exhibit: "Taking the Seas: The Rise of the U.S. Aircraft Carrier." Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

February 4. Black History Month Lecture: Fred McClure. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

February 10. Author Lecture: Howard Willens, *History Will Prove Us Right: Inside the Warren Commission Report on the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

HYDE PARK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: "A New Deal for a New Generation." Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

January 30. FDR Birthday Event: Rose Garden Ceremony. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

Teacher Development Workshops. Call for information. Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Through February 22. Exhibit: "Read My Pins: The Madeleine Albright Collection." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

February 14. "Talkin' Truman." Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

February 28. National History Day contest. Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

MORROW, GEORGIA

Ongoing. Workshops for American history teachers. Call for information. National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

February 5. Author Lecture: "Cold War Modernists," Prof. Greg Barnhisel. Call to register. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

February 18. Author Lecture: "Harlem's Rantlers and the Great War," Prof. Sammons. National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

Opening February 15. Exhibit: "New York on the Record: Spirited Republic." National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

February 4, 11, 18, 25. Online Seminar: "Primarily Teaching Online." Information and times: www.archives.gov/education/distance-learning/professional-development.html. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

March 26. Online Workshop: "Introduction to Creating on DocsTeach.Org." Information and times: www.archives.gov/education/distance-learning/professional-development.html. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

SIMI VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: "The Berlin Wall." Reagan Library. 800-410-8354.

Continuing exhibit: "Amazing Automobiles: The Ultimate Car Exhibit." Reagan Library. 800-410-8354.

Continuing exhibit: "California: Remember Our Fallen." Reagan Library. 800-410-8354.

February 16. Annual President's Day Celebration. Reagan Library. 800-410-8354.



An exhibit on the Berlin Wall at the Reagan Library.

WEST BRANCH, IOWA

Continuing exhibit: "America's First Ladies." Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

Through March 22. Exhibit: "The Signature of Baseball." Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

January 19. Lecture: "The History of Civil Rights in Iowa," Michael Zahs. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

February 16. Lecture: "How Iowa Met Baseball," John Leipa. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

March 7, 14, 21. Saturday afternoon baseball movies. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

GENEALOGY EVENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Genealogy workshops are conducted throughout the year. For up-to-date information, consult the monthly Calendar of Events and www.archives.gov/research/genealogy/events/.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

January 10. "Treats, Treasures, and the Gift of History." Call to register. National Archives at Chicago. 773-948-9001.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

February 6. "Nonpopulation Census Records 1850-1880." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

February 21. "Genealogy 101." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

March 3-5. "Citizen Archivist." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

March 6. "HERstory: Women in the Records of the National Archives." National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

March 10. Finding Family: "Introduction to Genealogy at the National Archives." National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

February 12, March 12. "Meet for Lunch at the Brick Wall." Call to register. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

January 22. Online Workshop: "Searching the National Archives Online Catalog." Register online. Information at www.archives.gov/education/distance-learning/professional-development.html. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

E-Records Officially Federal Records Under New Law Signed by Obama

President Barack Obama has signed legislation that expands the definition of federal records to clearly include electronic records—the first change in the Federal Records Act since 1950. It also confirms that federal electronic records are to be transferred to the Archives in electronic form.

By focusing more directly on electronic records, the measure complements efforts by the National Archives and the Office of Management and Budget to implement the President's 2011 instructions on managing government records. The legislation is H.R. 1233, the Presidential and Federal Records Act Amendments of 2014. This new law also grants the Archivist final determination as to what constitutes a federal record. It updates both the 1950 Federal Records Act and the 1978 Presidential Records Act.

Archivist of the United States David S. Ferriero praised the enactment of the measure, noting its bipartisan sponsorship.

Ferriero cited in particular Reps. Darrell Issa (R-CA) and Elijah Cummings (D-MD), chairman and ranking member, respectively, of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee, and Senators Tom Carper (D-DE) and Tom Coburn (R-OK) for their work on the measure.

Nixon Library Releases More Of Haldeman's Audio Diary

The Richard Nixon Presidential Library opened a portion of H. R. (Bob) Haldeman's audio diary. The diary is available online at www.nixonlibrary.gov.

Haldeman, Nixon's chief of staff from January 20, 1969, until April 30, 1973, kept a handwritten diary from January 18, 1969, through December 2, 1970. In late 1970, he began dictating his entries on audiocassette. This new release consists of audio entries from December 12, 1970, through March 13, 1973 (193 days).

The diaries provide a daily record of events and conversations, as well as Haldeman's often candid thoughts at the end of each day. Topics include the Pentagon Papers, Vietnam negotiations, India-Pakistani War, Israel, and U.S. relations with the Soviet Union and China. Haldeman donated these diaries to the National Archives in 1980.

Each entry has a transcript to assist listeners and identify previously withheld information. An index and finding accompany the diary. With this release, 296 previously classified segments will be available, including 285 segments declassified in full. The library continues to process the remainder of the diaries.

Justice Department Lifts Freeze On Tobacco Industry Litigation

The Department of Justice lifted the Tobacco Industry Litigation (TIL) freeze, which has affected nearly 12 million cubic feet of records for the past 15 years. The freeze was imposed October 19, 1999, following the case *United States v. Philip Morris USA Inc.*

"For the last 15 years, nearly 12 million cubic feet of records

within the Federal Records Center Program (of the nearly 30 million cubic feet in storage at all the FRCs) have been under the TIL freeze," said Federal Records Center Program (FRCP) Director David Weinberg.

"With the lifting of TIL, the FRCP will, with agency concurrence, be able to dispose of 2.2 million cubic feet that are frozen just under TIL, with no other agency-requested disposition freezes, and past due for destruction," according to Weinberg. "This is huge for our customers and the taxpayers. . . . But this is equally as huge for us as it will provide much needed space relief."

Clinton Library Releases More Previously Restricted Documents

The Clinton Library in Little Rock, Arkansas, this fall released the seventh batch this year of previously restricted documents under the Presidential Records Act.

Access to the documents had been restricted because they pertained to appointments to federal office or had confidential advice between the President and/or his advisers and between those advisers.

The documents are available at the library and online on the library's website at www.clintonlibrary.gov.

These documents pertain to a wide variety of topics, including the pardon of Marc Rich, the health care task force, the travel office investigation, the Whitewater investigation, and the domestic policy council as well as numerous White House officials.

"We the Poets" Celebrated American Archives Month

For American Archives Month (October 2014), the National Archives partnered with the Academy of American Poets in "We the Poets"—the creation of 12 poems by eight poets inspired by records in the National Archives.

The poets recited their original poems at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. (viewable on the National Archives YouTube channel and Poets.org). The poets were inspired by subjects as diverse as a photograph of immigrants at Ellis Island, a Bureau of Fisheries poster, and the National Archives Building itself.

"These poems serve as evidence that records in the Archives aren't just historical documents, but they are tangible connections to our nation's past that inspire vivid emotional and creative responses," said Jessie Kratz, Historian of the National Archives. "We are excited to share these original works and hope they help inspire others to explore our records."

Errata

The Fall 2014 issue of *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* (Vol. 46, no. 3), contained an error in the article "Time and Punishment: Washington, D.C.'s Prisons Become a National Disgrace." The photo caption on page 53 and text on page 54 (column 3) said the Lincoln assassination conspirators were hanged at the Old Capitol Prison. The execution took in the Washington Arsenal Penitentiary.

PICTURE CREDITS

Front cover, back cover, pp. 14, 15, 17 (bottom), 19 (top), Records of the Patent and Trademark Office, Record Group (RG) 241; Inside front cover, 111-SC-198305; pp. 6–7 (P833.5412), p. 9 (top) (P833.65116.G), Collections of The Henry Ford; p. 9 (center), FC-FC-440; p. 9 (bottom), FC-FC-1172; p. 10 (top), FC-FC-2461; p. 10 (center top), FC-FC-247; p. 10 (center bottom), FC-FC-5; p. 10 (bottom), FC-FC-3877; p. 11 (top), FC-FC-4255; p. 11 (center), FC-FC-3335; p. 11 (bottom), FC-FC-147; p. 12 (left), FC-FC-4678; p. 12 (right), FC-FC-3850; p. 16, 58-GHF-9-11; p. 17 (top), Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92; p. 18, 58-GHF-11-2; p. 19 (bottom), Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering, RG 54; p. 20, 45-WP-353; p. 21 (top & center), Records of the Internal Revenue Service, RG 58; p. 21 (bottom), 306-NT-727-4; p. 22 (left), Gerald R. Ford Library; p. 22 (right), 511-FAP-2; pp. 24–30, 32–33, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75; p. 31, Great Smoky Mountain National Park Archives; pp. 36–37, 43, 60, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library; pp. 38–39, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, RG 331; p. 39 (right), 208AA-202B-5; p. 40 (top), 208-YE-108; p. 40 (bottom), 208-YE-105; p. 41, 111-SC-199296; p. 42, 111-SC-200-481; p. 44 (left), Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1917–, RG 407; p. 44 (right), 111-SC-200482; p. 46, 80-G-330220; p. 47 (top), 80-G-330221; p. 47 (center), 80-G-330224; p. 47 (bottom), 80-G-330212; pp. 48–50, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Navy), RG 125; pp. 52–53, Library of Congress; p. 53 (right), Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files (National Archives Microfilm Publication M804A), Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, RG 15; p. 54 (top), Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Microfilm Publication M432), Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29; p. 54 (bottom), Records of the Bureau of Land Management, RG 49; p. 55 (top), Sixth Census of the United States, 1840 (M704), Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29; p. 56 (top), Registers of Enlistment in the U.S. Army, 1798–1914 (M233), Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's–1917, RG 94; p. 56 (bottom), Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, RG 15; pp. 58–59, courtesy of Simon & Schuster; p. 61 (top), George Bush Library; p. 62 (bottom), Ronald Reagan Library; p. 65, Foundation for the National Archives; p. 72, General Records of the U.S. Government; RG 11.

Documents on Loan

National Archives documents and artifacts are on display in museums across the country—and not just in our own archives and presidential libraries. The documents described here are out on loan to museums and other institutions.

Louisiana Purchase

On October 25, “The Louisiana Purchase: Making St. Louis, Remaking America” opened at the Missouri History Museum in St. Louis. National Archives documents on display include the original Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803, Spain's agreement with France to transfer the Territory to France, the act authorizing the President to take possession from France, the treaty between the United States and the Sauk and the Fox Indians signed at St. Louis in 1804, and six more related items. Through April 19, 2015.

American Indian Treaties

“Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indians” at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., features Indian treaties from the National Archives, rotated into the exhibition every six months. The 1794 Treaty with the Six Nations signed by George Washington will be displayed through February 2015. From March through September 2015 the exhibition will feature the 1790 Treaty between the Creeks and the United States. Both treaties were signed by George Washington.

Other Loans

Records relating to the history of Congress, rotated every six months, including the Medicare Act of 1965 and Jefferson's 1803 Secret Message to Congress regarding the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Capitol Visitor Center, Washington, D.C., “E Pluribus Unum.” Through March 7, 2015.

Two George Washington letters, one pertaining to the Revolutionary War and the other his Presidency Mount Vernon, Virginia. Through March 17, 2015.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Fair Housing). Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. Through March 24, 2015.

Naval Limitation Treaty of 1929 and other documents. Gerald R. Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Through April 30, 2015.

FBI Model of Dealey Plaza, 1964. Sixth Floor Museum, Dallas, Texas. Indefinitely.

Watergate break-in tools, ca. 1972. Gerald

R. Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Through May 2015.

Watergate break-in tools, ca. 1972. Richard Nixon Library, Yorba Linda, California. Through May 2015.

Records relating to American constitutional history, including 1838 report of sick and wounded Cherokee on the Trail of Tears. National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, “The Story of We the People.” Through June 30, 2015.

Two letters from former slaves who escaped to Nova Scotia during the War of 1812. Maritime Museum of Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, “Prize and Prejudice: Nova Scotia's War of 1812.” Through July 9, 2015.

1816 letter from Andrew Jackson to Secretary of War on Indian matters and judge's opinion in case against Jackson. Historic New Orleans Collection, “Andrew Jackson: Hero of New Orleans.” Through March 29, 2015.

President John Tyler's ratification of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, “1867.” Through September 13, 2015.

Delaware Ratification of the Bill of Rights. British Library, London, “Magna Carta: Law, Liberty, Legacy.” Through September 1, 2015.

From the Presidential Libraries

John F. Kennedy Library

Portrait of President Kennedy by Peter Peiler-Engstrom. United States Senate Office, Washington, D.C.

Lyndon B. Johnson Library

Two bill-signing pens. National Park Service, Lyndon Johnson National Historical Park, Stonewall, Texas. Through January 28, 2015.

George Bush Library

Cowboy boots and Stetson hat. Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. Through June 30, 2015.

William J. Clinton Library

Vintage bicycle. The Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas, “Different Spokes.” Through February 2016.

Because of your support and engagement, we celebrate another year of milestones. On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Foundation for the National Archives, I extend a huge salute of gratitude to all of our members—individuals, corporations and foundations from across the country—who have helped us make connections to America's story both with your in-person presence and online.

As 2014 comes to an end, I'm pleased to report that the Foundation has pledged more than \$1.4 million this year in support of the National Archives, thanks in large part to our major donors including David M. Rubenstein; Ancestry.com; Mars, Incorporated; AT&T; the Lawrence F. O'Brien Family; the William Randolph Hearst Foundation; the William G. McGowan Charitable Fund; Texas Instruments; Toyota; Capital One; Governor Jim Blanchard and Janet Blanchard; the Maris S. Cuneo Foundation; John Hancock Financial; and

HISTORY/A+E Networks.

This year, we were proud to support "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" in the National Archives Museum's Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery. This fascinating exhibition introduced visitors in Washington, D.C., to the Archives' extraordinary diversity of records while also breaking new ground online with an eBook and a feature on Google Cultural Institute.

Thanks to our partnership with AT&T, there was even an interactive quiz! With support from Mars, Inc., the popular "What's Cooking, Uncle Sam?" exhibit launched its national tour in Atlanta, Georgia, at the David J. Sencer CDC Museum.

The Foundation was proud to partner with Archivist David Ferriero and the Archives staff in hosting three sleepovers. These first-ever overnight adventures at the Archives welcomed more than 300 children and parents, who explored our documents in fun and educational ways before rolling out their sleeping bags to spend the night in

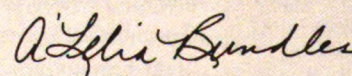
the Rotunda with the Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

At the Foundation's annual gala in October, we were thrilled to award the 2014 Records of Achievement Award to Robert Edsel, a tireless and effective advocate for the World War II Monuments Men and the cultural history they were committed to saving. Through his efforts to document the story of these brave men and women and to personally continue their mission of returning art looted by the Nazis, Robert has made a new generation aware of their dedication. His work also highlights the critical value that the National Archives continues to provide in preserving treasured artifacts and powerful stories from our nation's history.

While this has been a year of celebration and success, we also must reflect with sadness on the passing of our Board Member Sue Gin McGowan, whose engagement helped shape the National Archives Museum. At the suggestion of the late Eugene Eidenberg, another Foundation board member, and with Sue's advocacy, the William G. McGowan Charitable Fund provided funds for the construction of the William G. McGowan Theater. Sue—in memory of her late husband's love of history—became an active collaborator on initiatives and programs in the theater, including the twice annual McGowan Forums. She was an inspiration to all of us. We truly will miss her passion, energy, and leadership.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank all of our members and dedicated colleagues at the National Archives. You make all the hard work worthwhile.

With warm wishes for a happy and healthy 2015,



A'Lelia Bundles

Chair and President

Foundation for the National Archives

Celebrating 10 Years of the McGowan Theater and the McGowan Forum

Ten years ago, the beautiful 290-seat William G. McGowan Theater first opened its doors in the National Archives Museum in Washington, D.C. In the forthcoming decade, the theater would become a destination for high-quality programs, including lectures, film screenings, concerts, and discussions on a wide range of topics related to the vast holdings of the National Archives.

This year also marks the 10th Annual McGowan Forum on Communications, featuring NPR's Michel Martin and a panel of former White House press secretaries discussing their roles in presidential administrations from Ford to Obama. Each year, the forum offers a unique exploration of the crossroads where communication, technology, and government meet. Past discussions have covered a broad range of topics, including

presidential photographers, voting technology, tech entrepreneurs, Web 2.0, the rise of social media, how news outlets communicate election results, and more. The theater also hosts an annual McGowan Forum on Women in Communications each spring. Past forums and other McGowan Theater programs are archived online on the National Archives' YouTube and UStream channels.

One of the main reasons for the ongoing success and longevity of the McGowan Forum on Communications has been the support and generosity of the McGowan Charitable Fund, Inc., which contributed to the construction of the theater and has continued to support the programs hosted therein each year, as well as the personal advocacy and generosity of the late Sue Gin McGowan, a longtime National Archives supporter and Foundation for the National Archives Board Member.



DC Fashion Week's opening night and fashion show in the National Archives Rotunda, inspired by the "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" exhibit in the neighboring O'Brien Gallery. *Inset:* Hoa Cartan and Hayley Douglas with Tim Gunn, after winning the Foundation's "#SignatureStyle" social media contest, inspired by the "Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures" exhibit.



A group of explorers poses for a picture with their gear after the third History, Heroes & Treasures Sleepover at the National Archives. History, Heroes & Treasures was supported by the Foundation for the National Archives; John Hancock Financial; Occasions Caterers; Mars, Incorporated; American Heritage Chocolate®; Penguin Young Readers Group; and the Coca-Cola Company.



Gala Chair Nick Clooney, Foundation Chair A'Leia Bundles, Records of Achievement Honoree Robert Edsel, Archivist of the United States David Ferriero, and Foundation Executive Director Patrick M. Madden with the Records of Achievement award and three Monuments Men-related facsimile records. The Gala and Records of Achievement Award Ceremony were made possible by AT&T and the generous support of Governor Jim Blanchard and Janet Blanchard, and the Maris S. Cuneo Foundation.



From left to right: Mike McCurry, press secretary for the Clinton administration; Marlin Fitzwater, press secretary for the Reagan and Bush administrations; Robert Gibbs, press secretary for the Obama administration; Ron Nessen, press secretary for the Ford administration; and Michel Martin of NPR at the 10th Annual McGowan Forum on Communications in the William G. McGowan Theater.

Compiled by Susan Carroll

Academy of American Poets, 4-62
 "Across the Continent," engraving, illustrated, 4-52–53
 Adams, John, 1-45, 1-46, 1-48, 1-52; depictions of, 1-49, 1-50
 Adams, John Quincy, 4-56, 4-57, 4-72
 Adams, Samuel, 1-46; depictions of, 1-47, 1-49, 1-50
 African Americans, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1-66, 1-67–68, 2-64–65; and the development of the atomic bomb, 1-62, 1-63; and the justice system, 1-26–34; monuments to, 3-24; pensions for, 3-22–29; racial discrimination against, 4-46–51; and the Revolutionary War, 3-22–29; and the Scottsboro boys, 1-26–34; and smallpox, 3-50–51; and the U.S. Navy, 4-46–51; and Washington, D.C., prisons, 3-49–51, 3-53–54; women nurses in the Spanish-American War, 2-30; and World War II, 4-46–51
 Aircraft Production Board, 2-58
 Airplanes, wood for the construction of, 2-58–63
 Alabama, 1-26–34, 2-27, 2-29, 2-34
 Alabama Supreme Court, 1-30, 1-32, 1-34
 Alaska, 2-58, 2-59
 Alcoholic beverages, 4-14–22
 Alexander, Gen. Harold, 2-50
 Alien Enemy Act of 1798, 2-16
 "All the Women Were Valiant," by Mercedes Graf, 2-24–34
 Allied Control Commission, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives subcommission, 2-50, 2-51–53, 2-54–56
 Allied Forces Headquarters, and records preservation, 2-49, 2-50–51, 2-52–53, 2-54, 2-56
 Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories, Office of the Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments, 2-49
 Aluminum, 2-7–12
 Ambrose, Stephen, *D Day: June 6, 1944, The Climatic Battle of World War II*, 1-41; *The Supreme Commander*, 1-41
 American Archives Month, 4-62
 American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe, 2-50
 American Defense Society, 2-17
 American Heritage Chocolate, 1-71, 2-70, 2-71
 American Indians, and alcoholic beverages, 4-16; and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 4-25–34; exhibit of treaties with, 3-69, 4-63
 American Protection League, 2-17
 Amidon, Audrey, photo, 3-34
 Ancestry.com, 4-64
 Andrés, José, 2-70
 "Archival Repositories in Italy," by Ernst Posner, 2-49–50
 Ardennes Forest, and the Battle of the Bulge, 4-39–44
 Arima, Rear Adm. Masafumi, 1-24
 Armstrong, John, 2-36, 2-41
 Army Air Force, and World War II, 3-14–15, 3-20
 "Army in the Woods, The," by Kathleen Crosman, 2-58–63
 Army Signal Corps, motion pictures from, 3-31, 3-32–34
Arsenal of Democracy, The, by A. J. Baime, 3-64–65
 Articles of Confederation, 1-46
 AT&T, 1-8, 1-70, 2-70, 3-70, 3-71, 4-64
 Atomic bomb, development of, 1-62–63
 Atomic Energy Commission, 1-62, 1-63
 Audiovisual records, World War I, 3-2, 3-30–34; World

War II, 3-2
 Aycock, Richard, 3-23, 3-24, 3-25–26, 3-28
 Bailey, H. G., 1-28–29
 Bailey, Lucretia M., 2-33
 Baime, A. J., *The Arsenal of Democracy*, 3-64–65; photo, 3-64
 Baldwin, Abraham, 1-48; depictions of, 1-50
 Bankruptcy laws and records, 3-59–63
 Barrington, Illinois, 2-15, 2-18, 2-21–22
 Bartlett, Josiah, 1-46
 Barton, Clara, 2-34
 Bastogne, Belgium, 4-43; photo of, 4-42
 Bates, Ruby, 1-28, 1-30, 1-31, 1-32
 Bariste, Jonathan, 1-71
 Battle of Hamel, 2-20
 Battle of the Bulge, 4-36–44
 Beckman, Ens. James W., 3-13, 3-14
 Bedford, Gunning, Jr., 1-48, 1-49; depictions of, 1-50
 "Being German, Being American," by Mary J. Manning, 2-15–22
 Bellamy, Jay, "The Scottsboro Boys: Injustice in Alabama," 1-26–34
 Benedict, Maryland, 2-36, 2-40
 Biden, Joe, 3-68; photo, 3-68
 Black Revolutionary Patriot Monument, Washington, Georgia, 3-24; illustrated, 3-25
 Blanchard, Jim and Janet, 4-64
 "Bloodiest Battle, The," 4-36–44
 Blumenson, Martin, 1-41
 Blythe, Jarrett, 4-29, 4-33, 4-34
 Boies, David, 1-66
 Bond, Julian, 1-66; photo, 1-67
 Bono, Mary, photo, 1-70
 Boyd, Belle, 3-54
 Bradford, Isabella R., 2-30
 Bradley, John G., 3-33–34
 Bradley, Lt. Gen. Omar, 1-42; photo, 1-39
 Bradsher, Greg, 3-65; "The President's Archivist Goes to War," 2-47–57
 Braun, Carol Moseley, photo, 1-70
 Bridges, Paul W., 1-69
 Bridges, R. R., 1-28, 1-30, 1-34; photo, 1-29
 British Library, London, 4-63
 Brodsky, Joseph, 1-30
 "Broke, But Not Out of Luck," by Jake Ersland, 3-58–63
 Brookeville, Maryland, 2-42
 Brown, Jim, 1-66; photo, 1-68
 Buck, Solon, 2-47, 2-49, 2-51, 2-56
 Bull, Maj. Gen. Harold, 1-41–42
 Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, 3-69, 4-63
 Bundles, A'Leia, 1-70, 2-70, 2-71, 3-70, 3-71, 4-64; photos, 1-70, 4-65
 Burch, Samuel, 2-42–43
 Burke, Mary Ellen (Sr. Anastasia), 2-26–27
 Bush, George H.W., 1-69, 3-13, 3-14, 3-21
 Bush, George W., 1-66, 1-67, 1-68, 3-70; photo, 1-68
 Bustard, Bruce I., "Spirited Republic," 4-14–22
 Cable, John L., 1-58
 Cable Act, 1-58, 1-59
 Cahoon, Capt. John, 3-38
 Calhoun, John C., 4-49
 California, 2-30, 2-59
 Callahan, William, 1-32, 1-34

Cameron, Emma, 2-33
 Campos, Anna H., 2-31–32
 Canada, 2-29
 Canadian War Museum, 3-69, 4-63
 Cannon, Patty, 3-24
 Capitol One, 2-70, 4-64
 Capitol Visitor Center, exhibit at, 3-69, 4-63
 Caple, Steven W., 2-70; photo, 2-70
 Carroll, Charles, 1-46
 Cartan, Hoa, photo, 4-65
 Carter, Jimmy, 1-66, 1-67, 1-68; photo, 1-68
 Cartter, David Kellogg, 3-56
 Casey, Lt. Col. Thomas Lincoln, 2-9, 2-10, 2-11–12; photos, 2-6, 2-8
 Cave, Maj. R. J., 2-53–54
 CBS World War I Collection, 3-31
 Census records, 4-52, 4-53, 4-56
 Charters of Freedom, 2-70; preservation of, 2-36–44; and the War of 1812, 2-36–44
 Chase, Samuel, 1-46
 Cherokee Indian Reservation, 1934, map of, 4-24–25
 Cherokee Nation, Eastern Band, 4-25–34
 China, 2-72
 "Christmas Shootings on Guam, The," by Tina L. Ligon, 4-46–51
 Cicconi, Jim, 2-70; photo, 2-70
 Citizenship, and German Americans, 2-17, 2-18; and marriages, 1-56–61; and military service, 2-18
 Civil rights, legislation, 1-66, 1-67–68, 2-64–65; and Lyndon B. Johnson, 1-66, 1-67, 2-64–65; for women, 3-68
 Civil Rights Act, of 1964, 1-66, 1-67, 2-64–65; of 1968, 4-63
 Civil rights movement and the Scottsboro boys, 1-27–34
 Civil Rights Summit, 1-66, 1-67–68
 Civil War, and Washington, D.C., 3-49, 3-50, 3-51, 3-53–54
 Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division, 4-25–34
 Clark, Elijah, 3-26, 3-27–28; portrait, 3-27
 Clarke, Eric, 1-63
 Classified records, 2-68
 Clay, Henry, 1-51, 4-72; depiction of, 1-50
 Cleland, Max, 3-24
 Clinton, William J., 1-66, 1-67, 1-68, 1-69, 2-68; photo, 1-68
 Clooney, Nick, photo, 4-65
 Coca-Cola Company, 1-71
 Cochrane, Dorothy Helen, 2-33
 Collier, John, 4-26–27, 4-28–30, 4-32
 Communist Party of the United States, 1-29–30, 1-32
 Comstock, Adm. Merrill, 1-25
 Connor, R.D.W., 2-44, 2-49
Constitution of the United States, mural by Barry Faulkner, 1-44–54; illustration, 1-45; illustrations of sketches and studies for, 1-49, 1-50, 1-53
 Cookingham, Prescott W., 2-59
 Courts-martial, 4-48–51
 Creasy, Rear Adm. George, 1-41–42
 Criminal justice system, 1-26–34
 Crittendon, Fred, 1-53
 Cronkite, Walter, 1-40, 1-41
 Crooks, Quartermaster Second Class J. H., photo, 4-47
 Crosman, Kathleen, "The Army in the Woods," 2-58–63
 Cross, 1-70
 Cuba, 2-26, 2-28, 2-30–32, 2-33

- Curtis, Namahyoke, 2-30; photo, 2-30
 Customs collectors, 3-37, 3-38, 3-40, 3-46
- Dabney, Austin, 3-22–29
 DASANI, 1-71
 Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, 2-27
 Daughters of the American Revolution, 2-24, 2-26, 2-28, 2-29, 3-24
 Davie, W. R., depiction of, 1-50
 Davis, Capt. George, 2-10, 2-11
 Davis, Kenneth S., 1-39–40, 1-43; *Soldier of Democracy*, 1-39–40
 Davis, Robert Scott, "Tribute for a Black Patriot," 3-22–29
 Davy, Humphrey, 2-8
 DC Fashion Week, 3-70; photo, 4-65
 D-day invasion, 1-36–43
 "D-Day Plus 20 Years," television documentary, 1-40, 1-41
 De Guingand, Maj. Gen. Francis, 1-41; *Operation Victory*, 1-39
 Dealey, Comdr. Samuel, 3-19
 Dearborn, Henry A. S., 3-38
Dearborn Independent, 4-9
Declaration of Independence, mural by Barry Faulkner, 1-44–54; illustration, 1-44; illustrations of sketches and studies for, 1-49, 1-50, 1-53
 Delaware, 4-63
 "Depicting the Creation of a Nation," by Lester S. Gorelic, 1-44–54
Der Spiegel, 1-41
Detroit News, 4-8
 Devers, Jacob L., 2-49, 2-51, 2-52, 2-53, 2-55
Devilfish, USS, submarine, 1-18–25; photos, 1-18
 DeWald, Maj. Ernest T., 2-53
 Dickinson, John, 1-46; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50
 Dirksen, Everett, 2-64, 2-65
 Disney, Walt, 3-59, 3-62, 3-63; photo, 3-58
 District of Columbia, and African Americans, 3-49, 3-50; and the Civil War, 3-49, 3-50; prisons, 3-48–57; Supreme Court of the, 3-55–56
 Documentary editing, 1-69
 Documentary History of the Ratification, online resource, 4-57
 Domestic violence, 3-68
 Donohue, Keith, "The 'Girls' and the 'Gadget,'" 1-62–63; "An Idea Whose Time Had Finally Come," 2-64–65; "Madison's Gift," 4-56–57
 Douglas, Hayley, photo, 4-65
 Douglas, John, oral history files, 2-65
 Douglass, Frederick, 1-10
 Downs, Jim, 3-50
 Drew, Jill, photo, 3-71
 Duff, Charlie, 3-65
 Durborough, Wilbur H., 3-32
 Durborough War Pictures, 3-32, 3-34
 Dykema, 2-70, 2-71
- Easter, De Witt, 3-57
Easter v. The District of Columbia, 3-57
 Ebling, George, 4-11–12
 Edison, Thomas A., 4-8, 4-12; photo, 4-9
 Edsel, Robert, 3-70, 3-71, 4-64; photos, 3-71, 4-65
 Edwards, Harry, photo, 1-68
 Eidenberg, Eugene, 4-64
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 1-17, 1-36–43; and the Battle of the Bulge, 4-41, 4-43–44; Crusade in Europe, 1-37; photo, 1-11, 1-36, 1-39; and records preservation in Europe, 2-47, 2-49, 2-50, 2-52
- Eisenhower, John S. D., 4-44
 Eisenhower, Milton, 1-40
 Electronic records, 2-2, 4-2, 4-56, 4-62
 Ellery, William, 1-46
 Ellicott, Andrew, 1794 plan of Washington, D.C., illustration, 2-36–37
 Ellis, William H., 3-40
 Ellsworth, Oliver, 1-46, 1-48; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50
 Emancipation Proclamation, on display in Reno, 2-69
 England, 2-29, 2-30
Enterprise, USS, 1-24
 Erslund, Jake, "Broke, But Not Out of Luck," 3-58–63
 Exhibits, 1-1, 1-5, 1-6–17, 1-70, 2-69, 2-70, 2-71, 3-69, 4-14–22, 4-64
 Expatriation Act of 1907, 1-57
- Fahrney's Pens, 1-70
 Fair Housing Act of 1968, 1-66
 Farmer, James, photo, 1-69
 Faulkner, Barry, 1-45–54; illustrations of murals by, 1-44–45, 1-47–50, 1-53; photo of, 1-45
 Federal land records, 4-53–54, 4-55, 4-56, 4-57
 Ferriero, David S., 1-14, 1-16, 1-71, 2-68, 3-68, 3-70, 3-71, 4-62, 4-64; "Maximizing Our Value to the Nation," 4-2; "Meeting Our Customers' Needs," 3-2; photos, 1-2, 4-65; "Scanning the Past to Make Access Happen," 2-2; "'Stretch' Goals in Our New Strategic Plan," 1-2
Finback, USS, 3-13–14, 3-15, 3-19, 3-21
 Fiske, Col. Norman E., 2-55
 Fitts, Quartermaster Second Class H. E., photo, 4-47
 Fitzwater, Marlin, photo, 4-65
 Flanagan, Elizabeth (Sr. Mary Elizabeth), 2-26–27, 2-28
 Florida, 2-33–34
 Floyd, William, 1-46; depictions of, 1-50
 Ford, Betty, photo, 4-22
 Ford, Clara, 4-11–12
 Ford, Edsel, 3-65, 4-11
 Ford, Henry, 3-65, 4-6–12; photos, 4-9, 4-12
 Ford, Henry, II, 4-11–12; photo, 4-12
 Ford Film Collection, 3-31–32
 Ford Motor Company, 3-64–65, 4-6–12; Motion Picture Laboratories, 4-8; Photographic Department, 4-9–11, 4-12
 Forest fires, 4-31, 4-32
 Fort Knox, Kentucky, 2-44
 Foundation for the National Archives, 1-8; news, 1-70–71, 2-70–71, 3-70–71, 4-64–65; Records of Achievement Award, 3-70, 3-71, 4-64; sleepover at the National Archives, 1-70, 1-71, 4-64, photos of, 4-65
 Founders Online, 4-57
 Founding Fathers, depicted in the murals in the Rotunda of the National Archives Building, 1-44–54
 France, 2-56, 2-58
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 3-51
 Franklin, Benjamin, 1-45, 1-48, 1-52; depictions of, 1-47, 1-49, 1-50
Franklin, USS, 1-24
 Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 2-47, 2-48, 2-49, 2-57, 2-69
 Frishmuth, William, 2-9–12
 Frost, J. T., 2-42–43
- Gale, Gen. Humfrey, 1-42
 Gallatin, Albert, 1-49–50, 1-51; depiction of, 1-48, 1-50
- Galvin, Ens. John R., 3-19
 Gault, Col. James, 1-39
 Gavin, Alison M., "Time and Punishment," 3-48–57
 Genealogical research, 1-56–61, 2-58–63, 3-58–63, 3-68, 4-52–57
 General Land Office, 4-55, 4-56
 George Bush Library, 2-69, 3-69
 George Washington University, 1-69
 Georgia, 2-27, 2-29–30, 2-33, 2-34, 3-24, 3-25–26, 3-27, 3-28, 3-29
 Gerald R. Ford Museum, 3-69, 4-63
 Gerard, James W., 2-17
 German Americans, and World War I, 2-15–22
 Germany, and the Battle of the Bulge, 4-39–44; records preservation in during World War II, 2-56–57; U.S. companies operating in, 3-65
 Gerry, Elbridge, 1-46; depiction of, 1-50
 Gibbs, Robert, photo, 4-65
 Gilbert Islands, 3-15, 3-16, 3-17
 Gilmer, George R., 3-23, 3-24, 3-26, 3-27, 3-29
 "'Girls' and the 'Gadget,' The," by Keith Donohue, 1-62–63
Girls of Atomic City. The, by Denise Kiernan, 1-62–63
 GLAM-Wiki U.S. Consortium, 2-2
 Goldwyn Distribution Corporation, 4-9
 Goodman, Israel, 4-53–54
 Goodman, Jacob, 4-52, 4-53–54
 Goolsby, Pvt. Willie, 4-49
 Gorelic, Lester S., "Depicting the Creation of a Nation," 1-44–54
 Gorham, Nathaniel, 1-46, 1-48
 Gover, Kevin, 2-71
 Graf, Mercedes, "All the Women Were Valiant," 2-24–34
 Graham, John, 2-41
 Grants, 1-69
 Graves, David Bibb, 1-32
 Great Britain, and the burning of Washington in 1814, 2-36, 2-40–44
 Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 4-27–28, 4-31
 Greenfield, Margaret, 2-29–30
 Greenhow, Rose, 3-49, 3-54
 Grover, Wayne, 2-44
 Guam, 3-20, 4-46–51
 Gunn, Tim, photo, 4-65
 Guthrie, James, 3-43
- Hacker, Meg, "When Saying 'I Do' Meant Giving Up Your U.S. Citizenship," 1-56–61
 Halderman, H. R., audio diary opened, 4-62
 Hall, Charles Martin, 2-12
Halsey Powell, USS, 1-23–24; photos, 1-22, 1-24
 Hamilton, Alexander, 1-47, 1-48, 1-52, 1-54, 3-38, 4-56; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50
 Hammond, Maj. Mason, 2-49, 2-57
 Hancock, John, 1-8, 1-44, 1-45, 1-46, 1-51, 1-52; depictions of, 1-50
Hancock, USS, 1-23–24; photo, 1-24
 Harby, Capt. Levy C., 3-45
Harder, USS, 3-19
 HarperCollins, 1-71
 Harris, Giles, 3-24, 3-28, 3-29
 Harris, William, 3-23, 3-24, 3-25, 3-28, 3-29
 Harrison, Benjamin, 1-45, 1-46, 1-52; depictions of, 1-50
 Harrison, Robert, 3-50
 Harry S. Truman Library, 2-69, 3-69

- Hasse, John Edward, 1-71
Hawkins, Alfred E., 1-28
Hayes, Pvt. Perry F., 4-48-49
Hearst Foundations, 2-70, 4-64
Henry, Patrick, 1-50, 1-51; depictions of, 1-49, 1-50
"Henry Ford: Movie Mogul?" by Phillip W. Stewart, 4-6-12
Hepburn, Katherine, 1-9; photo, 1-9
Herman, Arthur, 3-65
Hewes, Joseph, 1-46
Hilldring, Maj. Gen. John H., 2-49-50, 2-51-52, 2-55, 2-56; photo, 2-51
Historic New Orleans Collection, 3-69, 4-63
HISTORY/A+E Networks, 4-64
Hitler, Adolf, 4-39, 4-40-41, 4-43-44
Holmes, Oliver W., 2-48, 2-50, 2-56
Hoover, Herbert, 1-51
Hopkins, Stephen, 1-46
Horton, James E., 1-30, 1-31-32; photo, 1-29
Howarth, David, 1-41, 1-42
Hudson, Frank Parker, 3-24
Hudson, Melvin C., 1-33
Humphrey, Hubert, 2-64
Hunt, Gaillard, 2-43
Huntington, Samuel, 1-46
- "I Got To Do Something To Keep My Family Up." by Mattea V. Sanders, 4-25-34
"Idea Whose Time Had Finally Come, An," by Keith Donohue, 2-64-65
Idea Whose Time Has Come, An, by Todd S. Purdum, 2-64-65
Illinois National Guard, 2-18
Indian New Deal, 4-25-34
Indian Removal Act of 1830, 4-25-26
Indiana, 4-56
Infantry Division, 33rd, 2-18, 2-20-21, 2-22
Infantry Regiment, 132nd, 2-18, 2-20-21, 2-22
Ingham, Samuel, 3-37
"Innovate to Make Access Happen" initiative, 2-2
International Legal Defense, 1-29-31, 1-32, 1-33
Iowa, 4-53-54, 4-56-57
Italy, 2-47, 2-49-57
Iwo Jima, 1-22-23, 3-13
- Jackson, Andrew, 4-25-26, 4-63
Jackson, Juanita E., photo, 1-26
Jacobi, Claus, 1-41
Jameson, J. Franklin, 1-49, 1-51, 1-52
Japan, and World War II, 1-18-25
Japanese Naval Air Command, 1-20, 1-21; Special Attack Corps, 1-20-25
Jay, John, 1-48, 1-51; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48
"Jazz at the National Archives," 1-71, 2-70
Jefferson, Thomas, 1-8, 1-44, 1-45, 1-46, 1-48, 1-49-50, 1-52, 3-49, 4-56-57; depictions of, 1-47, 1-49, 1-50
Jenkinson, Hilary, 2-50-51, 2-53-57; photo, 2-50
Jewett, Ambrose, 4-8
Jewett, Frank F., 2-12
Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, 2-68; Digital Library, 2-68
John F. Kennedy Library, 1-69, 2-65, 2-69
John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award, 1-69
John Hancock, 2-70, 2-71, 4-64
Johnson, Jennifer, 1-9
Johnson, Luci Baines, photo, 1-67
Johnson, Lyndon B., 1-17, 4-63; and civil rights, 1-66, 1-67-68, 2-64-65; photos, 1-6, 1-66, 1-69
Johnson, Michele Norris, photo, 3-71
Johnson, William Samuel, 1-46, 1-47; depiction of, 1-50
Jordan, Vernon, photo, 1-67
- "Kamikazes!" by Nathaniel Patch, 1-18-25
Keller, Helen, 4-8; photo, 4-9
Kennedy, John F., 2-64-65, 4-63
Kennedy, Peggy Wallace, photo, 3-71
Kennedy, Robert F., 2-64-65
Kennelly, Barbara, photo, 1-70
Kentucky, 2-27
Kettle Creek, battle of, 3-23, 3-24, 3-27-28
Kiernan, Denise, *The Girls of Atomic City*, 1-62-63
King, Bernice, photo, 1-67
King, Josias, 2-41
King, Martin Luther, Jr., photo, 1-69
King, Rufus, 1-47, 1-48; depictions of, 1-48, 1-50
Knight, Thomas, 1-30-31, 1-32
Koitz, Mary Lynn, 2-71
Kovac, Criss, "Saving the Moving Images of World War I," 3-30-34
Kratz, Jessie, 4-62; "P.S.: You Had Better Remove the Records," 2-36-44
Kunkel, John C., 3-8, 3-9
- Lafayette, Marquis de, 1-49-50, 1-51; depictions of, 1-48
Lamberth, Royce, 2-71
Lamon, Ward, 3-53
Land Management, Bureau of, 4-55
Langdon, J., depictions of, 1-50
Lardner, Ringgold Wilmer "Ring," Jr., 1-9
Larkin, Anne (Sr. Mary), 2-26-27
Larson, John, 2-71
Laugh-O-Gram Films, Inc., 3-59, 3-62, 3-63
Lauren, Lauren Bush, 1-69
Laurenza, Paul and Ann Maria, 2-71
Lee, Richard Henry, 1-45, 1-46, 1-52; depictions of, 1-47, 1-49, 1-50
Leesburg, Virginia, 2-42, 2-43
Leibowitz, Samuel, 1-30, 1-31, 1-32, 1-33, 1-34; photo, 1-27
Leigh-Mallory, Air Chief Marshal Trafford, 1-37-38, 1-41-42; photo, 1-39
Lentz, Jim, 2-71
Letterheads, 1-72
Levins, Scott, 3-68
Lewis, John, 1-66; photo, 1-67
Lexington, USS, 3-17
Library of Congress, 1-45, 1-51; and the Charters of Freedom, 2-44; and records preservation in Europe, 2-50, 2-52
Ligon, Tina L., "The Christmas Shootings on Guam," 4-46-51
Lincoln, Abraham, 1-10, 1-14, 1-51, 1-52, 1-54; depictions of, 1-50
Lincoln, Blanche, photo, 1-70
Livingston, Robert, 1-45; depictions of, 1-49, 1-50
Lockwood, Rear Adm. Charles, 3-14, 3-15-16, 3-21; photo, 3-16
Lockwood, John, "Topping off the Tip," 2-7-12
Logging industry, 2-58-63
Louisiana Purchase, exhibit relating to, 4-63
Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, 2-60
- Lumber industry, 2-58-63
Lush, Brigadier Maurice S., 2-54
Lynch, Marvin, 1-28
Lyndon B. Johnson Library, 2-69, 3-69; Civil Rights Summit at, 1-66, 1-67-68
Lyndon Johnson National Historical Park, Stonewall, Texas, 3-69, 4-63
- Maass, Clara Louise, 2-32-33; photo, 2-31
MacArthur, Gen. Douglas, 1-37, 1-43
McAuliffe, Brig. Gen. Anthony, 4-43; photo, 4-44
McBride, Christian, 1-71
McCain, Capt. William D., 2-56
McCarter, John, 2-71
McColm, Sr. Nolasco, 2-27-28
McCulloch, William, 2-64
McCurry, Mike, photo, 4-65
McDonald, John, 2-42
McGee, Anita Newcomb, 2-24, 2-26, 2-28, 2-32, 2-33; photo, 2-24
McGehee, Dan R., 3-8, 3-9-10
McGowan, Sue Gin, 4-64
McGowan Charitable Fund, Inc., 4-64
McGowan Forums, 4-64
Machen, Lewis, 2-42
McIntosh, Tucker, photo, 1-68
McKean, Thomas, 1-46
McKinney, Comdr. E. B., 3-17
McLane, Louis, 3-38
McLaughlin, P. H., photo, 2-6
MacLeish, Archibald, 2-50
McMorris, Pvt. Elliott J., 4-48
McShore, Seaman First Class M. D., photo, 4-47
Madden, Patrick M., 1-71, 2-71, 3-71; photo, 4-65
Madison, Dolley, 4-56, 4-57
Madison, James, 1-44, 1-47, 1-49-50, 1-52, 2-36, 2-40-41, 2-43, 4-56-57; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50
"Madison's Gift," by Keith Donohue, 4-56-57
Madison's Gift: Five Partnerships That Built America, by David O. Stewart, 4-56-57
Magna Carta, 2-69
"Making Their Mark," 1-6-17
"Making Their Mark: Stories Through Signatures," exhibit, 1-1, 1-6-17, 1-70, 3-70, 4-64
Malaria, 2-24-34
Malone, Sharon, photo, 3-71
Manhattan Project, 1-62-63
Mann, Lt. Comdr. Stephen S., 1-19-20
Manning, Mary J., "Being German, Being American," 2-15-22
Manual of Archive Administration, by Hilary Jenkinson, 2-50
Marcus Island, 3-16
Marianas Islands, 3-20-21
Marine Depot Company, 25th, 4-48
Maris S. Cuneo Foundation, 4-64
Maritime Museum of Nova Scotia Museum, 3-69, 4-63
Marriage and U.S. citizenship, 1-56-61
Married Women's Independent Nationality Act, 1-58, 1-59
Mars, Incorporated, 1-70, 1-71, 2-70, 4-64
Marshall, Gen. George C., 2-49, 2-52
Marshall, John, 1-51; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48
Marshall Islands, 3-19
Martin, Capt. H. M., 3-15
Martin, Luther, 1-48; depictions of, 1-50

- Martin, Michel, 4-64; photo, 4-65
Mason, George, 1-48; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50
Mason-MacFarlane, Lt. Gen. Frank N., 2-53
Mather, Capt. Andrew, 3-39-40
Mather, Increase, 4-15
"Maximizing Our Value to the Nation," by David S. Ferriero, 4-2
Meacham, Jon, 2-70; photo, 2-70
Meals, Bryan K., "When an Act of Congress Wasn't Enough," 3-6-11
Meals, Donald, 3-6-11; photos, 3-7, 3-8
Meals, Margaret, 3-6-11; photos, 3-7, 3-8
Meals, Robert, 3-6-11; photo, 3-7
"Meeting Our Customers' Needs," by David S. Ferriero, 3-2
Meltzer, Brad, 1-71; photo, 1-71
Methodist Church, 2-16
Michie, Allan, 1-39; *The Invasion of Europe*, 1-39
Michigan, 4-54-55, 4-56
Middleton, Harry, photo, 1-68
Midway Island, 3-14, 3-15
Migration within the United States, 4-52-57
Military intelligence and enemy archives, 2-50-51, 2-52-54, 2-56, 2-57
Military justice system, 4-48-51
Military personnel, files, 2-72; medals for, 3-2, 3-68; water rescues of pilots, 3-12-21
Miller, George, 1-66
Minute Maids, 1-71
"Mission: Lifeguard," by Nathaniel S. Patch, 3-12-21
Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, 3-69, 4-63
Mitchell, Clarence, 2-64
Mogenstern, Dan, 1-71
Money Museum of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Missouri, 3-69
Monnet, Jean, 1-41
Monroe, James, 1-49-50, 1-51, 2-36, 2-40-41, 2-42, 2-43, 4-56, 4-57; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50; portrait, 2-40
Montgomery, Adm. A. E., 3-16
Montgomery, Gen. Bernard Law, 1-38-39, 1-41-42; photo, 1-39
Montgomery, Olen, 1-27, 1-34; photo, 1-26
"Monuments men," 2-49, 3-70, 3-71
Monuments Men, The Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History, by Robert Edsel, 3-70, 3-71, 4-64
Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art, 3-70, 3-71
Moody, Milo C., 1-28
Moore, Charles, 1-49, 1-51-52
Morella, Connie, photo, 1-70
Morley, John E., 2-59
Morris, Gouverneur, 1-47, 1-48, 1-49; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50
Morris, Robert, 1-46; depictions of, 1-47, 1-49, 1-50
Motion pictures, 4-6-12
Mount Vernon, Virginia, exhibit at, 3-69, 4-63
Murphy, John P., 2-59
Napoleon III, 2-8
"Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indians," exhibit, 3-69
National Americanization Committee, 2-17
National Archives and Records Administration, 2-44, 3-66-67, 4-60-61; Audio/Video Preservation Laboratory, 3-33; Center for Legislative Archives, 3-2; documents on loan, 4-63; events, 1-64-65, 2-66-67; Independence Day celebration, 2-70, 2-71; Information Security Oversight Office, 2-68; Motion Picture, Sound, and Video Division, 4-12; Motion Picture Preservation Lab, 3-30-34; news and notices, 1-67-69, 2-68, 3-68-69, 4-62-63; Office of Innovation, 2-2; Office of the Federal Register, 3-2; Online Public Access catalog, 2-1, 3-33, 3-63, 4-12, 4-57; Open Government Plan, 2-2; and protecting archives in war areas during World War II, 2-48, 2-49-50; Records on the Road, 2-69; researcher services, 3-2; Strategic Plan, 1-2, 2-2, 3-2, 3-31, 4-2; traveling exhibit program, 3-2; YouTube channel, 3-31, 3-68, 4-62
National Archives Building, exhibits, 1-6-17, 2-70, 2-71, 4-14-22; jazz programs, 1-71; Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery, 1-8; murals for the Rotunda, 1-44-54; National Archives Museum, 1-6, 2-70, 2-71, 4-64; sleeper, 1-70, 1-71, 4-64; William G. McGowan Theater, 4-64
National Archives Regional Archives System, Anchorage, Alaska, closed, 2-68; Atlanta, 1-63; College Park, Maryland, 4-6; Fort Worth, Texas, consolidated, 2-68; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, consolidated, 2-68; Seattle, Washington, 2-59, 2-60-63, 2-68
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 1-29-30, 1-33, 1-34, 4-47, 4-50-51
National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, exhibit at, 3-69, 4-63
National Forest Service, 4-31
National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), grants, 1-69, 2-65, 4-57
National Museum of the American Indian, exhibit, 3-69, 4-63
National Park Service, 4-31-32, 4-34, 4-63
National Personnel Records Center, 2-72, 3-2, 3-68
Natixis Global Asset Management, 1-71, 2-70
Naturalization records, and marriage, 1-56-61
Nautilus, USS, 3-17
Naval Supply Depot, Guam, 4-46-51
Nessen, Ron, photo, 4-65
New Deal, and the Eastern Band of Cherokees, 4-25-34
New York, 2-27, 4-54, 4-56
New York Herald Tribune, 1-41
Nimitz, Adm. Chester, 3-15
Nixon, Richard M., 1-66; photo, 1-15
Norris, Clarence, 1-27-34; photo, 1-26
North Africa and World War II, 2-47-50, 2-51
North Carolina, 4-26, 4-31, 4-34
Nudd, Jean, "Where'd They Go?" 4-52-57
Nurses, women volunteers in the U.S. Army, 2-24-34; in the Spanish-American War, 2-24-34
Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1-62-63
Obama, Barack, 1-66, 1-67-68, 4-62; photo, 1-67
O'Brien, Lawrence F., family, 1-8, 1-70, 4-64
O'Brien, Soledad, 1-71
Office of Indian Affairs, 4-26, 4-27, 4-28, 4-29, 4-30-31, 4-32
Office of Management and Budget, 4-2, 4-62
O'Grady, Jane, 2-64
Ohio, 4-53-54, 4-56-57
"OK, We'll Go," by Tim Rives, 1-36-43
O'Kane, Comdr. Richard, 3-19
Okinawa, 1-23
Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas, 3-69
Olson, Ted, 1-66
Operation Overlord, 1-37
Oregon, 2-58-63
Paris Match, 1-41
Park, Andrew, 4-56-57
Parker Pen Company-Newell Rubbermaid, 1-70
Patch, Nathaniel, "Kamikazes!" 1-18-25; "Mission: Lifeguard," 3-12-21
Paterson, William, 1-48; depictions of, 1-50
Patterson, Haywood, 1-26-34; photos, 1-26, 1-27
Patton, Gen. George S., Jr., 4-43
Penguin Young Readers Group, 1-71
Pennsylvania, 3-8, 3-10-11
Pennsylvania National Guard, 3-7, 3-8, 3-10-11
Pension records, 4-52, 4-56-57
Pensions, for African Americans, 3-24-29; Revolutionary War, 3-24-29; for women nurses in the Spanish-American War, 2-33-34
Perry, Pvt. James Lyle, 4-48
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and federal records, 2-38, 2-43
Philippine Islands, 1-20, 1-21, 2-32-33
Phinney, Dorothy, 2-29
"Pieces of History," 1-72, 2-72, 3-1, 3-72, 4-72
Pike, USS, 3-15
Pinckney, Charles, 1-47, 1-49, 1-51, 1-52; depictions of, 1-50
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 1-48, 1-49-50, 1-52; depictions of, 1-48, 1-50
Pittenger, William, 3-9
Pitts, David, 1-34
Pittsburgh Courier, 4-47
Pittsburgh Reduction Company, 2-12
Plant, Lulu Maria, 2-31
"Plea for Aid, A," 2-72
Pleasanton, Stephen, 2-41-42, 2-43; portrait, 2-40
Plunger, USS, 3-17
Pollak, Walter, 1-33
Pope, J. Russell, 1-49, 1-51
Posner, Ernst, 2-48, 2-49-50
Potter, Connie, 1-1
Powell, Ozie, 1-27, 1-34; photo, 1-26
Pownall, Rear Adm. Charles A., 3-16
Prager, Robert Paul, 2-17-18
"Preservation of Property of Historical [and] of Educational Importance in Italy," 2-51
Presidential and Federal Records Act Amendments of 2014, 4-62
Presidential Innovation Fellows program, 2-2
Presidential libraries, educational programming, 1-66; exhibits, 3-69, 4-63; records on loan, 3-69; research at, 3-2
Presidential Recordings Project, 2-65
"President's Archivist Goes to War, The," by Greg Bradsher, 2-47-57
Price, Victoria, 1-28-32, 1-34; photo, 1-29
Prisons, reform of in the Progressive Era, 3-56-57; for Washington, D.C., 3-48-57, illustrated, 3-48
Prohibition, 4-16-22
"P.S.: You Had Better Remove the Records," by Jessie Kratz, 2-36-44
"Public Records Under Military Occupation," by Ernst Posner, 2-48
Puerto Rico, 2-27, 2-30

- Purdum, Todd S., *An Idea Whose Time Has Come*, 2-64-65; photo, 2-64
- Qualla Indians, 4-25-34
- Racial discrimination, 4-46-51
- Radke, Auguste Friederike Ernestine, 2-15, 2-21; photo, 2-15
- Radke, Gustav, 2-15, 2-18
- Radke, Harry A., 2-18, 2-21
- Radke, Otto Edwin, 2-15, 2-18, 2-20-22; photo, 2-17
- Ramey, Brig. Gen. Howard, 3-15
- Ramsay, Adm. Bertram, 1-38-39, 1-41-42; photo, 1-39
- Randolph, Edmund, 1-46, 1-47; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48
- Rather, Dan, photo, 3-71
- Rayburn, Sam, 3-7, 3-10
- Read, George, 1-48; depictions of, 1-49, 1-50
- Reader's Digest*, 1-39
- Records declassification, 2-68
- Records of District Courts of the United States, Record Group 21, 1-61
- "Records of Rights," exhibit, 1-5, 1-70
- Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15, 4-57
- Records preservation, motion pictures, 3-30-34; social media collections, 1-69; and the War of 1812, 2-36-44; during World War II, 2-47-57
- Red Cross, 2-29
- "Reflections on LBJ and Civil Rights," by Mark K. Updegrove, 1-66
- Religious orders, and women nurses in the Spanish-American War, 2-26-28
- Remondini, Mauryanne, photo, 2-71
- Repatriation of married women, 1-56-61
- Republican Party, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 2-64, 2-65
- Residence Act of 1790, 2-38
- Revenue cutters, *Crauford*, 3-45; *Gallatin*, photo of, 3-44; *Hamilton*, 3-40; *Madison*, 3-40; *McLane*, painting of, 3-36-37; *Morris*, illustration of by Howard I. Chapelle, 3-39; *Portsmouth*, 3-38-39; *Search*, 3-38; *Van Buren*, 3-38, 3-40, 3-45; *Vigilant*, 3-38; *Wolcott*, 3-39-40, 3-45-46
- Revolutionary War, and African Americans, 3-22-29; monuments to African American participants in, 3-24; pensions, 3-24-29
- Rhoads, James B., 2-57
- Rich, Marc, 4-62
- Richard Nixon Library, 4-62; exhibit at, 3-69, 4-63
- Riddle, John Thomas, Jr., *Expelled Because of Their Color*, sculpture, 3-24
- Ridgewells Catering, 1-71
- Rives, Tim, "'OK, We'll Go,'" 1-36-43
- Robb, Air Vice Marshal James, 1-41-42
- Robb, Lucinda, 2-71
- Robb, Lynda Johnson, photo, 1-67
- Roberson, Willie, 1-27, 1-34; photo, 1-26
- Roberts, Alice, 2-30
- Roberts, Cokie, 1-71, 2-71
- Roddy, Stephen R., 1-28-29
- Roderick, Brig. Gen. Thomas E., 2-53
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 1-33, 2-47, 2-49
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 1-10, 1-17; and African Americans, 1-31, 1-32, 1-33; and American Indians, 4-26, 4-27; photos, 1-10, 2-46-47, 2-49; and preservation of foreign archives during World War II, 2-47, 2-50, 2-52, 2-55, 2-56; and the Scottsboro boys, 1-31, 1-32, 1-33; and veto of relief legislation, 3-7, 3-10, 3-11; and World War II, 3-64
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 2-16; photos, 3-32, 3-56, 3-57
- Rubenstein, David M., 2-71, 4-64
- Rush, Richard, 3-38
- Russell, Bill, 1-66; photo, 1-68
- Russell, Richard, 1-17; photo, 1-6
- Rutledge, John, 1-46, 1-47, 1-48
- Ryan, Cornelius, 1-43
- Ryan, Mary, 3-1
- Sanchez, Manual, 2-50, 2-52
- Sanders, Mattea V., "I Got To Do Something To Keep My Family Up," 4-25-34
- Saunders, James, 3-46
- "Saving the Moving Images of World War I," by Criss Kovac, 3-30-34
- "Scanning the Past to Make Access Happen," by David S. Ferriero, 2-2
- Schlossberg, Jack, 1-69
- Scotland, 2-29-30
- "Scottsboro Boys, The," by Jay Bellamy, 1-26-34
- Seaven, F. I. Ricardo, 2-10
- Segregation, and military facilities on Guam in World War II, 4-48, 4-51; in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1-62, 1-63
- Seki, Lt. Yukio, 1-20
- Shaw, Capt. Thomas, 3-38-39, 3-40
- Shelton, Pvt. W. R., 4-49
- Sherman, Roger, 1-45, 1-46, 1-48, 1-49; depictions of, 1-49, 1-50
- Shipman, Fred W., 2-47-57; photos, 2-46, 2-48
- Signatures, exhibit of, 1-6-17
- Simon, Louis A., 1-49, 1-50, 1-51
- Simpson, Daisy, 4-18; photo, 4-21
- Sisters of Charity, 2-27
- Sisters of Mercy, 2-27
- Sitton, John, 1-53
- Sixth Floor Museum, Dallas, Texas, 3-69, 4-63
- Skate*, USS, 3-16-17
- Sligh, Maj. Charles R., 2-58
- Smallpox, 3-50-51
- Smith, Robert, 2-39
- Smith, Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell, 1-39, 1-42; *Eisenhower's Six Great Decisions*, 1-39; photo, 1-39
- Snook*, USS, 3-16
- Sorensen, Ted, 2-65
- Spalsbury, R. L., 4-28
- Spanish-American War, 2-24-34
- Spearfish*, USS, 3-21
- Spellings, Margaret, 1-66
- "Spirited Republic," by Bruce I. Bustard, 4-14-22
- "Spirited Republic: Alcohol in American History," exhibition, 4-1, 4-14-22
- Spruce Production Corporation, 2-59
- Spruce Production Division, U.S. Army, 2-58-63
- Spruce Squadrons, 2-59-63
- Spruce trees, harvesting of, 2-58-63
- Stagg, Group Captain J. M., 1-37-38, 1-42
- Stansberry, Katherine, 2-33
- Staples, Mavis, photo, 1-67
- Steelhead*, USS, 3-16
- Sternberg, George Miller, 2-26, 2-30
- Stewart, David O., *Madison's Gift*, 4-56-57; photo, 4-56
- Stewart, Phillip W., "Henry Ford: Movie Mogul?" 4-6-12
- Stimson, Henry, 3-7, 3-8-9, 3-10
- Stringray*, USS, 3-19-20
- "Stretch' Goals in Our New Strategic Plan," by David S. Ferriero, 1-2
- Strong, Celeb, 1-49-50; depictions of, 1-48
- Strong, Maj. Gen. Kenneth, 1-42; *Intelligence as the Top*, 1-39
- Submarine Combat Air Patrols, 3-13, 3-19
- Submarines, kamikaze attack on, 1-18-25; as lifeguards for pilots, 3-12-21
- Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, and records preservation, 2-56-57
- Surratt, Mary, 3-54
- Sweeney, Mary (Sr. Agnes), 2-26-27
- Swift, Lt. Comdr. James P., 4-50, 4-51
- Tang*, USS, 3-19-20; photos, 3-18
- Tedder, Air Chief Marshal Arthur, 1-41-42; photo, 1-39
- Temperance organizations, 4-16-17
- Texas Instruments, 2-70, 4-64
- Thomas, Kenneth H., Jr., 3-24
- Thornton, Capt. Asa, 2-56-57
- Thurmond, David H., 3-28
- Timber resources, 4-31-32
- "Time and Punishment," by Alison M. Gavin, 3-48-57
- Times Democrat* (Lima, Ohio), 2-33
- Tobacco Industry Litigation records, freeze on lifted, 4-62
- Toland, Irene S., 2-30-31
- "Top Billing," 1-72
- "Topping off the Tip," by John Lockwood, 2-7-12
- Tourist industry, 4-31, 4-34
- Tower, Ellen May, 2-30
- Toyota, 2-70, 2-71, 4-64
- Treasury Department Building, and federal records, 2-39
- "Treaty of Ghent, The," 4-72
- Trevett, Capt. Samuel, 3-38
- "Tribute for a Black Patriot," by Robert Scott Davis, 3-22-29
- Tricoche, Margaret Nester, 2-28-29; photo, 2-27
- Triton*, USS, 3-15
- Truman, Harry S., 1-8, 1-14, 2-44, 3-7, 3-10
- Tubman, Harriet, 1-10
- Turnbull, Minerva O., 2-30
- Tyler, John, 4-63
- Typhoid fever, 2-24-34
- Ullman, Christopher, 2-71
- United Kingdom, 2-58, 3-72; Public Records Office, 2-50; and records preservation during World War II, 2-47, 2-49, 2-54; and the Treaty of Ghent, 4-72; War Office, 2-49, 2-50
- U.S. Army, investigations by, 3-65; and the Spanish-American War, 2-24-34; Surgeon General's Office, 2-24, 2-26, 2-32-33; and women nurses, 2-24-34
- U.S. Army Signal Corps Historical Collection, 3-31, 3-32-34
- U.S. Coast Guard, 3-38, 3-46
- United States Commission of Fine Arts, 1-45, 1-49, 1-51
- U.S. Congress, access to NARA records, 3-2; and the District of Columbia, 3-49, 3-51, 3-53-57; preservation of the records of, 2-36, 2-38, 2-42, 2-44; and records preservation, 2-39-40, 2-43
- U.S. Constitution, 18th Amendment, 4-17-18, 4-21; 21st Amendment, 4-18, 4-21
- U.S. Department of Justice, 3-68, 4-62

U.S. Department of State, and federal records, 2-36–44
 U.S. Department of the Treasury, 3-24, 3-37–38, 3-43–44, 3-45–46, 3-65
 U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Claims, 3-9; Committee on Pensions, 2-33
 U.S. Navy, and African-Americans, 4-46–51; Department of the, 4-51; discipline in, 3-40–41, 4-46–51; rations, 3-44; and World War II, 3-12–21, 4-46–51
 U.S. Patent Office, 2-43
 U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, 3-37–46
 U.S. Senate, Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3-51, 3-53; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3-51, 3-53
 U.S. Supreme Court, and African Americans, 1-30, 1-33; building, 3-49, 3-55, 3-57; and the Scottsboro boys, 1-30, 1-33
United States v. Philip Morris USA Inc., freeze on records lifted, 4-62
 University of Texas at Austin, 1-66, 1-67
 University of Virginia, Miller Center, 2-65; Presidential Recordings project, 1-69
 Updegrave, Mark K., “Reflections on LBJ and Civil Rights,” 1-66; photo, 1-68

 Van Buren, Martin, 3-72
 Vancouver Barracks, Vancouver, Washington, 2-59, 2-63
 Vermont, 4-54–55
 Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom, 3-72
 Violence Against Women Act, 3-68
 Virginia, 2-28, 2-31, 2-33
 Virtual Genealogy Fair, 3-68
 Voge, Capt. Richard, 3-16
 Voting Rights Act of 1965, 1-66
 Vurgaropoulos, 1st Lt. James, 2-72

 Wade, George N., 3-10
 Wadsworth, Jeremiah, 1-49
 Wail, Robert M., 3-11
 Wake Island, 3-14–15, 3-16–17
 Walker, David, 3-24
 Walker, Robert J., 3-45–46
 Walsh, Kate M., 2-28
 Walworth, Reubena Hyde, 2-28; photo, 2-26
 War Department, 3-8, 3-9–10; Civil Affairs Division, 2-49, 2-56; and motion pictures from World War I, 3-32, 3-33–34; pension records, 3-24–29; and records preservation in war areas, 2-49–50, 2-51
 War of 1812, and federal records, 2-36, 2-40–44, 4-63; and the Treaty of Ghent, 4-72
 Ward, Clara Hannah, 2-28
 Washington, 2-58–63
 Washington, George, 1-14, 1-44, 1-47, 1-48, 1-49–50, 1-51, 4-15, 4-56, 4-63; depictions of, 1-47, 1-48, 1-50; preservation of the papers of, 2-36, 2-38, 2-42
 Washington, D.C., early plans for, illustrated, 2-36–37, 2-39; Old Capitol Prison, 3-49, 3-50–55, illustrated, 3-48; prisons, 3-48–57; and the War of 1812, 2-36–44
 Washington Monument, 2-7–12
Washington Post, 2-42, 2-44
 Watling, Daisy, 2-33–34
 Watters, Linda, 2-70, 2-71; photos, 2-70, 2-71
 Watts, Clarence, 1-33, 1-34
 “We the Poets,” 4-62
 Webster, Daniel, 2-43
 Weems, Charlie, 1-26, 1-27, 1-28, 1-29, 1-34; photo, 1-26
 Wein, George, 1-71

Weinberg, David, 4-62
 Wells, Gideon Spencer, 4-54, 4-56
 Wells, William R., II, “Wet, Cold, and Thoroughly Miserable,” 3-37–46
 “Wet, Cold, and Thoroughly Miserable,” by William R. Wells II, 3-37–46
 “What’s Cooking, Uncle Sam?” exhibit, 1-70, 4-64
 Wheeler-Howard Act, 4-27
 “When an Act of Congress Wasn’t Enough,” by Bryan K. Meals, 3-2–11
 “When Saying ‘I Do’ Meant Giving Up Your U.S. Citizenship,” by Meg Hacker, 1-56–61
 “Where’d They Go?” by Jean Nudd, 4-52–57
 White, George, *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, 3-24
 White, Walter, 4-50–51
 Whitewater, records relating to opened, 4-62
 Wigglesworth, Air Vice Marshal H.E.P., 1-42
 Wikimedia Commons, 2-2
 Wilbur, Julia, 3-50
 Wilkins, J. Ernest, Jr., 1-63
 Wilkins, Roy, photo, 1-69
 William IV, King of the United Kingdom, 3-72
 William G. McGowan Charitable Fund, Inc., 2-70
 William J. Clinton Library, 1-69, 2-68, 2-69, 3-69, 4-62, 4-63
 Williams, Eugene, 1-27, 1-30, 1-34; photo, 1-26
 Williams, Gerald W., 2-59
 Williams, Lt. Comdr. Robert R., 3-13
 Wilmot, Chester, 1-41; *The Struggle for Europe*, 1-40
 Wilson, Henry, 3-51
 Wilson, James, 1-46, 1-48; depictions of, 1-50
 Wilson, Patrick, 3-53
 Wilson, Woodrow, 2-17, 2-21; photo, 3-30
 Wilson, USS, 3-15
 Winder, Gen. William, 2-40
 Wirz, Henry, 3-54
 Witherspoon, John, 1-46
 Wolfe, Caroline (Sr. Caroline), 2-26–27
 Women, and citizenship and marriage, 1-56–61; and the development of the atomic bomb, 1-62–63; nurses in the Spanish-American War, 2-24–34; violence against, 3-68
 Woodbury, Levi, 3-40
 World War I, films, 3-2; and the Ford Motor Company, 4-8–9; and German Americans, 2-15–22; motion pictures, 3-30–34; and wood for airplanes, 2-58–63
 World War II, 1-18–25; and alcohol policies, 4-21–22; and archives preservation, 2-47–57; and the Battle of the Bulge, 4-36–44; and the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division, 4-34; films, 3-2; “Monuments Men,” 3-70, 3-71, 4-64; motion pictures, 3-30–34; personnel records, 2-72; preparation for, 3-64–65; role of submarines in the Pacific Theater, 3-12–21
 Worsham, James, 1-1, 4-1; “The Arsenal of Democracy,” 3-64–65
 Wright, Andy, 1-26, 1-27, 1-33, 1-34; photo, 1-26
 Wright, Roy, 1-27, 1-28, 1-29, 1-33, 1-34; photo, 1-26
 Wythe, G., 1-46; depictions of, 1-49, 1-50

 Yellow fever, 2-26, 2-30, 2-32, 2-33
 Yokosuka *Suisai* “Judy,” plane, 1-24–25; photos, 1-25
 Young, Andrew, 1-66; photo, 1-67
 Young, Whitney, photo, 1-69
 “Your Good Friend, Victoria R,” 3-72
 Zimmerman, Stephen, photo, 2-71

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation (Required by 39 USC 3685)
 Title: Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration (ISSN 0033-1031)

Frequency: Quarterly / Annual Subscription
 Price: \$24.00

Publisher and Owner: National Archives Trust Fund Board, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001

Total paid and/or requested circulation (Avg. during preceding 12 months) Mailed paid subscriptions: 2137 / Other sales & requested distribution: 366 / Free distribution by mail: 10 / Free distribution outside the mail: 115 / Total distribution: 2647 / Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 95 %

Total paid and/or requested circulation Summer 2014) Mailed paid subscriptions: 2157 / Other sales & requested distribution: 394 / Free distribution by mail: 10 / Free distribution outside the mail: 115 / Total distribution: 2572 / Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 95 %

Staff Contributions to Prologue 2014

Each issue of *Prologue* reflects the contributions of many employees of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). This is as it should be, for *Prologue* is very much a journal of NARA. Often, however, the contributions of these staff members go unrecognized. The *Prologue* staff, therefore, would like to salute the following individuals for their contributions.

Greg Bradsher, Crystal Brooks, Mary Burtzloff, Vince Chiriaco, Bob Clark, Laura Diachenko, Cecilia Epstein, Michelle Farnsworth, Jane Fitzgerald, Lauren Gerson, Sandra Glasser, Jeff Hartley, Kenneth Heger, Sara Holmes, Miriam Kleiman, Criss Kovac, Maureen MacDonald, Mark Meader, Marsha Miller, Michael Pierce, Trevor Plante, Jeffrey Reed, Tim Rives, Mary Francis Ronan, Holly Russo, Kathy Struss, and Cody White.

THE TREATY OF GHENT

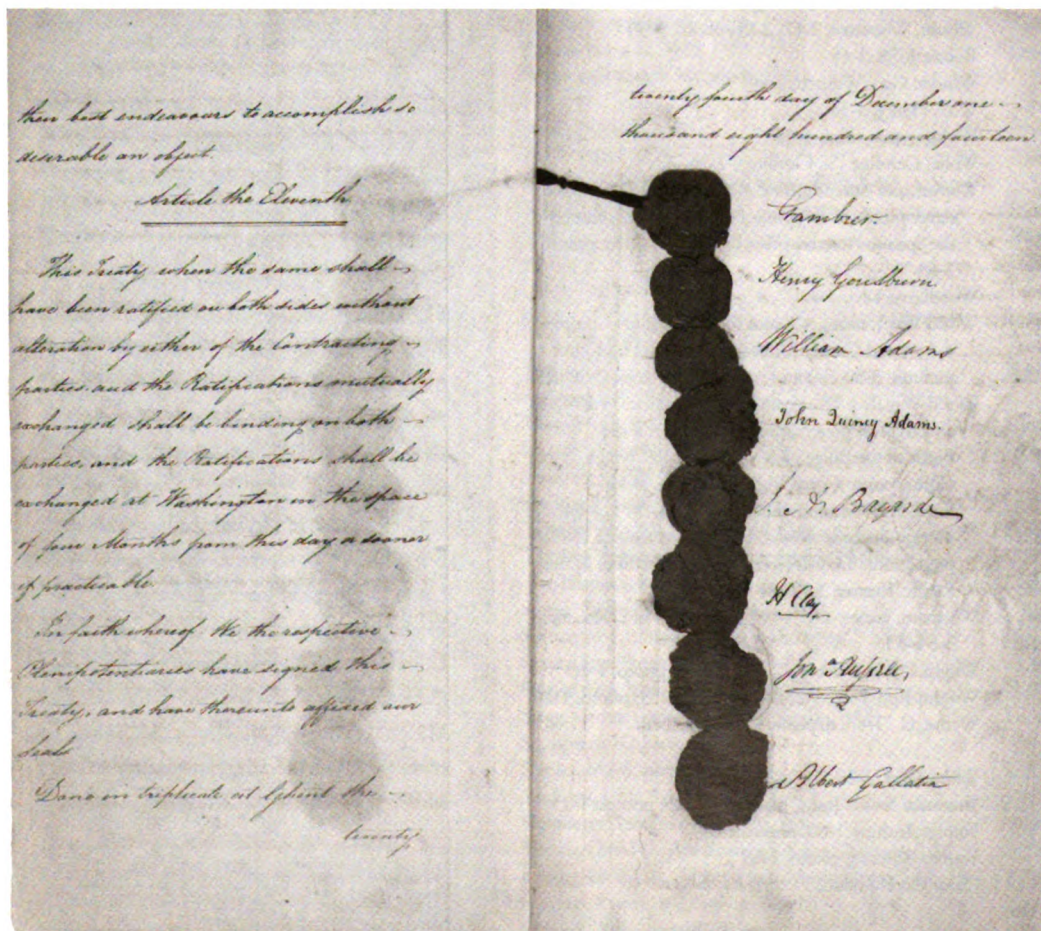
The War of 1812 is not as celebrated as the Revolutionary War or as wrenching as the Civil War, but it made significant contributions to our national identity. The nation got its national anthem out of the Battle of Fort McHenry; the USS *Constitution* earned its name as “Old Ironsides”; and Andrew Jackson became the “hero of New Orleans.” The crucial outcome for the early national development of the United States, however, was in the peace terms set out in the Treaty of Ghent, signed 200 years ago on December 24, 1814.

The United States did not “win” the war, but neither did the British. After two and a half years of conflict, both sides were weary. The United

States and the United Kingdom were financially stressed, and there had not yet been a decisive military action to determine a “winner.”

The British negotiators could have pressed for punitive terms against a small country that had recently broken away from the Crown. The American team, led by John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, pressed for and won a settlement of *status quo ante bellum*, or a return to the way things were before the war.

For the United States, a draw was as good as a win. The British recognized the legitimacy of United States as an independent entity, and the world saw the young nation in a more favorable light after it had faced the power of Great Britain and stood its ground.



The Treaty of Ghent (final two pages shown) ended the War of 1812 and was signed on December 24, 1814, by British negotiators Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams, and Americans John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Administration
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20408-0001
202-357-5400

and
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-4001
301-837-2000

National Archives at Atlanta
5780 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, GA 30260-3806
770-968-2100

Atlanta Federal Records Center
4712 Southpark Boulevard
Ellenwood, GA 30294-3595
404-736-2820

National Archives at Boston and
Boston Federal Records Center
380 Trapelo Road
Waltham, MA 02452-6399
866-406-2379

National Archives at Chicago and
Chicago Federal Records Center
7358 South Pulaski Road
Chicago, IL 60629-5898
773-948-9001

Dayton Federal Records Center
3150 Springboro Road
Dayton, OH 45439-1883
937-425-0600

Dayton-Kingsridge Federal Records Center
8801 Kingsridge Drive
Dayton, OH 45458-1617
937-425-0601

National Archives at Denver and
Denver Federal Records Center
17101 Huron Street
Broomfield, CO 80023-8909
303-407-5740

National Archives at Fort Worth and
Fort Worth Federal Records Center
1400 John Burgess Drive
Fort Worth, TX 76140-6222
817-551-2000

National Archives at Fort Worth (microfilm)
2600 West Seventh Street, Ste. 162
Fort Worth, TX 76107-2244
817-831-5620

National Archives at Kansas City
400 West Pershing Road
Kansas City, MO 64108-4306
816-268-8000

Kansas City Federal Records Center
8600 NE Underground Drive, Pillar 300-g
Kansas City, MO 64161-9742
816-994-1700

Lee's Summit Federal Records Center
200 Space Center Drive
Lee's Summit, MO 64064-1182
816-288-8100

Lenexa Federal Records Center
17501 West 98th Street, Ste. 3150
Lenexa, KS 66219-1735
913-825-7600

National Archives at New York City
One Bowling Green
New York, NY 10004-1415
866-840-1752

National Archives at Philadelphia and
Federal Records Center
14700 Townsend Road
Philadelphia, PA 19154-1096
215-305-2000

Pittsfield Federal Records Center
10 Conte Drive
Pittsfield, MA 01201-8230
413-236-3610

National Archives at Riverside and
Riverside Federal Records Center
23123 Cajalco Road
Perris, CA 92572-7298
951-956-2000

National Archives at San Francisco and
San Francisco Federal Records Center
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, CA 94066-2350
650-238-3500

National Archives at Seattle and
Seattle Federal Records Center
6125 Sand Point Way, NE
Seattle, WA 98115-7999
206-336-5115

National Archives at St. Louis and
National Personnel Records Center (Military)
1 Archives Drive
St. Louis, MO 63138-1002
314-801-0800

National Personnel Records Center (Civilian)
1411 Boulder Boulevard
Valmeyer, IL 62295-2603
618-935-3005

Washington National Records Center
4205 Suitland Road
Suitland, MD 20746-8001
301-778-1600

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library
210 Parkside Drive
P.O. Box 488
West Branch, IA 52358-0488
319-643-5301
www.hoover.archives.gov

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538-1999
845-486-7770 / 800-337-8474
www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu

Harry S. Truman Library
500 West U.S. Highway 24
Independence, MO 64050-1798
816-268-8200 / 800-833-1225
www.trumanlibrary.org

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
200 Southeast Fourth Street
Abilene, KS 67410-2900
785-263-6700 / 877-746-4453
www.eisenhower.archives.gov

John F. Kennedy Library
Columbia Point
Boston, MA 02125-3398
617-514-1600 / 866-JFK-1960
www.jfklibrary.org

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, TX 78705-5702
512-721-0200
www.lbjlibrary.org

Richard Nixon Library
18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Yorba Linda, CA 92886-3903
714-983-9120
www.nixonlibrary.gov

Richard Nixon Library-College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001
301-837-3290

Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114
734-205-0555
www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov

Gerald R. Ford Museum
303 Pearl Street, NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5353
616-254-0400

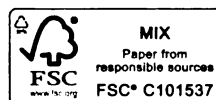
Jimmy Carter Library
441 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307-1498
404-865-7100
www.jimmycarterlibrary.org

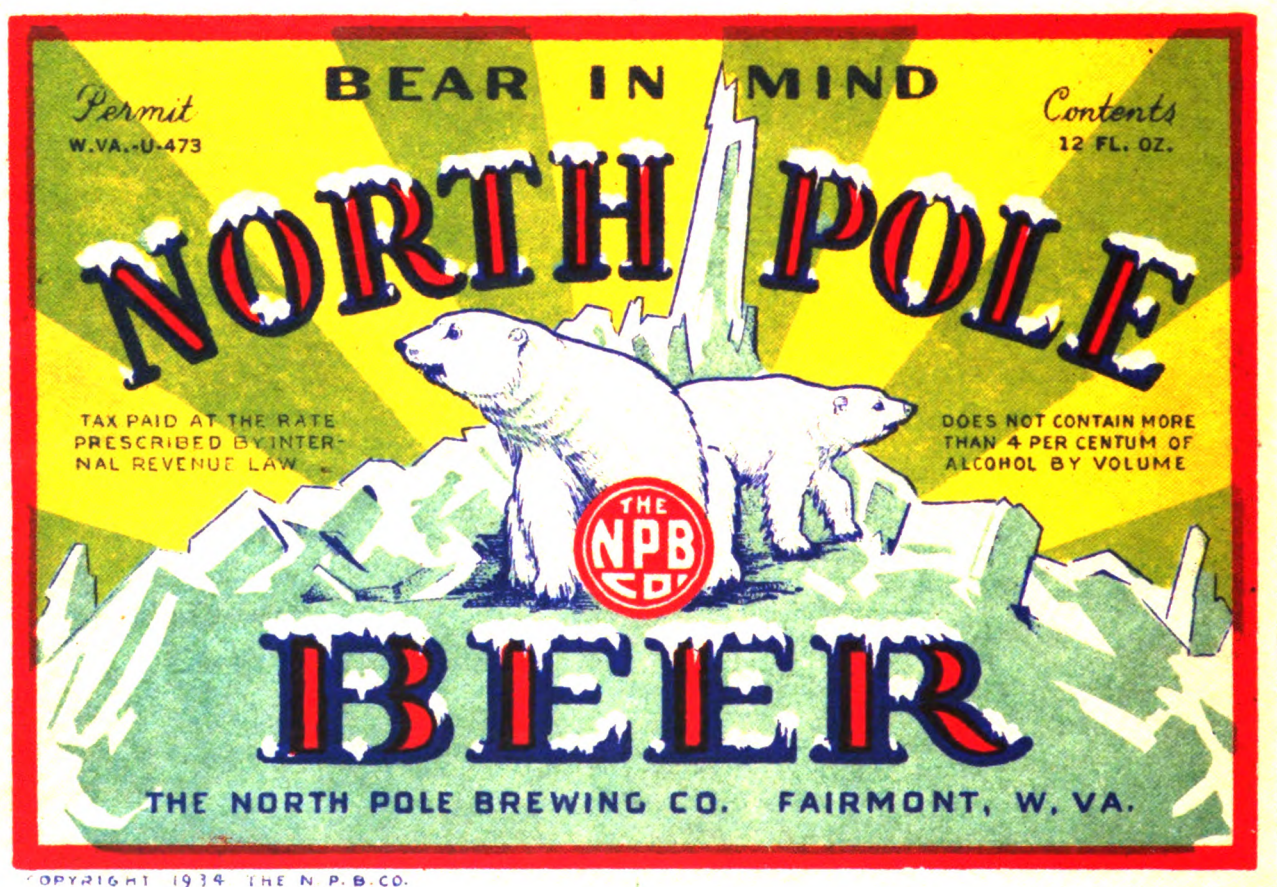
Ronald Reagan Library
40 Presidential Drive
Simi Valley, CA 93065-0600
805-577-4000 / 800-410-8354
www.reagan.utexas.edu

George Bush Library
1000 George Bush Drive
College Station, TX 77845-3906
979-691-4000
bushlibrary.tamu.edu

William J. Clinton Library
1200 President Clinton Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201-1749
501-374-4242
www.clintonlibrary.gov

George W. Bush Library
2943 SMU Boulevard
Dallas, TX 75205-2563
214-346-1557
www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu





Prologue Winter 2014

Digitized by Google

,

.

The Ohio State University



3 2435 08762815 2